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THE REḤLA OF IBN BAṬṬŪṬA

(INDIA, MALDIVE ISLANDS AND CEYLON)

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(INDIA, MALDIVE ISLANDS AND CEYLON)

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

By

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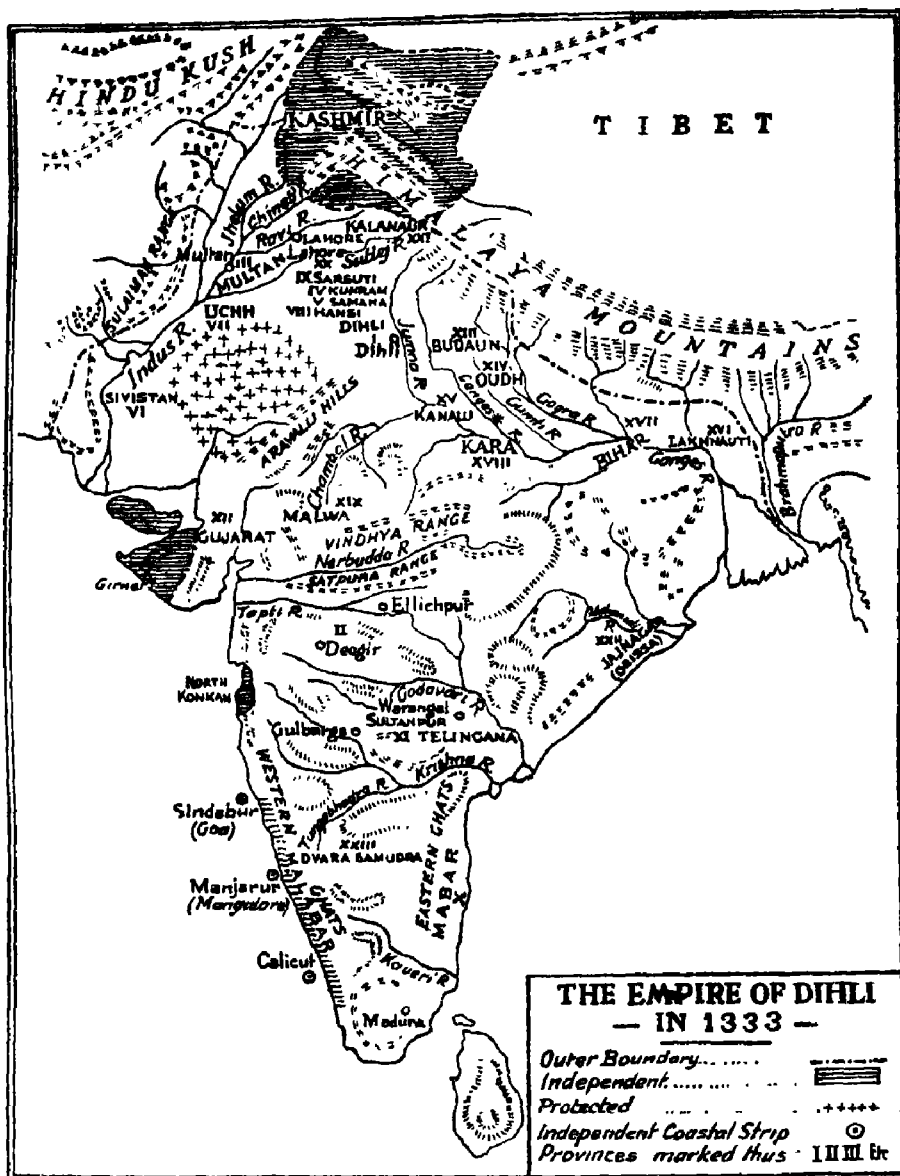
FOREWORD

The Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was first published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series as No. CXXII in 1953 by the then Director, the Late Professor G. H. Bhatt. It should not be necessary to justify this reprint of an imported work of Muslim Cultural History, which has been in demand for a long time. I hope this reprint will fill a long-felt desideratum.

I thanks the University Grants Commission, the Government of Gujarat and the M. S. University of Baroda whose financial assistance has made the publication of this volume possible.

Oriental Institute,
Baroda,
March 11, 1976

A. N. JANI
Director

The Empire of Dehli in the year of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's arrival.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSLITERATION.

A.Ak.	for Āīn-i-Akbarī
A.A.	for 'Ajāib-ul-asfār
A.A.K.	for 'Ābid 'Alī Khān
A C.	for 'after the Christian era'
A.G.	for Albert Grey
A.H.G.	for Arabic History of Gujarat
Aj.H.	for 'Ajāīb-ul-Hind
A.S I.R or A.S.R	for Archaeological Survey of India Reports
B	for Barbosa's Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar translated by H. E. J. Stanley
B N.	for Bābar Nāma
C.H.	for Cambridge History of India
C.P.K.D.	for The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli
D.Mb.	for Dabistān-i-madhāhib
Def. et Sang.	for Defrémery et Sanguinetti
E.B. or Encyc Brit	for Encyclopaedia Britannica
E.D.	for Elliot and Dowson
E.I.	for Encyclopaedia of Islām
E.R.E.	for Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
F.S.	for Futūḥ-us-salātīn
G.A.	for Gulzār-i-abrār
G.S.I.	for Geological Survey of India
H M	for Henri Massé
H.Cy.	for History of Ceylon
I.G.	for Imperial Gazetteer
Is.C.	for Islamic Culture
J.F	for Jawāhir-i-Farīdī
J.R.As.Soc.	for Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
M.A.	for Masālik-ul-Absār
M.B.	for Mu'jam-ul-Buldān

M.Is.	for Madhāhib-ul-Islām
N.B.	for Niẓāmī Bansī
R.A.S.	for Royal Asiatic Society
R.F.M.	for The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq
S.A.	for Safīnat-u-auliyā
Sy.A.	for Siyar-ul-auliyā
S.I.M.I.	for South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders
S.M.P.	for Book of Ser Marco Polo
T.F.	for Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī
T.K.	for Tārīkh-ul-kirām
T.N.	for Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī
T.S.	for Tārīkh-i-Sind

The scheme of transliteration followed in this work is the same as has been followed in my book—*The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*—published by Luzac & Co. with this difference that the transliteration marks have been confined in this book to singular forms only. The plural being formed in the English manner by adding 's', the transliteration marks are not considered necessary in the plural forms, *e.g.* sulṭān, sultans; qāẓī, qazis; amīr, amirs; Hindū, Hindus. However, for the convenience of the reader the said scheme is reproduced here.

ا	= a	ض	= ẓ
ب	= b	ط	= ṭ
ت	= t	ظ	= ẓ
ث	= s̱	ع	= ʻ
ج	= j	غ	= gh
ح	= ḥ	ف	= f
خ	= kh	ق	= q
د	= d	ک	= k
ذ	= dh	ل	= l
ر	= r	م	= m
ز	= z	ن	= n
ژ	= zh	و	= w, v
س	= s	ه	= h
ش	= sh	ء	= ʼ
ص	= ṣ	ی	= y

PREFACE

Of all the Arab geographers and historians, I have had from my school days a special liking for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, partly because of his extremely interesting personality and versatile talents as a scholar, theologian, adventurer, warrior, sailor, swimmer, traveller, explorer, pilgrim, botanist, politician, poet, journalist, historian, geographer, jurist, ascetic, devotee and pleasure-seeker, and partly because of his promoting historical researches and making remarkable contributions to the history of medieval India. It was Maulvī Muḥammad Husain's Urdū translation of the Second Part of the *Reḥla* [1] which first attracted my attention. I was able to obtain a copy of it from the library of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, at which I was a student. As soon as I learnt that the whole of the *Reḥla* in original Arabic had been printed and published at Cairo I obtained a copy of it. Later, I came across Samuel Lee's *Travels of Ibn Batūta*—an English translation of an epitome of the *Reḥla* based on incomplete manuscripts. It is, however, a scholarly work and contains many useful notes. I was delighted to read in it the learned author's opinion on Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: 'My principal object', says Samuel Lee explaining the notes he has added to the text, 'was to ascertain the accuracy and fidelity of my author; and in this point of view I have succeeded to my own satisfaction at least, having no doubt that he is worthy of all credit. It is for his historical, geographical and botanical notices that he is principally valuable; and I concur with his Epitomator Mr. Burckhardt, and Mr. Kosegarten, in believing, that in these he is truly valuable'.[2] Meanwhile, a copy of Yule's *Cathay And The Way Thither* came into my hands and I heard of a translation of the *Reḥla* brought out by Prof. H. A. R. Gibb. I found it very interesting and enlightening. But this, too, was incomplete, for it contained only 'Selections From the Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa'.[3] In 1933, I went to London. There I found in the libraries of the School of Oriental Studies, of the India Office, and of the Royal Asiatic Society four volumes of '*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* by Defrémery et Sanguinetti'. On reading through the first few pages of the first volume, I learnt definitely that there existed an autograph of Ibn Juzayy, the famous editor of the *Reḥla* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, a fact referred to by Prof. Gibb in his introduction. This made me anxious to go to Paris and see the autograph. I seized the earliest opportunity to do so and was able to see also the other manuscripts of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Reḥla* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* recalling what in his *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Baṭūṭa durch Indien und China*, Dr. Hans von Mžik the German translator of the *Reḥla* had said, 'This

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1 *I.e.* journey or travelling; also written as *Riḥla*.

2 Lee, Samuel—*The Travels of Ibn Batūta* (Preface, p. xii).

3 Gibb, H. A. R.—*Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 1.

translation of Ibn Batuta's work is based on the Arabic text of Defrémery and Sanguinetti. The translator often had grave doubts regarding certain passages which would have required reference to at present inaccessible original manuscripts and of which the readings were only very rarely adequate.'[1] The result is given under a special heading[2] in the Introduction that follows.

Further I read and compared both the Egyptian editions of the *Reḥla*, namely the edition of 1904/1322 and that of 1934[3]/1351. I prefer the former[4] for it gives the orthography of proper names in the same way as do the oldest manuscripts and is free from the omissions noticeable in the latter. For example, the latter omits the word مفردون[5] used in the manuscripts, and the words دنوّقه[6] - تيمسنده[7] - بشكال[8] besides a whole piece in the account of Barahnakār[9]

I also read Muḥammad *ibn* Fatḥ Ullāh al-Bailūnī's extracts from Ibn Juzayy's edition. These are sketchy as is evident from Samuel Lee's translation[10] of the same, but are interesting at least in two instances. In the first instance according to al-Bailūnī[11] the rescuer of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa from the wilderness of the ruined villages of Jalālī was named *al-Qalb-ul-qarīḥ*—the wounded heart. But *al-Qalb-ul-fāriḥ*—[12] the cheerful heart—which is given instead in the oldest manuscripts is genuine, for it is consistent with the predictions made to this effect at Alexandria[13] in the beginning of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels. In the second instance according to al-Bailūnī,[14] the same rescuer carried Ibn Baṭṭūṭa from the said wilderness to the royal palace at Dehlī where the emperor who was already aware of his misfortunes was pleased to see him and made personal enquiries. He granted him a sum of 10,000 tankas and enabled him to resume his journey with proper escort. This part of the story remains unconfirmed. But it claims to proceed from Ibn Juzayy's edition and is supported by the facts described[15] elsewhere. It tends to show how villages in those days were connected with the towns and how quickly news travelled[16] even from a

[1] Mžik, p. 5.
[2] Personal Findings and Observations.
[3] This book is named '*Muhazzab Rehlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*'.
[4] To this edition references are made in this book
[5] Cf. Def. et Sang., IV, p. 47 and the first Egyptian edition, Pt. ii, p. 126
[6] See p. 80, *infra*.
[7] See p. 70, *infra*, footnote 2.
[8] Cf Def et Sang, IV, p 65 and the first Egyptian edition, Pt. ii, p. 132.
[9] Cf. Def. et Sang., IV, p. 224 and the first Egyptian edition, Pt. ii, p. 183.
[10] Lee, S.—*The Travels of Ibn Batūta*, pp. 1, 2.
[11] *Ibid.*, p 156.
[12] See p. 157, *infra*.
[13] See pp. liii-liv, *infra*.
[14] Lee, S.—*The Travels of Ibn Batūta*, p. 157
[15] R.F M., p. 202.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 109

distant and disturbed rural area to the metropolis. It also tends to throw light on that much-misunderstood emperor's[1] temper illustrating his kindness to the crestfallen and the destitute[2]. Finally, it tends to unmask Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's fears leading him later in his destitution to avoid[3] meeting the emperor; his fears afford a manifestation of his sore feelings. Another manifestation of the same is furnished by the stories of the execution of a blind man and a cripple, of the human refuse thrust down the throat of a famished saint and of a prince's flesh cooked with rice and served before the latter's wife and children. Of all these Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was no eye-witness; by accepting and recording these without bothering about the source and without expressing his own doubts he acted abnormally, for he took care normally to distinguish fact from fabrication and truth from falsehood as attested[4] by Ibn Juzayy and as evidenced by his rejecting the story about the Indian physician[5] and the Ceylonese reports about the moving tree, declaring them straightway as 'many lies'.[6] In this way he placed himself on an equal footing with 'Iṣāmī—an avowed enemy of emperor Muḥammad whose rationalism and culture, whose specialized study of Islām, and whose profound learning and knowledge of different sciences including Greek, Hindū and Jain philosophy should set one thinking before subscribing to 'his' fiendish and criminal bent which the infliction of the above tortures postulates.

The *Reḥla* is divided into Two Parts, both of which I have now translated into English. Having divided a portion out of its Second Part which is hereby presented to the public, namely that dealing with India, the Maldive Islands and Ceylon into eighteen chapters I have written a commentary. I have further studied the various aspects of the *Reḥla* and incorporated the results of my study under the heading—'THE REHLA—A MINE OF HISTORY'. I have also prepared a brief outline of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's career, have marshalled the data of his travels, given the maps illustrating his itinerary and built some appendices out of the First Part; for instance Appendix A concerning the Letter of Investiture.[7] The Appendices B and C contain stories illustrating the generosity of the emperor and the Appendix F gives the story of Tarmashīrīn, the myth about whose invasion of India has been exploded in my previous book[8] In the attempt to do all this amidst many other engagements and worries years passed and the publication of this work which had long been promised was delayed. I hope the famous saying *der āyad durust āyad* will prove true in this case.

[1] *I e.* Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq.
[2] See pp. 68, 69, *infra.*
[3] See p. 194, *infra.*
[4] See p. xviii, *infra.*
[5] See p. xxxvi, *infra.*
[6] See p. 223, *infra.*
[7] Cf. R.F.M., pp. 170-171
[8] R.F.M., pp. 100, 108.

Regarding Ibn Khaldūn's thought expressed apropos a verbal report from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Appendix I, I state that I have used the Arabic text of the *Muqaddima*[1] printed at Cairo. Where it differs slightly from the text included in the French edition[2] I have discarded it in favour of the latter since the French scholars have based the said text on two manuscripts[3] of the *Muqaddima* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. It appears that Ibn Khaldūn[4] who served the Moroccan kings[5] in different capacities met Ibn Baṭṭūṭa at Fez and heard from him the report[6] which, however, is not found verbatim in the *Rehla*.

How far Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's memory could effectively serve as the basis of the *Rehla* is a problem which I have discussed[7] in the light of Ibn Khaldūn's thought The conclusion[8] I have reached does not enable me to agree with the opinion of the French scholars.[9]

I thank Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar who kindly looked into my manuscript in 1947 and recommended it to the Oriental Institute of Baroda for publication. I also thank Dr C. C. Davies formerly of the School of Oriental Studies, London, now Reader in Indian History at Oxford University, who borrowed for me MS. 2287 from the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris and read through parts of my translation while I was in London. Next I thank Professor Mirza Mohsin Namazi of Calcutta University who helped me in revising the translation as well as Prof Mohibbul Hasan Khan who corrected the proofs. I am grateful to the revered Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Hasan Niẓāmī who enabled me to secure a photo of the tomb of Aḥmad *bin* Aiyāz Khwāja Jahān in the sanctuary of the saint of Ghiyāṡpūr. Finally, I thank my predecessors in the field and should like to express my appreciation of the pioneer work of Defrémery and Sanguinetti in collating and editing the various manuscripts of the *Rehla* and giving the variants All later scholars are deeply in their debt Nothing that I have said in the course of this work should be taken as a reflection on them or on any other scholar

MAHDI HUSAIN.

Calcutta University,
June, 1951.

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abdur Rahmān ....*Muqaddima*, Part I, p. 199, Cairo, 1329.
[2] Def. et Sang., III, p. 664. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Ibn Khaldūn was born in Tunis (1332/732) and died at Cairo (1406/808).
[5] *I.e.* (i) Sultan Abū 'Inān (1348/749–1358/759) who was also the patron of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa;
(ii) Sultān Abū Salīm (1359/760–1361/762); and
(iii) Sultān 'Abdul 'Azīz (1366/768–1372/774).
[6] *E.g.* 'Whenever the emperor of India intended to set out from the capital he counted the inhabitants......' (*Vide* p. 264 *infra*.)
[7] *Vide* pp. lxxi–lxxvii.
[8] *Vide* (i) p. xvii, footnote; (ii) the epilogue from the pen of Ibn Juzayy, p. xviii, *infra*
[9] Def. et Sang., I, p. ix.

INTRODUCTION

PERSONAL FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

(1) **The autograph** (F. 1, L. 14, 15) has

و يكون بخارجها ثلاثة رحال يقعد رجال عليها

But the French edition (III, 95) has و يكون بخارجها ثلاث قباب يقعد فيها الرجال in accordance with the MS. 2289 (F. 87, L. 12, 13).

(2) The autograph (F. 22, L. 16, 17) has

يعطون لكل قادم على السلطان الالف من الدنانير ديناً

while the French edition (III, 98) has

يعطون لكل قادم على السلطان الآلاف من الدنانير ديناً

in accordance with the MS. 2289.

(3) The autograph (F. 30, L. 8) has

فبعث السلطان العساكر الى ابن اخيه بهرام خان

and the same is given in the MS. 2289. But the French edition (III, 317) has

فبعث السلطان العساكر الى ابن اخيه ابراهيم خان

It also gives (p. 230) ابن اخ السلطان بهرام خان

(4) The MS. 2287 (F. 136*b*, L. 2) has فاملى اسماء رجال كثير من كفار البلد

The French edition (III, 309) has فاملى اسمآء رجال كثيرين من كفار البلد

(5) The MS. 2287 (F. 139) has و الثاني الملك تمور الشربدار و هو السمانتي

The French edition (III, 332) has و الثاني الملك تمور الشربدار و هو الساقي

(6) The MS. 2287 (F. 140, L. 13) has و اميرها عين الملك بن ماهرو

The French edition (III, 342) has و اميرها عين الملك بن ماهر

Of these instances the first, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth particularly demand an examination. The *first*, *i.e.* و يكون بخارجها ثلاثة رحال يقعد رجال عليها is a part of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the foot-post in India. He means to say that a village lies at every third of a mile and that outside the village there is a dwelling in which sit the couriers ready to proceed with the post. The autograph has رحال which means 'an equipment of a traveller, a dwelling, a covering of floors or something like a bedding.'

The *third* instance, *i.e.* فبعث السلطان العساكر الى ابن اخيه بهرام خان appears to be a much better reading than the two different readings of the French edition. This represents a stage in Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Bahādur's rebellion. On learning of it the emperor sent an army against him headed by his own brother Bahrām Khān. The phrase ابن اخيه is a mistake; it should have been ابن ابيه (father's son) since the emperor Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq had no nephew and there was no man named Ibrāhīm Khān

who could be regarded as his ابن اخيه (brother's son). There was certainly a young man Bahrām Khān by name mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Baranī and he was also known as Tatār Khān, being the adopted son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq, the father of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq.

In regard to the *fourth* instance it should be noted that the correct reading is that given in the MS. 2287 namely واملى اسماء رجال كثير منّ كفّار البلد This means that the *qāẓī* who had been suspected of political disaffection and had thus incurred the emperor's displeasure complained of some Hindus. That is, on being asked to name those whom he knew to be malcontents he gave out the names of some Hindus. This was sufficient to inflame the emperor's anger. Instead of being pleased with the *qāẓī*, as probably the latter had calculated, the emperor rebuked him for the ill will he seemingly bore against his Hindū subjects and immediately put him to death. Evidently the emperor regarded the law-abiding Hindus as the backbone of his country and empire, and he unhesitatingly inflicted an exemplary punishment on the *qāẓī* to deter the other officials from outraging the Hindus.

The *fifth* instance و الثانى الملك تمور الشربدار و هو السمانتى is an attempt to describe a courtier ملك تمور شربدار *i.e.* Malik Timūr, an officer-in-charge of the royal drink. He was a resident of Sāmāna. Hence the reading و الثانى الملك تمور الشربدار و هو السمانتى in the MS. 2287 ; this is preferable. But the reading و الثانى الملك تمور الشربدار و هو الساقى in the French edition turns السمانى—inhabitant of Sāmāna—into الساقى which has been regarded as an explanation of الشربدار.

As for the *sixth* instance it should be noted that the MS. 2287 has عين الملك بن ماهرو—'Ain-ul-mulk *ibn* Māhrū—which is the correct form of the name of 'Ain-ul-mulk, the famous governor of 'Awadh', while the French edition has the apocryphal عين الملك بن ماهر

It should be noted that the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris possesses five manuscripts of the *Reḥla* in *maghribī* character, only two of which, as shown below, are complete. The first two manuscripts—2290 and 2291—each containing a part might have combined to make a third complete one but there is no relationship between these in respect of handwriting or the date. The opening three pages of the *first* manuscript 2290 which only contains the first half of the *Reḥla* are very beautiful and decorated in gold and the rest is handsomely bordered. I have had its title-page and the first page *écriture* photographed.[1]

The *écriture* on the title-page on being translated runs as follows:

(*a*) The book of travels (*Reḥla*) of the learned Shaikh Abū Abdullāh Muḥammad *ibn* Muḥammad *ibn* Ibrāhīm of Lawāta and Tangier known as Ibn Baṭūṭa ; may God the exalted have mercy on and be pleased with him. Āmīn!

---

[1] See plates I and II.

(*b*) By turn and through disposal of Destiny this book has come into the hands of God's poor slave Sālim *ibn* al-Ḥājj Yaḥya of Fez by means of proper purchase, the price having been paid. This took place on the first of *Sha'bān*, the year 1212.

The script on the first page which is handsome, bold and a quasi-Kūfī handwriting of Morocco embodies no novel piece of information. It contains the same text as is found in the French edition of the *Reḥla*, Vol. I, p. 2.

The total number of leaves in this manuscript are 199; but the writing, although legible and large, is not always free from mistakes and omissions. It was finished in the month of *Ṣafar* 1134 Hijra, *i.e.*, December, 1721 A.C.

The *second* manuscript 2291 which comprises the second part of the *Reḥla* is much older than the manuscript 2290 and bears the year 757 Hijra as the date of writing. According to M de Slane it is an autograph of Ibn Juzayy. I have had five different leaves[1] of the same photographed.

The *écriture* (*a*) on top of the fly-leaf on being translated runs as follows:

Praise to God! His slave Muḥammad al-maghribī (has acquired this) by purchase through divine grace and paid the price from his own money. May God bless him out of His mercy!

(*b*) in the middle

(i) a signature—

The slave of God Ash-Sharīf Idrīsī: may God forgive him!

(ii) Praise and gratitude to God!

Having incurred arrears of rent about the month of *Jumāda-al-ākhar* year 1232 he (tenant) gave up the house and left behind this book as part payment of his dues.

From the above *écrit* (*b*) (ii) it appears that this manuscript was at one time the personal property of a certain Muḥammad who had purchased it from some one else. Pressed by poverty he was compelled to part with the manuscript. He gave it up as part of his dues to the owner of his house. This took place in April 1817/*Jumāda* II, 1232.

However, this manuscript 2291 is so old and affected by moisture that in certain parts the script has been completely obliterated, *e.g.*, at the top of the folios 47–50; and three-fourths of the first three lines in many a page are effaced. An attempt appears to have been subsequently made to restore the original and reproduce the effaced words but with no great success. The handwriting in the first three leaves (1–3) is very beautiful

[1] See plates III, IV, V, VI and VII. [2] For an exact form of this, see plate III.

but deteriorates in the course of the next twelve (4–16) and further still in the succeeding twenty-three (16–39). From folio 39 to 68 the ink varies also. For instance, the ink on leaf 39 and on the following leaves differs from that of the preceding leaves; also the folio 69 and the succeeding folios vary slightly from the preceding ten in this respect. Altogether there are 110 folios and the last two are written in a running-hand. The average number of lines per page is twenty-three.

On the whole it may be said that this manuscript is not in its original form. And apart from the pages replaced and inserted subsequently it would appear that Ibn Juzayy who is supposed to have written out the rest set his hand to writing at different times, with different pens, and in different moods.

The first page of this manuscript opens with the sentence, '*Qālā ash-Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Lawātī aṭ-Ṭanjī al-ma'rūf be Ibn Bāṭūṭa raḥimahullāh* (رحمه الله)', which tends to show that before the manuscript in question was written Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was dead and that Ibn Juzayy outlived him. But I am inclined to think that the said first page has been subsequently inserted by some one else since at the end of the manuscript is found the following *écrit* of Ibn Juzayy.

> 'Here ends what I have abridged from the composition of Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad *ibn* Baṭūṭa; *may God exalt him.* (أكرمه الله) !'

It should be noted that the wish—may God exalt him (أكرمه الله)—is made only for a living person.

The *third* manuscript 2287 which is also shown as 909 bears an *ecrit* on the fly-leaf which I have had photographed[1] at the *Bibliothèque Nationale.* Its translation runs as follows:

> 'AN EXCELLENT BOOK FOR THE READERS REGARDING THE WONDERS OF CITIES AND THE MARVELS OF TRAVELS
>
> Praise to Allāh! this is the book of travels (*Reḥla*) of Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Baṭūṭa of Tangier: may Allāh have mercy on him! His timing is the first third of the 8th century or rather the beginning of the 8th century, the period of the Banī Marīn. And when he returned from his travels of the east to the west he found Abū 'Inān al-Marīn as ruler in the west. And he named the *Reḥla* as TUḤFAT UN-NUẒẒĀR FĪ GHARĀIB-IL-AMṢĀR WA 'AJĀIB-IL-ASFĀR —an excellent book for the readers regarding the wonders of cities and the marvels of travels.
>
> It was finished in the year 756.'

The pages in this manuscript as in others are numbered in European numerals. Particularly notable is the fly-leaf figure[2] 746 which should be

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[1] See plate VIII.

[2] This date is included in the plate mentioned above.

read as 756. It has been contended that the pagination is the work of some later European owner of the manuscript and that originally 'the folios of these manuscripts were un-numbered.' But I have reason to believe that the numerals then used in Morocco were of the European[1] form.

This is a complete manuscript, very clear and legible. The folios are worm-eaten in some places; for example on the top of the leaves from 37 to 58. But on the whole the manuscript is immune from deterioration. It has 203 leaves. The number of lines on each page is usually 28 and headings of new topics in the narrative are marked sometimes in black, sometimes in blue and often in red ink. The written part in each page is 8" long and 5" broad with a blank space of 6" at the bottom of every page; at the top there is similarly a blank space but no more than 3" wide. The closing words on the last page contain the phrase *Ibn Baṭūṭa raḥimahullāh* (رحمه الله) *i.e.*, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—may God have mercy on him!—a phrase which is used only for the deceased. It follows that this manuscript was written after the death of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. And M de Slane is of opinion that it is a copy of the seventeenth century A.C. I have compared its script with a specimen of *Maghrebi Schrift* as given in *Ahlwardt's Handschriften Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*[2] and also with the specimens given in '*Specimina Codicum Orientalium*.' I think M de Slane is probably right.

The *fourth* manuscript 2288 looks very old. It has been affected in parts by moisture and obliterated. Some pages bear on the margin corrections made by a different hand, for instance on page 7 and one-half of page 8 is torn and has been replaced by a blank paper. The page 93 seems to have been written by a different man or by a different pen. Its writing varies from that of the preceding pages of this manuscript. The script on pages 103, 104, 114, 115 and 116 and on many others is in certain places completely obliterated and these pages have been badly spoilt by moisture. The manuscript ends abruptly on page 159 and the last few pages are missing.

The *fifth* and last manuscript 2289 bears a seal together with a date—'19 Aout 1874'—on the fly-leaf. This is the date of the acquisition of the

[1] Smith and Karpinski, authors of the '*Hindu-Arabic Numerals*' maintain that the Arabs borrowed these numerals from the Hindus, and brought them to Europe. Mr. G. E. Hill of the British Museum wrote a monograph '*On the early use of Arabic numerals in Europe*' published in Arcoelogia in 1910. He holds that the Arab forms of the numerals came into Europe and that 'the earliest occurrence of a date in these (Arabic) numerals on a coin is found in the reign of Roger of Sicily in 1138............ These numerals were also introduced in northern Africa........... The Algerians employed two different forms of numerals in MSS. of the 14th century and.......... the Moroccans of today employ the European forms instead of the present Arabic' (Smith and Karpinski, p. 68).

[2] A. Asher & Co., 1899.

manuscript. The next page bears on the margin and in red ink an *écrit* which on being translated runs as follows:

> 'This manuscript was bought by one Muṣṭafā *ibn* Kochak 'Alī in the year 1236 and the price for it was duly paid.'

This is a complete manuscript well-preserved and beautifully written and it is comparatively free from omissions and mistakes. Its closing words when translated run as follows:

> Here ends the *Reḥla* called *Tuḥfat-un-nuẓẓār fī gharāib-il-amṣār wa 'ajāib-il-asfār* the composition of which was completed on 3rd *Dhilḥijja* 756 . . . . . . And the copyist Muḥammad *ibn* Aḥmad—may Allāh cure him of all ailments—finished it early on Saturday, 11th *Ṣafar* 1180.

It should be noted that all the above manuscripts have 'Baṭūṭa' and not 'Baṭṭūṭa'. But I was told by Sir Denison Ross, late Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, whom I showed a piece of this work that the popular form of 'Baṭūṭa' still in usage in Morocco was 'Baṭṭūṭa'; and he assured me that an ascertainment to that effect had been made.[1] Subsequently I found a confirmation of this in Brockelmann.[2] As in the case of 'Baṭūṭa' the said manuscripts have the name *Juzayy* without a *tashdīd*; in fact, it should be pronounced as Juzayy (جزيّ) like Somayy[3] (سميّ) with a *tashdīd* on the final letter. As for the suggestion[4] that 'Ibn' should be written as 'Ibnu' I feel it is inept, for it will not satisfy all the desinential characteristics of an Arabic noun.

'Juzayy' was his family title and 'Ibn Juzayy' his patronymic, while his own name was Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad. He belonged to the Banī Kalb tribe of Arabia although his ancestors had settled in Spain since 712/93. Later his grandfather Abul Qāsim Muḥammad *ibn* Juzayy by name was appointed tutor to Lisān-ud-dīn al-khaṭīb, the renowned minister of Muḥammad the *faqīh* or scholar king of Granada (1273/671—1302/701). His father Muḥammad *ibn* Aḥmad who died at Granada in 1341/742 in full enjoyment of his reputation as a scholar and author left behind three sons—Abū Bakr Aḥmad, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad and Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh. The second son Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad commonly known as Ibn Juzayy—the editor of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Reḥla*—was born at Granada in October 1321/*Shawwāl* 721. About 1343/744 when he was twenty-two he entered the service of Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yusuf[5] I, the seventh king of the Banī Aḥmar dynasty of Granada, and was appointed to a civic post which he held until two years after the death of his royal master (1354/555). He

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[1] Gibb, H.A.R.—*Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 2.

[2] E.I., II, p. 368.

[3] *Al-Qāmūs* (Calcutta) II, p. 1858. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, I, p. 245 (1843).

[4] J.R. As Soc., 1887, p. 393.

[5] This king commonly known as Yusuf I reigned from 1333/733–1354/755. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met him at Granada about 1351.

incurred the displeasure of the succeeding king Muḥammad V (1354/755—1359/760) who punished him severely. Smarting under a sense of wrong and cherishing a grievance against the latter, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Juzayy left Spain for Morocco where he was employed by Sulṭān Abū 'Inān Marīnī as literary secretary. This post he held right up to his death which is said to have occurred at Fez in October, 1356/*Shawwāl*, 757. He was a man of great parts and profound learning—a poet, a historian, a philologist, a theologian and a traditionist. And he is said to have written many works—one being *Kitāb-ul-anwār fī nasab-i-āl-i-nabī-il-mukhtār*—a study in the lineage of the House of the Prophet—which tends to show that he was a Shī'a or had leanings towards Shi'a belief. Besides he was an unrivalled calligraphist and is said to have surpassed Ibn Muqla, the famous Arab calligraphist. Such qualities and accomplishments as he possessed being then in request, Sulṭān Abū 'Inān Marīnī entrusted him with the task of arranging the *Rehla*—an event embodied in the following prelude from his pen.

'Among those who have come to seek abundant favours at this sublime court there is a certain *shaikh* and jurist Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad *ibn* 'Abdullāh *ibn* Muḥammad *ibn* Ibrāhīm of Tangier commonly known as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and as Shams-ud-dīn in the countries of the east—a truthful and reliable narrator and an explorer of countries. He travelled round the earth and overseas studying and gaining experience and contacted different and various peoples of Arab and non-Arab stocks. Then he set to rest his baton of journeys and arrived at this sublime court . . . The king showered on him favours to such an extent that he forgot his hardships of the tours and decided to undertake no more journeys being satisfied with the magnanimity and high generosity of this king. And His Majesty ordered him to dictate[1] an account of the countries he had seen, the anecdotes he could recall and the stories of the kings, scholars and saints he had met. Accordingly he dictated an account of his adventures comprising many wonders, as well as marvellous, charming and useful stories abounding in novelties.

This done His Majesty commanded the faithful and highly devoted servant of his—Muḥammad *ibn* Muḥammad *ibn* Juzayy al-Kalbī —to connect together the pieces dictated by Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh and to weave them into a composition highly beneficial and attractive and set the same off without deviating from the original. That is, I should bring it out enhancing its beauty and utility in such a manner

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[1] The words املى يملى used repeatedly in the text mean 'dictation' but not necessarily dictation from memory. And the fact that Ibn Juzayy acknowledges the writing and composition (تقييد) of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as the basis of the abridged *Rehla* shows that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa possessed his notes which he arranged and even amplified at Fez presenting finally the same as a composition.

that it might captivate every heart and prove illuminative, interesting and useful to all kinds of readers at all times and places.

I lost no time in carrying out the command and setting my hands to the task with divine assistance, I exhibited Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh's thoughts and ideas in clear and impressive language While doing so, often I kept intact the words and phrases in the same order as he had dictated without the slightest alteration And I reproduced all the anecdotes and stories which he had narrated without bothering myself about their accuracy since he himself had taken great care indicating the doubtful things and incidents narrated as dubious In order to heighten the merits of this book by virtue of its accuracy and orthography I have fixed the reading of the names of places and persons and have explained all the foreign words as much as I could lest their unusual shape should prove a stumbling block to the reader and lest attempts at explaining these through analogy should prove abortive '[1]

The following epilogue is also from the pen of Ibn Juzayy:

'Here ends what I have abridged from the *composition* of Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad *ibn* Baṭṭūṭa may Allāh exalt him! Let it not be hidden from men of intelligence that this man of learning is the great traveller of his age or the great traveller of Islām. He did not spend all his life in travelling through the world but stopped at Fez after prolonged journeys when he realized that His Majesty (king Abū 'Inān) -may Allāh exalt him beyond all potentates!--was the most philanthropic and generous of all and that he was particularly kind to the visitors and scholars And I for one consider it incumbent on me to offer gratitude to the Almighty God who enabled me at an early date to come over to this court and settle here—the royal court this Shaikh chose to indentify himself with after 25-year long travels . . .'[2]

THE REḤLA—A MINE OF HISTORY

The *Reḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is an abundant source of information for almost all kinds of history of the period covered by it. Such is the figurative sense of the term 'mine' in the heading. But the *Reḥla* is also a potential mine in the military sense inasmuch as it embodies explosive ideas —heart-rending stories of the torture and execution of the sufīs or saints and 'ulamā as well as stories of the devastation of Dehlī and the forced migration of the people—which blew up the empire of Dehlī six hundred years ago. This has been discussed in my book—*The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*. Here it is intended to emphasize the part which the *Reḥla* has played in unfolding (1) the institutions—judicial, political, social and military, (2) the postal system and roads, traffic and secret

[1] MS 2287, F 3; Def. et Sang., I, pp. 8–12

[2] MS. 2287, F. 206; Def. et Sang., IV, p. 449.

intelligence; (3) the men and ideas of the age of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq; (4) the agricultural produce and victuals; (5) the state appointments; (6) the court etiquette, durbars, royal processions and dinners; (7) the administration; (8) the trade and shipping; (9) the habits and manners; (10) the coins, weights and measures; (11) the music; and (12) the diplomacy.

(1) Institutions

(a) *Judicial*

It appears that in spite of the vagaries of personal despotism the judiciary maintained its position, and there are instances on record of the emperor's[1] habit of showing respect to the law and of his tendency to supervise and criticize the work of the judicial functionaries. Except in the rural areas where the Hindū inhabitants enjoyed a kind of autonomy under the chieftainship of the local Hindū officers, a *qāẓī* was found in every town or city even as far apart as Wārangal, Koil, Multān, Kamālpūr, Dehlī, Amroha, Cambay, and Sāgar; and the administration of the estates—gardens, almshouses and the like—owned by an individual passed on his death, in the absence of heirs, to the judiciary which was helped by the executive in the performance of its duties. Shortly after his marriage with the emperor's sister Amīr Saif-ud-dīn Ghaddā is said to have quarrelled with the chief usher (*pardadār*) and wounded him. The wounded usher demanded redress of the emperor who referred him to the *qāẓī*; the latter tried the case and pronounced judgment in accordance with which the guilty amīr was thrown into the jail for the night. This is one of the many instances recorded in the *Reḥla* of the help rendered by the executive to the judiciary. Another is found in the story of Mubārak Khān, a brother of the emperor, whom the latter had appointed and installed in the *hazār sutūn*[2] as a special adviser to the *qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*. When a suit was filed against any man of high standing who proved recalcitrant and refused to comply, he was hauled up by the bailiffs at the personal order of Mubārak Khān. Yet another instance is found in the functioning of the appellate courts which the emperor held twice a week in a special chamber in front of the *hazār sutūn* when no one except the *amīr-ul-ḥujjāb*, the *khāṣṣ ḥājib*, the *saiyid-ul-ḥujjāb* and the *sharaf-ul-ḥujjāb* could attend on him At the four gates of the chamber he had appointed four leading nobles commissioned to listen to and record the petitions of the aggrieved. If the first man at the gate disappointed the petitioner, he would go to the second and even to the third and fourth successively if need arose. In case none satisfied him he would go to the *qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*, and if disappointed by the latter he would proceed to the emperor. All the petitions thus received and disposed of by the said functionaries were reviewed by the emperor at night, and if he were convinced of negligence on their part he would rebuke them.

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[1] *I.e.* Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq

[2] See photograph, p. 57, *post*.

A similar process was followed in China and Egypt.[1] Says the *Masālik-ul-abṣār*, 'The *qān* of China has two great amirs who are vezirs—and all who hold the portfolio of ministry are called *jankam*; below them are two other amirs officially designated as *banjar*; next to them are two other amirs known ex-officio as *zujū*; subordinate to them are two amirs whose official title is *yujīn* and then comes the chief secretary (*rās-ul-kuttāb*). And every day the *qān* sits in the centre of a vast and spacious hall called *shūn* which means the court of justice. And the above-graded officers stand around him right and left in order and according to their respective ranks, and last of them and rearmost stands the *rās-ul-kuttāb*. As soon as a complainant makes a complaint and submits his petition, his papers are handed over to the *rās-ul-kuttāb*, who reads through the contents and hands over the file with his remarks to one of the nearest and juniormost amirs. The latter reads through the papers together with his colleague and both making a joint report pass the file to those next in rank and grade; thus the papers pass successively through the hands of all the amirs. And bearing the signatures and remarks of all of them the file reaches the *qān* who personally sifts the whole and issues a decree perfectly just, equitable, and precise'.[2]

In India also complaints were registered; but no registration fee was demanded of the complainant, nor was he required to employ a vakil to plead his case since no professional lawyers then existed in the modern sense. Immediately after a case was registered it devolved on the court to expedite the hearing and decide it. The plaintiff had not to pay for the service of the summons. When a Hindū filed a suit against the emperor the case was registered in the *qāẓī*'s court whence issued a summons against His Majesty and the latter attended. The *qāẓī* heard the case and pronounced in favour of the complainant a decree which His Majesty carried out immediately. Some Muslim complainants are also reported to have sought redress in the same way against the emperor who attended the court on all occasions. 'It was customary with me', says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa when acting as *qāẓī* in the Maldive islands, 'that whenever I sent for one of the party in a suit I sent him a blank or filled-in notice. As soon as he saw this he had to hurry to the court of justice, otherwise I would punish him.' A similar practice obtained in India.

A court of law was held universally in great esteem and trials held therein followed a definite and well-defined procedure. Great respect was commanded by the *qāẓī* While no one could enter his court without his permission or with arms on, those who entered bowed to him and stood

[1] The *Rehla* MS. 2287 F 12 See also Appendix M, p. 271.

[2] *Masālik-ul-abṣār fī mamālik-il-amṣār* (مسالک الابصار فی ممالک الامصار)—an encyclopaedia of geography, history and biography by Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad 'Abbās who died in 1349 A.C. The MS. 2325 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, from which the above extract is taken comprises a third part of the work dealing with Hind, Sind, the empire of Chingiz Khān and of his descendants as well as with the *qān* of China and the rulers of Turān or Turkistan and Irān.

respectfully. So did the emperor. Silence reigned in the court and no one was able to speak unless permitted. When Malik Tatar, a court official, took Amīr Ghaddā, the aggressor, along with the aggrieved to the *qāẓī's* court he said to the former on the way, 'Have you struck the usher? Say no.' His object was to suggest an argument of defence but Amīr Ghaddā was 'an ignorant and vulgar man'. He confessed his crime before the *qāẓī* saying, 'Yes, I have struck him.' Just at that time the father of the wounded man came and endeavoured to reconcile the parties; but Amīr Ghaddā did not yield. The endeavours of Malik Tatar to put useful arguments in the mouth of the culprit before the trial with a view to saving him tend to show that a court of justice worked then on certain lines and principles previously known to the people. Malik Tatar knew how the case would be taken up at the court and what procedure would be followed. He was sure that Amīr Ghaddā would have to make a statement, that he would have to answer questions and that his demeanour and answers would impress the *qāẓī*.

Apart from the standing courts of justice boards of arbitration were occasionally formed. When a quarrel arose at Amroha between 'Azīz Khammār the tax-collector and Shams-ud-dīn the governor, a board of arbitration was formed consisting of three members—Malik Shāh, Shihāb-ud-dīn and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

Evidently the judiciary (*dīwān-ul-qaẓā'*) was a very important institution which was not dependent on the executive for its existence; nor was it simply a branch of it. It was an indispensable organ of the political mechanism without which the life of the State was impossible; it was superior to kingship in a way. Similar was the case in the Maldive islands where the *qāẓī* ranked higher than the king. The *qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*, the head of the judiciary, was one of the busiest officials in the realm and enjoyed the emperor's confidence and esteem. In the course of his war with the 'ulamā, a stage was reached when Sulṭān Muḥammad was upbraided publicly and called a 'tyrant' by Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn. At that time the *qāẓī-ul-quẓāt* Kamāl-ud-dīn ṣadr-i-jahān was present. The emperor referred the matter to him and flung his sword before him saying, 'Prove me a tyrant as this man says and cut off my head with this sword.'

(*b*) *Political*

The *Reḥla* testifies to the fact that the order of 'ulamā was held sacrosanct throughout the Muslim world and that the *faqīh*, the *qāẓī*, the *khaṭīb*, the ṣūfī, and the *shaikh* were uniformly revered. They enjoyed sanctity and impunity and held sinecures. No Muslim ruler of India had yet thought of questioning their exalted rank and none had grudged them the dignity and benefits which they had hitherto enjoyed and considered their prerogatives. Sulṭān Muḥammad questioned all these and not only decided to assign work to the 'ulamā and to draft them into the State service but endeavoured to improve them and punished them ruthlessly in case of default.

By so doing he made a higher bid for the monarchy. He wished to combine in himself the jurisdiction of the king with that of the pontiff and to function as the first servant of his subjects like the early caliphs. He believed strongly in the supremacy of law and became passionately devoted to equity and assumed the title of *'ādil.*[1] He desired to see that all—whether it was the king or the 'ulamā—must bow to the law. He threw overboard all royal prestige and invited complaints against himself from the aggrieved—a practice which no Muslim king of India had previously followed and which was in consistency with that of the early caliphs. Sulṭān Muḥammad's attending the *qāẓī's* court and undergoing a trial reminds one of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī *ibn* Abī Ṭālib, who had attended the court of Qāẓī Shuraiḥ. Thus Sulṭān Muḥammad had set his hand to an uphill task, namely the restoration of the old system as it had obtained under the early caliphs.

The war with the 'ulamā, which was more political and economic than religious, has raised a very important issue—whether or not the monarchy of Sulṭān Muḥammad was a tyranny. The 'ulamā maintained that it was a tyranny; but the *Rehla*, which is the work of one of their own class, contains many instances of the sulṭān's benevolence. We are told that he adopted measures to relieve his subjects of famine and to help the poor and the needy. He was angry with Shaikh Hūd, the grandson of Rukn-i-'ālam[2] and the administrator of the hospice at Multān, because the latter had not spent 'sufficient money' to feed the poor. Another incident of kindred nature is found in the story of Shaikh Ibrāhīm, the *muqṭi'* of Dhār. This *shaikh* had erected a beautiful hospice (*zāwiya*) where he used to feed the wayfarers under the royal orders. After some years he attended the sulṭān and presented him the balance of thirteen lacs of tankas saying, '. . the public treasury is more entitled to it than myself.' The emperor disapproved of his saving the money and wondered why he had not spent the whole in feeding the poor. The emperor was kind to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa because when the latter was placed in a similar position at Dehlī he had spent liberally even from the reserve funds to relieve the poor. The news spread far and wide. Subsequently at Daulatābād one Malik Ṣabīḥ saw the emperor who enquired of him about the welfare of the people. 'Had there been,' said Malik Ṣabīḥ in reply, 'two such men as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa the people would never have felt the pinch of famine.' The emperor rejoiced to hear this and was pleased to send to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa a robe of honour

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was also a spendthrift. He was in the habit of spending beyond his means and not infrequently fell into debt. On one occasion the sulṭān warned him against this by quoting relevant verses from the Qur'ān and discouraged extravagance On another occasion the sulṭān made enquiries into the conduct of one Malik Mujīr the governor of Bayāna, and when found [illegible] the governor was arrested.

[1] *I.e.* just

[2] For the tomb of Rukn-i-'ālam, [illegible] as Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn, see p. 47, *post*

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that a collar was put round his neck and that he was taken in this condition into the durbar held at Bayāna. There he was made to sit in front of the vezir 'while the inhabitants put in black and white their complaints against him'. The sulṭān ordered him to reconcile the complainants and he did so by giving them money; after this he was put to death. For a similar reason the *qāẓī* and the *khaṭīb* of Kamālpūr had incurred the royal displeasure and were executed and a *khaṭīb-ul-khuṭabā'* was penalised.

It appears that the object of the much-talked-about punishments inflicted by the emperor was to inspire awe for the majesty of law and to create a general liking for truth, honesty, righteousness and morality as well as to fill every heart with disgust for vice, falsehood, corruption, bribery, misappropriation, high-handedness and extravagance. Similarly the object of his universal and unprecedented charity was to induce the people to rise to his standard of morality and ethics. Read in this light the *Reḥla* would appear to be an eye-witness account of Sulṭān Muḥammad's benevolent despotism and would militate against the theory that he was 'a tyrant bent on oppressing his subjects and exploiting the people for his own sake'.[1] And it should be remembered that he ruled with the co-operation and advice of his vezir and council—*arbāb-ud-dawla*.[2]

The *Reḥla* makes it abundantly clear that the vezir Aḥmad *bin* Aiyāz, who bore the title of Khwāja Jahān, enjoyed the emperor's full confidence, shared his responsibilities and participated actively in administration. He acted as his *alter ego* at all times and as his representative on ceremonial occasions and even as regent of the empire. Usually the vezir remained in the capital while his master was on the move; every time the royal master returned, it was the duty of the vezir to organize and accord him a formal reception. He also attended to the royal guests and the zeal with which he did so is attested by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The vezir also acted as head of the executive and supervised all the administrative departments at the centre and in the provinces. In addition to this he acted as an arbiter, and all disputes and quarrels of private or public character which arose among the amirs and other officials were referred in the first instance to him. He was an ex-officio member of the council which consisted largely of 'foreigners' and was summoned only at crises. It was summoned when 'Ain-ul-mulk had revolted at Sargadwārī (*Sargdvār*) and the emperor had thought of retiring to the capital for want of troops and ammunition. But Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muṭahhar-ul-auharī, a prominent member of the council, protested and urged that battle should be opened immediately. The emperor acted accordingly; still, the council was not much of a check on him. It was neither a constitutional body of advisers to whom the emperor had of necessity to refer important State matters, nor was it a cabinet with any collective responsibility in the modern cabinet sense. The *raison d'être*

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1 Cf. Elphinstone—*The History of India*, pp. 405–407 and R.F.M., pp. 153, 214.
2 See R.F.M., pp. 219, 223.

of the council was the Quranic verse *wa shāvirhum fil amr* (and ye consult them in affairs); it was an Islamic institution.

(c) *Social*

To a student of Indian social institutions the ***Reḥla*** supplies invaluable information by giving an eye-witness account of Indian women—Mahraṭṭa, Hindū, and Muslim—as well as of Indian tastes and the people's pleasures and sorrows. The Mahraṭṭa women impressed the Traveller by their physical beauty, Hindū women by their devotion and the performance of *satī* and the Muslim women by the pleasures of conjugal life. Every woman even in the Maldive islands used to go to her husband or to her son with a collyrium-case and with rose-water and perfumed oil after the performance of morning prayers. The latter applied the collyrium to his eyes and the oil to his hair and besprinkled himself with the rose-water. And the woman would never entrust to anybody else the serving of her husband; she herself brought him food and took away the plates, washed his hands and brought him water for ablution and massaged his feet when he went to bed. In the town of Hinawr and in many of the towns along the Malabar coast women who were beautiful and chaste and knew the Qur'ān by heart put on saris and each wore a gold ring in her nose. Similarly women in the Maldive islands and in India wore ornaments, but the Maldivians were much freer; so were the women in some parts of Sahara, Turkistan, Anatolia and Qipchaq. They observed no purdah. The Maldivian women did not cover their heads. Some wore a waist-wrapper which covered them from the waist to the foot while the rest of their body remained uncovered; others wore a shirt besides the waist-wrapper and they walked about freely in the bazaars and elsewhere. Their sisters in India lived behind the purdah because purdah was looked upon as a privilege and as a mark of great social distinction. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noticed the *dola*—a sort of palanquin—being used by men as well as by women; when used by women it was overhung with silk curtains. The performance of the marriage ceremonies was lorded over by women. At the royal palace Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noticed that Amīr Ghaddā, the bridegroom, was seated on a wooden platform; then his hands and feet were reddened with the henna powder and he was garlanded and entertained with a dance which was followed by the performance of other ceremonies—all these being lorded over by women. Then started a marriage procession from the royal palace and went up to the quarters of the bridegroom in the course of which some of the ladies rode on horseback and others went on foot. The procession passed through the highways and was regaled at the house of every amīr along the road. Then Malik Fatḥ Ullāh, an official, presented the ladies some gifts which they accepted, and the bride in her turn sent presents to the men who had attended the bridegroom in the procession. These marriage processions conjure up the funeral processions which materialized on the one hand under the *satī* processions and on the other under the Muslim mourning. Elucidating the

last-named Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says, 'There is a strange custom of gathering at the graveyard the third morning after the burial when the ground as well as the grave is covered with elegant and precious cloths and the grave is bestrewed with flowers and set off with lemon and orange boughs to which are affixed fruits, should they be fruitless. Then the Qur'ān is recited, each member of the audience taking a Part[1] separately. This done, the *qāẓī* delivers a sermon prepared for the occasion elegizing the deceased and offering condolences to the heirs and praying for the emperor. The whole assembly stands up showing respect to him and bows in his direction as soon as his name is mentioned. Then they sit down and all are besprinkled gracefully with rose-water and fêted with rose-scented sherbets. Last, but not least, betels are served, great importance to this service being attached and every member feeling obliged to the person serving. Should the emperor serve the betel, the service would be considered weightier than the bestowal of gold and robes of honour. When a person passes away his or her people abstain[2] from eating betel until the said day when the *qāẓī* or his deputy handling it offers it personally to the chief of the deceased's family who would eat it.'

There was similarity between the Hindū and Muslim womenfolk, the only distinctive mark being that the former had their ears bored while the latter had not. But their fate was common at the hands of the Mongol raiders who used to carry away Indian women indiscriminately.

The *Reḥla* also throws light on Indian fuel and toilet. 'For fuel they use firewood and dung, and for toilet they use in the first place sesame oil and in the second place fuller's earth with which they wash the hair and the body. Thus the body is refreshed and the skin softened and the hair acquires lustre and polish and grows in length. That is why the beards of the Indians are long.'

The *Reḥla* testifies to the practice of slavery then in vogue and gives the story of many slave girls as well as of those whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had acquired. He liked them immensely and always kept them in his company whether or not he had any[3] wives. The wives had to be divorced whenever he set out on long journeys, for they did not like to leave their native place; but the slave girls, who were charming companions, capable of inspiring genuine love and possessed distinctive qualities, could be taken along easily. Some of the Muslim slave girls knew the Qur'ān by heart and were good swimmers and riders; they lived a chaste life, performed the prayers and observed the fasts regularly. Similar was the case with the female musicians who performed their prayers regularly in the mosque and joined the congregational and *tarāvīḥ* prayers during the month of *Ramaẓān*.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes no secret of his private life and explains how freely he moved in society and how closely he mixed with different classes of Muslims and how easy it was for him to marry into respectable families.

[1] The Qur'ān is divided into 30 equal parts.

[2] This practice survives in part. [3] See p. lvii, *infra*.

Being himself a *qāẓī* he disposes of knotty cases of divorce with skill and ease and relates the story of his successive marriages, 'matrimonial contracts' and separations.

He inspires the imagination of the modern student of Indo-Muslim sociology and enables him to realize how far Muslim society has been affected in the course of the past six centuries. Neither divorce, which is deprecated, nor recourse to several matrimonial contracts which is anathematized, nor the company of slave girls, which is regarded as criminal, nor the smallness of dower (*mahr*)[1], which is held as unbecoming now, stood then as a barrier in the way of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. In his age the woman really enriched the life of man and made him cheerful and jovial. Whether he was in the camp or at the capital, whether he was at rest or on the move journeying through land or water, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was never without his wives and slave girls whom he ceaselessly studied and considered indispensable. That is one of the secrets of his strength and success, and that is why his *Reḥla* has been enriched with a wealth of detail about womanhood.

(*d*) *Military*

The *Reḥla* gives a vivid account of the recruitment of soldiers, archers and horsemen in the army—a task performed according to specific rules by every provincial governor. The governor of Multān was seen inspecting candidates for this purpose. When anyone desired to enlist as an archer in the army he was given a bow to pull and his salary was fixed according to the strength he displayed in pulling the bow. If he desired to enlist as a horseman he was required to drive his horse through a place and lift with his lance a ring which had been suspended against a small wall at some distance. In case the candidate wanted to enlist as a mounted archer he was required to gallop his horse aiming his arrow at the ball which was placed on the ground and his salary was fixed proportionately to his success in striking the target.

The *Reḥla* also gives an account of the military fortresses which lay at strategic points and on the highways throughout the empire. Two of these, namely the fortresses of Gwalior and Daulatābād Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited personally. He describes particularly the military fortress of Daulatābād which looked like a town and was hence called *kataka*. He describes also the part which such fortresses played in the course of aggressive and defensive warfare. Before opening the battle with the rebel 'Ain-ul-mulk the emperor made a close study of the neighbouring fortress at Kanauj which he fortified with a view to fall back on it in case of defeat, and he took great care to see that the said fortress should not fall into the hands of the enemy.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa personally witnessed the part which the horses and elephants panoplied in armour then played in war. He describes elephants

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[1] For the abortive efforts of Aurangzeb 'to abolish the demand and payment of extravagant sums as dower', see J.A.S.B., 1917, p. 47.

on the march with howdahs containing armed warriors on their backs and clad in a complete suit of armour in such a way as to present a picture of moving tanks on the field of battle. The elephantry thus formed the most important arm of the army besides other arms, namely infantry (*ar-rājil*), cavalry (*al-fursān*), archers (*ar-rumāt*), the naphtha firemen (*an-naffātūn*) and vanguards (*at-ṭalī'a*). Besides elucidating the part played by each of the above arms, the *Reḥla* gives an insight into the services rendered by the scouts and spies. The scouts went ahead of the main army in the course of every march studying the local geography and the path that had to be traversed. According to the information that they communicated the body of the army proceeded. Spies of both sexes were similarly employed to ferret out secrets from the enemy and the measure of success that the royal army secured in its campaigns and expeditions was due proportionately to the efficiency of the scouts and spies. The royal army on the move, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw and even joined, looked like a marching city since it contained all sorts of people with large camps containing every necessity and even luxury known to that age, besides small tents which served as moving bathrooms, drawing-rooms, kitchen and dining-rooms for the emperor and for other officers. Women also accompanied the army although Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has left the purpose they served to be conjectured by the reader. Presumably some were employed as nurses since every army contained a medical department (*dār-ush-shifā'*) besides a judicial and other departments. Perhaps others acted as sweet companions to the warriors serving the same purpose as military clubs do in the course of modern wars. Perhaps it was believed that the presence of women in the camp inspired men to come together to fight and fight well. Still, it may be inferred that women sometimes were a liability and had to be removed on pain of death under special orders at the time of danger. As for the *qāẓī* who functioned in the said judicial department it appears that his principal duty was to adjust the distribution of booty.

The *Reḥla* also bears testimony to the existence of an elaborate military code—the technique of offence and defence and that of laying siege to fortresses combined with the tactics making it possible for a smaller army to fight a much larger army with success. There was in force an elaborate system of manœuvring, marching, camping, transport and supplies. While transport was made through horses, mules, oxen and boats the supplies were arranged through permanent supply stores and moving commissariats. And the army was paid in cash for the most part, though in times of peace a part of their salary was withheld as security money. In times of war and invariably before the commencement of hostilities large advances of payment amounting to several months' salary were made.

The weapons of warfare were swords, daggers, bows, arrows, lances, javelins and slings; even siege machines like the catapult (*minjanīq*) and ballista (*'arrāda*) were commonly used. While catapults were large and so powerful that the blocks of stone 'which issued from them flew in a straight

line against the walls and penetrated right into them', the ballistas were much smaller and were preferably used when the larger machines could not be brought near the wall.

The emperor, who was a capable military leader, a strategist and a tactician, was the *de facto* commander-in-chief of the army and everything concerning war and peace was personally looked into and decided by him with the advice of the army department (*dīwān-ul-'arẓ*) which also administered all technical matters of detail. The emperor put the army in battle array on the field of battle. While he himself took his stand in the middle (*qalb*) the rest of the army was divided into the traditional five parts—right (*maimana*), left (*maisara*), vanguard (*muqaddama*), wings (*janāḥ*) of the right and left, and rear-guard (*sāqa*). In the course of the fight, while action on the part of the warriors in all ranks depended as a rule on the royal word of command, the emperor acted discreetly according to expediency. Occasionally he lay in ambush with a handful of soldiers leaving someone else in his own traditional place at the centre; then he would spring from his ambush at a psychological moment directing the mobile columns of his army from the left and right wings to move simultaneously and close on the enemy from behind. Still the emperor attended only the larger battles; in the case of smaller battles the command was entrusted to the local amirs and to those whom the emperor considered fit for the occasion.

Apart from the bulk of the army at the capital which was directly under the control of the emperor or his vezir, every amīr at the centre as well as in the provinces had special detachments of his own for the upkeep of which he was personally responsible. Such detachments were formally displayed by the respective amirs at the metropolis as well as in the provincial capitals on special occasions, and all were placed at the emperor's disposal at the time of war. One such amīr Malik Qabūla by name is reported to have spent thirty-six lacs of tankas annually on the upkeep of his detachments. He maintained and played military music on special occasions—a privilege which subject to rules some other amirs also enjoyed Further, all able-bodied men wore arms and each man was seen wearing two swords so that if one failed the other should work. Evidently the State did not want to kill the traditional militarism and swordsmanship of the Indians by disarming them.

(2) Postal System and Roads, Traffic and Secret Intelligence

The *Rehla* describes the postal system, which comprised two kinds of posts—the horse-post and the foot-post—as well as the roads which ran from the capital cities of Delhi (*Dehlī*) and Daulatābād in different directions. There was a network of these all over the country; and all parts of the empire were interconnected by means of the intersecting roads, which were well constructed with stones and presented a smooth surface. They were not mere pathways unable to bear the strain of the

ceaseless and heavy traffic of goods and passengers—oxen being used for purposes of transport of goods and loads, and vehicles and ponies as public conveyances—and unable to accommodate the plantation of trees and the building of postal stations, of royal palaces and of the hospices and 'bains' along both sides. Else, the rain water overflooding the earthen pathways would have in no time destroyed the foundations of the adjacent buildings.

On entering India Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was stopped at the frontier outposts by the officers of the secret intelligence service, the customs officers and the news correspondents; and it was sheer luck that his heavy luggage escaped their scrutiny and search. In this way all foreigners were stopped and searched and details about them including the object with which they had come to the country were reported to the emperor and until the royal permission was secured they had to wait.

The *Reḥla* bears testimony to the efficiency of the secret intelligence service that functioned well throughout the country. As a result, all the occurrences whatever their nature and description as well as the actions and affairs of the inhabitants were regularly communicated and reported from all parts of the empire to the central government at Dehlī and to the emperor personally wherever he might be. Even the private conversations held between friends in the houses or in the streets were reported and recorded. But for this, it would have been impossible for the emperor to control the recalcitrant amirs and the provincial governors in his far-flung empire. It was through this that he got timely information about the outbreak of rebellions and the plots and conspiracies of intending traitors and scheming officers.

(3) Men and Ideas of the Age of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq

The *Reḥla* describes seven great potentates of the world during the age of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq, namely (1) the king of Morocco, (2) the king of Egypt and Syria, (3) the king of 'Irāq, (4) the king of Sarāi and Qipchaq or the khān of the Golden Horde, (5) the king of Turkistan and Transoxiana, (6) the emperor of India, and (7) the emperor of China.

The men may be divided into two principal classes—*the laity and the clergy*. Some of the prominent *laity* were 'Alā-ul-Mulk Māhrū, 'Alā-ul-Mulk Faṣīḥ-ud-dīn, Amīr 'Abdullāh of Herāt, Amīr Bughā Turkī, Amīr Toghān, Amīr 'Alī Tabrīzī, Amīr Halājūn, Amīr Muḥammad Haravī, Bahzād governor of Multān, Kishlū Khān, Khudāwandzāda Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn, Khaṭṭāb Afghān, Malik Ibrāhīm Banjī, Nāṣir-ud-dīn Tirmidhī, Qaṭlū Khān, Shāhū Afghān, Shams-ud-dīn Tabrīzī, Shaikh Ibrāhīm of the Maldive islands, Shaikhzāda Isfahānī and Shaikhzāda of Nehāvend. And the prominent *clergy* were 'Afīf-ud-dīn Kāshānī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Kamāl-ud-dīn 'Abdullāh-al-ghārī, Majd-ud-dīn Qāẓī of Shīrāz, Shaikh Maḥmūd Kabbā, Shaikh 'Alā-ud-dīn Nīlī, Shaikh Ṣadr-ud-dīn Kuhrāmī, Shaikh Hūd, Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn Multānī, Shaikh Muḥammad 'Uryān, Shaikh Quṭb-ud-dīn

Haider, Shaikh Zahir-ud-din Zanjānī, Shaikh Mu'in-ud-din of Bukhārā and Shaikh 'Alā-ud-din Maujdaryā of Ajodhan, who was also known as Maulānā 'Alā-ud-din.

Some of the relations of the emperor noticed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa were Bahā-ud-din Gurshāsp, Bahrām Khān, Fīroz Khuanda, Mas'ūd Khān, Mubārak Khān, Maḥmūd, Malik Fīroz, Malik-ul-ḥukamā, Mughīs-ud-din, Ibn Malik-ul-mulūk, A'ẓam Malik Bāyazīdī, Saif-ud-din Ghaddā, Sharaf-ul-mulk Amīr Bakht, 'Imād-ud-din Simnānī, Ibn Shaikh-ul-Islām, Ibn Ṣadr-i-jahān of Bukhāra and Ibn Malik-ul-'ulamā

The *Reḥla* embodies many ideas expounding (i) the Islamic conception of greatness, service and brotherhood; (ii) the time-honoured belief in the gifts of saintly life, (iii) the hold of the jogis and their art; (iv) the charm of royal favours and town life; and (v) the psychology of the Hindus and Musalmans.

(i) *The Islamic conception of greatness, service and brotherhood*

In the very beginning of the *Reḥla* prominence is given to the attitude of the government towards the newcomers in these words:

> 'When the newcomer reaches Multān, the capital of the province of Sind, he stops there till the issue of the royal orders for his coming and entertainment **There every person is honoured according to his deeds and conduct and ambition, no consideration whatever being paid to his descent and parentage.'**

This is the conception of greatness according to Islām which recognizes *character, not heritage—and knowledge, not wealth*—as the criterion of greatness.

It was believed that human life should be disciplined for the service of God and man and that a Muslim whose life was undisciplined and who failed to perform his duties to his fellow creatures and the Creator should be outlawed. In one of the mosques in Turkistan, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa witnessed a large whip hanging from the roof of the hall of the mosque for whipping those who had failed to attend the congregational prayers. In the same spirit Sulṭān Muḥammad is reported to have acted when, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, he killed nine persons for neglecting the congregational prayers. It was believed that the whole Muslim world was knit together by ties of brotherhood, common civilization and culture and that the nerve-centre of Islām lay in the countries of Arabia, Egypt, Africa and Īrān whence streams of Musalmans—men as well as women—poured forth into India And the ideas they engrafted gave a new tempo to life in this country

(ii) *The time-honoured belief in the gifts of saintly life*

The *Reḥla* contains sketches of the saints whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found living in every town of India and even at some villages and places not easily accessible. They led a model life, possessed supernatural gifts and exercised a wholesome influence on all the people including the emperor,

who is said to have drawn inspiration from one Shaikh 'Alā-ud-dīn Mauj-daryā[1] of Ajodhan—'his spiritual guide'. It appears that these saints had not only won the hearts of the Musalmans but also of the Hindus, who learnt from them lessons in piety, abstemiousness, self-control, internal peace and communal harmony. The Hindus had reconciled their mutual differences among themselves and 'there was absolutely no dissension among the twelve Hindū rulers in the country of Malabar (*Mulaybār*)'; the same was true of the Hindū chiefs in other parts. In Ma'bar some Hindus impressed Ibn Baṭṭūṭa more than the Musalmans. On his arrival there, when he wanted to attend the durbar of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn, king of Ma'bar, he was embarrassed since he possessed no socks; and under the rules no one could attend a royal durbar without socks on. Seeing this, a Hindū advanced and offered him his own socks while the Musalmans continued watching and did not help the stranger in his plight.

(iii) *The hold of the jogis and their art*

The people were inclined to believe in magic, charms and enchantments; and the jogis and kaftars, as the male and female magicians were respectively called, plied a trade. While the kaftars were not popular, the jogis had adapted themselves to the understanding and taste of all. They were admired and appreciated by both Hindus and Musalmans; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates interesting stories testifying to the fascination they exercised on his mind. The secret of their success probably lay in the fact that the jogis knew how to treat a diseased body, and their successful treatment of certain incurable diseases and disorders of sex brought them cheap popularity.

(iv) *The charm of royal favours and town life*

The *Reḥla* testifies to the charm of titles and worldly honours which were conferred by the emperor on distinguished visitors and persons of recognized merit. The titles granted were these—A'ẓam-malik, Quṭb-ul-mulk, Ṣiqat-ul-mulk, 'Alā-ul-mulk, 'Ain-ul-mulk, Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ, Khān-i-a'ẓam, Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk, Khān-i-jahāṅ, Khwāja Jahāṅ and Badr-ud-dīn; and the grant of a title was usually accompanied with a jāgīr and a stipend. Some of the title-holders employed at the court were also granted a monthly salary, and such favours were renewed from time to time. The gifts which the emperor was known to confer on the foreigners at his court had given rise to a regular trade. A newcomer was required to make a present in the hope of obtaining access to the durbar. When the present was accepted, the emperor gave in return gifts worth several times more. Impressed by this, the merchants used to advance loans of thousands of tankas to the newcomers providing them thus with all that they needed in the form of riding animals, equipments and goods. Subsequently when they were rewarded lavishly by the emperor they were able to repay their debts and honour their pledges. In this way the merchants made enormous

[1] See p. 20, footnote 4, *infra*.

profits and plied a profitable trade. The *Rehla* is full of the glowing accounts of this as well as of the attractions to the court and the town life. The delicacies served at the tables and the ceremonies which were performed in the course of the dinners tend to show that the standard of living among the Musalmans was high; in fact the life of the average Musalmān of those days was not the austere life of a puritan. As for the Hindus, if their traditional hoards [1] and affluence [2] and the prosperity which the country on the whole enjoyed are taken into consideration it will be difficult to resist the conclusion that their life too was gay. And the Hindū aristocrats enjoyed themselves in the Tarababads. Convivial gatherings and parties were held, sumptuous dinners were given, exhilarating drinks were indulged in, and humorists and musicians were in request, and pleasure-houses like the Tarababads of Dehlī and Daulatābād were the favourite resort in which men of wealth irrespective of caste and creed were entertained. These Tarababads were ideal recreation centres tastefully decorated and furnished with dining-rooms and shops containing inner apartments with a cradle on which sat or lay the female singer decked out in all kinds of finery while her female attendants swung the cradle, as well as with markets containing a large cupola lavishly carpeted in their midst in which sat the head musician in the evenings while the female singers came in successive batches before him and danced. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noticed one of the Hindū rulers alighting at the cupola every time he passed by the market-place and the female singers thronged to sing before him. Then followed other urban amusements including a horse dance. A horse clothed in silk and wearing gold ankles and brocaded silk reins and tiara was brought, and he danced to the tune of songs which were sung. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa witnessed this kind of dance which highly amused him at the royal palaces of Dehlī and Sumatra.

It should be noted that the wealth of India which the said class of title-holders acquired was spent inside the country. One Shihāb-ud-dīn of Shīrāz who had attempted to take his Indian wealth abroad lost his all and met with great misfortunes. This is confirmed by the contemporary evidence which says:

> 'Rarely is a man able to carry from this country the riches he has obtained; and when at last one manages to carry them to a foreign country God afflicts him with some misfortune which destroys his possessions.'

(v) *The psychology of the Hindus and Musalmans*

In spite of the fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was an orthodox Muslim and an Arab fit to be classed with the highest order of the 'ulamā he took great interest in the Hindū folk and studied their psychology. He did not like those of the Hindus who were confirmed rebels and lived by plunder in the mountains and valleys. He encountered these in the desert of Sind, in the vicinity of Koil and at several other places and was robbed and tortured

[1] *M.A.*, Aligarh, 1943, pp. 60-63.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 21, 22, 32, 39.

by them, and escaped with great difficulty. But he liked the law-abiding Hindus who lived in the towns and villages as subjects under Muslim protection and occupied localities of their own inhabiting regions adjacent to those of the Muslims. They pursued peaceful vocations, and have been described as physicians, astrologers, agriculturists, traders, capitalists, money-lenders, jewellers, contractors, accountants, clerks, revenue officers, soldiers, swordsmen, archers and warriors. Not disarmed, even after they had been conquered, they continued their exercises with their favourite arms, particularly the sword, with the result that they became famous for their swordsmanship. Large numbers of Hindū swordsmen who were always available were recruited in the State army and very often in the private levies of the rebel princes[1] and governors[2] at short notice.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa liked the law-abiding Hindus further for their devotion to the principles of their religion. He mentions the Brahmins and Kshatriyas (*Katrī*) among the high class Hindus who abstained from animal flesh and fat and lived on rice, vegetable and sesame oil. They bathed before eating and did not marry their relatives except when they were in the seventh remove. They did not drink wine, which they regarded as the worst of vices, and had like the other castes great regard for the cow. Even Khusrav Khān[3]—a Parwārī outcaste—resented the slaughter of cows and punished the slaughterer by sewing him up in the hide and burning him. A Muslim saint in Ceylon who is said to have slaughtered a cow was, however, treated with some consideration. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who seems to have had great regard for Hindū sentiments, not only narrates instances of this kind without comment but also enables his readers to realize the great respect in which the cow was held since those on sick-bed drank[4] its urine and were cured, and with a similar objective the houses and its walls were plastered with cow-dung.

In the same sympathetic spirit he has studied the Hindū devotion to the sacred waters of the Ganges and has removed a great misunderstanding, for some modern writers would have us believe that the Hindus under Muslim rule were occasionally so pestered that they gladly committed suicide by throwing themselves into the Ganges.[5] In fact, the Hindus threw themselves voluntarily into the Ganges and every Hindū would make it clear before taking the jump that he was doing so not on account of any earthly oppressions, afflictions or poverty but that his sole aim was to attain salvation thereby.

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[1] & [2] In his account of the rebellion of Malik Chhajjū against Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, Ẓiyā-ud-dīn Baranī says, 'The rawats and paiks of Hindustan (*i.e.* Hindus) flocked around him like ants or locusts, and the most noted of them received betel from him and promised to fight against the standards of the sulṭān' (*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, Bib. Ind., p. 182). The same was true of the troops raised by Bahāud-dīn Gurshāsp, by Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Bahādur and by 'Ain-ul-mulk Māhrū in the course of their respective rebellions against Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq (*The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 143–145, 147, 151).

[3] See R.F.M., pp. 82–83.

[4] MS. 2287 F. 124.

[5] cf. Smith, V. A.— *The Oxford History of India*, p. 230.

Light is also thrown in the *Reḥla* on the time-honoured psychology about untouchability and illustrations are given from the conduct of the Hindū watermen, in charge of the wells along the Malabar roads, who made invidious distinctions between their co-religionists and the Muslims while giving water to drink. Besides, Muslims were not allowed to enter a Hindū house and to use 'Hindū utensils'. Regarding this point Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says in the course of his observations on Ceylon—'When I entered the island of Ceylon I found that the inhabitants who were infidels respected the Muslim fakirs, gave them shelter in their houses and fed them. And these fakirs remained amidst the families and children of the infidels of Ceylon unlike the infidels of India who would neither admit them in their houses nor give them food and water in their own utensils, though they would not hurt and insult them. Occasionally we were compelled to ask some of the infidels of India to cook meat for us They used to bring it in their own cooking pots and to sit at a little distance from us; they used to bring also leaves of banana tree upon which they placed rice—their principal food—pouring over the rice broth called *koshān* and subsequently they withdrew. Then we used to eat it, and whatever remained would be eaten by the dogs and birds. If any innocent child happened to take anything from that remnant they would beat him and compel him to eat cow's dung which according to their belief purifies' But the Musalmān on the contrary had no objection to accepting the eatables made and offered by the Hindus It would appear that the Muslims welcomed opportunities of mixing with the Hindus and did not like to be treated as untouchables, and in the hope of gaining this consideration they were prepared to waive all claims to superiority. They welcomed the Hindus into their society if the latter cared to join it, but abstained from coercing them into the fold of Islām If any of the Hindus embraced Islām of his own accord, he was taken to the emperor who clothed him in fine garments and awarded him gifts according to his status

For the Hindus and Muslims alike religion was, however, a heritable commodity and the majority of the people had no thoughts to bestow on the matter. While the Hindū observed scrupulously the rituals which formed for him the essence of his religion the Muslim whose religion was something more than a mere collection of rituals was not so particular about their observance Still the rulings of the *sharī'at* were enforced in Muslim society and the government endeavoured to improve the morals. For instance, the emperor desired to transform the so-called Musalmans into true believers by forcing them to attend the congregational prayers. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself acted in the same way when subsequently he became a *qāzī* in the Maldive islands. He observes:

> 'I pressed for the saying of congregational prayers and ordered that men should hurry through the streets and bazaars after the Friday prayer in order to bring to book those who had not attended the Friday service. If a Muslim were found guilty of drinking wine he was chastised with eighty strokes of the whip and was incarcerated

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three months in the prison, which was not opened except to hand him the meals. In case of thieving a Muslim was punished with amputation of the hand and in certain cases of adultery the parties were stoned to death.'

Consequently, few instances could be seen of indulgence in wine, theft and adultery and Musalmans of practically all classes were found saying the prayers and observing the fasts regularly. This was also true of the religious life at Dehlī where it was noticed that female singers performed the *tarāvīḥ* prayers and the number of women attending the regular prayers was large. The same was true of the male singers who walked the streets burdened with their respective prayer-mats, made ablutions, and stood up for prayer as soon as they heard the call of the muezzin. Nevertheless, there was no communalism whatever on either side; and the masses—Hindū as well as Muslim—believed in the fundamentals common to both the cultures. As a result saints and shrines of both the communities were commonly adored. As for the Muslims an inference may be drawn from the respect the emperor himself showed to the learned Brahmins, Jains and jogis; and as for the Hindus an inference may be drawn from their reported devotion to the Muslim saints. 'I set out,' says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 'to visit the tomb of the pious Shaikh Abū Isḥāq at Kāzarūn which lies at a distance of two days' journey from Shīrāz. This *shaikh* is held in great esteem by the inhabitants of India......' Furthermore, the city of Hīlī was equally revered by the Hindus and Muslims; also the grand mosque of Hīlī was held in common reverence.

Whatever the causes and factors underlying their psychology, it appears that some of the Hindus of those days had attained a very high degree of humanity and culture. They abstained from laying their hands on any movable or immovable property which was found to have been without an owner, and whenever any such property was found the details were communicated to the intelligence department thus enabling the government to take the matter up. The Hindus were also charitable and were found building the *bā'īn* along the roads for public use and laying out gardens No wonder if in that age an extraordinary man, named Kampīla and commonly known as 'Rāi Kampīla,' arose who sacrificed his life and property besides the lives of his dear ones for the sake of his Muslim guest—Bahā-ud-dīn Gushtāsp, a rebel prince. Flying before the royal pursuers Bahā-ud-dīn Gushtāsp had sought shelter in the Rāi's dominion and the fortress of Kampīla was besieged. When the Rāi was reduced to dire straits he resolved to die and lose his all in order to save the life of his Muslim refugee. He sent him under escort into another Hindū state and then freeing himself from all worldly trammels he made a desperate attack upon the enemy and fell fighting.

(4) Agricultural Produce and Victuals

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa evinced great interest in the Indian trees, fruits, grains and dishes—*e.g.* (*a*) the mango, the *jumūn*, the *mahwā* and the betel; (*b*)

the *shaki*, the orange, the grape, the *kaserā*, the pomegranate and the coco-nut; (c) the *kudhrū*, the *shāmākh*, the *lōbia* and the mote; (d) the *samosa*, the *sābūnia*, the *khishtī* and the *hāshimī*. And he describes almost all the agricultural produce and victuals in a colourful language which is not incorrect. For instance, in regard to the mango he observes that 'no other tree casts a bigger shadow' and that 'its shadow is unhealthy and whoever sleeps under it is seized with fever.'

Regarding betel he says, 'The betel is a plant which is grown like the grape-vine. They make for it a cane trellis as they make for grape-vine; else, they plant it in the neighbourhood of a coco-nut tree so that the betel should climb over it as is done in the case of the grape-vine and pepper Betel bears no fruit but produces instead leaves which resemble those of the blackberry, the yellow ones being the best quality. These leaves are plucked every day and are highly appreciated by the Indians. If on visiting his friends a person is presented five betel-leaves he feels as if he is given the whole world and its wealth specially if the presenter be an amir or an important personality And presenting a betel they consider as sublime and as signifying greater nobility than giving gold and silver. The way to use the betel-leaf is this: in the first place they take a little betel-nut which is something like the nutmeg and crush it tapering the sides into small pieces which are put into the mouth and chewed. In the second place they take the betel-leaf and pasting a little lime chew it together with the betel-nut As a result, the breath is made aromatic and bad smell disappears from the mouth [1] and it helps the digestion of the food and avoids harmfulness of water drunk against an empty stomach. Its chewing makes one cheerful and strengthens the powers of copulation. The Indian is accustomed to keep the betel by his bedside in the night so that whenever he is awakened of his own accord or by his wife or by the slave girl he takes some of these betel-leaves, which would remove whatever bad smell be in his mouth [2] I was told that the slave girls of the emperor and of the amirs in India did not eat anything beyond betel-leaves for this purpose'

In regard to the *shaki* he remarks that its fruit 'resembles large pumpkins with a skin like the hide of a cow' and that 'it is one of the best fruits in India'. Then, he notices three kinds of oranges—the sour, the sweet and the acidulous. The last one was very palatable and he liked it immensely.

Regarding the coco-nut he says, 'The coco-nut tree is one of the most wonderful trees. It is similar to the date tree and there is no difference between the two except that the former produces coco-nuts while the latter produces dates. The coco-nut resembles the human head. There is a semblance of the eyes and mouth on the shell. And, when it is green, its interior is like the brain and the fibres on the shell are hair-shaped. These are woven into cords which are used in joining up

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[1] Barbosa (p. 73) confirms this.

[2] This is still the practice.

the ship's planks instead of the iron nails and are also used in making the ship's ropes. The Indian coco-nut and particularly that which grows in the Maldive islands rise to the dimension of the human head. It is said that in the remote past one of the Indian physicians was near and dear to a king who had a vezir. The vezir had an enmity with the said physician. The physician said to the king, "Should the head of this vezir be cut and buried it would produce a tree bearing a large fruit which would benefit the Indians as well as the world at large". The king inquired, "And if the vezir's head does not produce the result you foretell?" "In that case", replied the physician, "you may do with my head the same that you did with his." Thereupon the king ordered, and the vezir's head was cut off. The physician took it, sowed a date-stone in its brain and 'treated' it until it became a tree which produced the Indian coco-nut. But this story is false; we have mentioned it because it is very well-known among the Indians. Among the properties of this coco-nut are the following: it strengthens the body, conduces to plumpness, adds to the ruddiness of the face and acts wonderfully in toning up the sexual powers. One of the marvels about it is that if cut while yet green one could drink its highly delicious and cool water which generates heat and acts as an aphrodisiac. After the water is drunk a piece of its crust is made into a kind of spoon by which the kernel is extracted, and this kernel tastes like a half-boiled egg and is nutritious. This formed my principal diet during my stay in the Maldive islands for a period of one year and a half. Another marvel about the coco-nut is that they make out of it oil, milk and honey. And the process for making honey out of it is this: the coco-nut cultivators called *al-fāzānīya* climb the tree morning and evening and extract the juice which is subsequently turned into honey and named *aṭwāq*. They cut out a fruit-bearing branch leaving the rump of it to the extent of two finger-breadths and suspend to it a small pot in which drips the juice from the cut-up branch. Were the pot suspended in the morning it would be attended to in the evening when the cultivator comes with two bowls of the said coco-nut shell—the first filled with water. And in the second bowl he throws the juice collected from the said branch and washes the branch with the water contained in the first. Then the branch is cut into more deeply and the pot is suspended to it again, and what was done in the evening is repeated in the morning. After a large quantity of the juice is collected it is cooked in the manner the grape juice is cooked, and when it turns into a thick juice it becomes an elegant honey of very great utility. Then it is purchased by the merchants of India, Yemen and China, and they carry it to other countries and make *ḥalwā* out of it. The process of extracting milk from the coco-nut is this: there is in the house something like a chair in which sits a woman holding in her hand a stick with a sharp iron end. The coco-nut is opened to the extent that the iron end should enter it scraping the inner parts which drop into a dish until nothing remains of the kernel of the coco-nut. Then the grounded stuff is dissolved into water which becomes white and tasty like

milk, and people grease their food with it. The process of making oil from the coco-nut is this: the ripened coco-nut having fallen from the tree is picked up. Then its shell is removed and it is cut into pieces and placed in the sun. When it is nearly dried, it is cooked in the pots and its oil is extracted. This oil is used for lighting purposes and for greasing the food, and women apply it to their hair and it proves highly useful.'

Regarding the grains, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says that the *kudhrū*, the *shāmākh*, the *lōbia* and the moṭe were not so commonly used as diet compared to the wheat, rice, barley, mūng and māsh; and that the moṭe was given as fodder to the animals. On the whole, he was impressed by the great abundance of the trees, cereals and fruits in India.

He admires the Indian *chapātī* describing it as 'loaves which were very thin' and appreciates the *parāṭhā* and the *sīkh kabāb* describing the latter colourfully as 'the roasted meat cut in such a manner that one sheep would yield from four to six pieces'. Then, he describes the 'murgh musallam' and recalls the Indian *samosa*—minced meat, cooked with almond, walnut, pistachio, onion and spices placed inside a thin bread fried in ghee—and the sweets known as *ṣābūnia*, *khishtī* and *hāshimī*.

These were some of the dishes at the table of the governor of Multān and the royal table at Dehlī which the Traveller attended. The royal table was much richer in every respect; but what impressed him most was the fact that the minimum of the victuals assigned to a visitor's meal did not fall short of flour, refined flour, meat, sugar, ghee, honey and betels and nut. And he remarks that 'raisins, almonds, figs and broad beans do not grow in this country and have to be imported.' This is not incorrect. In regard to the broad bean or *vicia faba*—a kind of *bākla*—De Candolle says that 'its introduction into India at least in the plains is quite recent'.[1] In regard to the raisins he observes that 'prior to the Muhammadan conquests... the various forms of raisins were, as at the present day, imported from across the northern frontier'.[2] Similarly melon was imported from Khwārizm. Says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 'The melon of Khwārizm is matchless in the world barring the melon of Bukhārā and that of Isfahān. Its skin is green and its pulp very sweet and solid. One of the beauties about it is that it is cut into slices which are dried in the sun and packed in baskets in the same way as is done in our country with cured meat and dried figs of Malaga (*Mālaqa*): and then the said melon is exported from Khwārizm to the farthest parts of India and China. It is the most palatable of all the dry fruits in the world. During my stay at Dehlī whenever any travellers came from Khwārizm I sent to them someone to purchase for me the dried melon. And whenever parcels of the said dried melon were brought to the emperor of India he used to send some to me since he knew how much I loved it. The emperor is always keen to favour the foreigners with the fruits of their respective countries in token of his affection for them.'

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[1] Watt, Sir George—*The Commercial Products of India*, p. 1107.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1112.

(5) State Appointments

The appointments were made subject to the approval of the emperor or that of his representatives in the different departments of administration and subject to the candidate's passing a certain test, and according to the measure of his success his salary was fixed. If the candidate happened to be a foreigner he had to sign a bond to the effect that he intended to stay in India and that he would not go back to his own country once he was appointed to a post in the Indian royal service. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had to sign a similar bond before his candidature for the post which he had desired was considered. On his way to Dehlī when he reached Multān he met the governor Quṭb-ul-mulk who was then making appointments in the army—a process which has been described elsewhere.[1] Such was the rule about recruitment into the infantry ranks; as for the cavalry the candidates were required to gallop their horses and simultaneously to strike with their respective lances the drum which had been placed at a certain distance in the field. They were also required to lift with their lances a certain ring which had been fixed against a wall, and those who succeeded in lifting it up were declared fit for enlistment and high award. As for the post of a mounted archer a test was held by placing a ball on the ground and the candidate was required to strike it with an arrow while galloping.

Some appointments were made apparently without a preliminary test. We are told that the emperor appointed one Khudāwandzāda Ẓiyā-ud-dīn to the post of lord justice (*amīr-i-dād*)—a post which was usually held by one of the principal amirs whose duty was to sit in the *qāẓī's* court and summon before him whichever amīr or principal official was sued. The emperor fixed the salary of Khudāwandzāda Ẓiyā-ud-dīn at 50,000 gold tankas per year and also assigned him jagirs yielding a revenue of an equal amount. For another post of head auditor-general (*nāẓir-i-ḥisābāt-i-khāṣṣ*) he selected another chief named Amīr Bakht, whose duty was to sit by the side of the vezir and examine the accounts of the various departments. He was assigned a salary of 40,000 gold tankas annually and a jāgīr yielding a revenue of an equal amount. Another man Hibat Ullāh al-Falakī was appointed secretary of diplomatic missions (*ḥājib*[2]*-ul-irsāl*) and he was granted the

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[1] See p. 14, *infra*.

[2] Also called *ṣāḥib-ul-irsāl* or *rasūldār*, his duty was to conduct negotiations between the home and foreign governments such as those which took place between the governments of Dehlī and Herāt culminating in the establishment of India's suzerainty over Herāt.

According to the *Reḥla* a popular sermoner of Herāt, Niẓām-ud-dīn Maulānā by name had joined hands with the leading inhabitants of Herāt and notably with its *khaṭīb*, Malik Warnā, to repress all indulgence in vice. Subsequently when they found Ḥusain, the king of Herāt, indulging in drink they spared him not and inflicted on him the specific punishment—*i.e.* forty stripes—inside the palace. Thus offended, king Ḥusain seized the earliest opportunity to get rid of both—Niẓām-ud-dīn Maulānā and Malik Warnā. Before long, the former was killed by a Turk whom his reforming zeal had drawn into hostilities with him. And the latter was sent out as an ambassador to Sīstān and afterwards forbidden entry into Herāt.

title of Bahā-ul-mulk together with a salary of 24,000 gold tankas annually and a jāgīr yielding a revenue of an equal amount. Similarly Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was appointed *qāẓī* of Dehlī with a salary of 12,000 gold tankas annually with two villages in the vicinity of Dehlī yielding a revenue of an equal amount. Before making these appointments the emperor had acquired personal knowledge about the candidates' antecedents and aptitude and had made sure about their respective merits, for this reason the formality of a preliminary test was dispensed with.

A few appointments were made in the cadre of royal service without the fixation of any regular salary. The candidates thus appointed were called *muqṭi'* and were placed in charge of some administrative units. For instance, one malik Hoshang who was appointed *muqṭi'* had the towns of Hānsī and Mas'ūdābād in his administrative charge and the town of Pālam similarly belonged to Saiyid Sharīf Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muṭahhar-ul-auhari.

(6) Court etiquette, Durbars, Royal processions and Dinners

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative of the palace gates, the durbars, the admission and presentation of visitors and of the royal processions enables us to know the court etiquette or ceremonial. At the three gates of the palace sat the trumpeters and clarion-blowers who announced the visitor by sounding the clarion, and the gate secretaries who sat on the platforms adjacent to the third gate saw that only those entered who had been permitted and had brought suitable presents. Then, the secretaries fixed the number of their attendants and recorded the same beside other details in their registers, which were perused by the emperor in the night.

For the durbār-i-'ām the emperor sat on a throne draped in white with bent knees [1] Before him stood in successive rows the vezir, the secretaries, the chamberlains and the house superintendent and his deputy with their respective staffs and the palace officers. After the emperor had occupied the throne, the chamberlains and palace officers called out *Bismillāh* in a chorus which was repeated and tuned differently to mark different

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Continued from the last page :

Chagrined at the trick thus played by his royal cousin—for king Ḥusain was the son of his uncle—Malik Warnā went over to India where in the province of Sind Ibn Battūta met him 'I found him', says the Traveller, 'an accomplished man with a genuine ambition for power and a strong desire for hunting, falcons, horses, slaves and attendants as well as for gorgeous robes befitting a king.. But a man of such tastes does not fare well in India. As for him the emperor made some consideration. He appointed him governor of a small town; but he was killed later by one of the inhabitants of Herāt then living in India on account of some girl. It is also said that the emperor of India engineered secretly his assassination on account of the machinations of king Husain, who for this reason acknowledged the emperor as his suzerain. And the emperor of India sent him presents and gave him the city of Bukkur in Sind whose annual revenue amounted to fifty thousand gold dinars' (Def. et Sang., III, p. 74) See also p. 11, *infra.*

[1] See photograph, p. 58, *post.*

stages of the functions, *e.g.*, the salute of elephants and the presentation of visitors; to announce each visitor the chorus was specially modulated rising just as high as his reputation. And the visitors were broadly divided into two classes—the foreigners and the local officials. The gifts which they brought were displayed at the court in each case with great punctilio, and the petty formalities observed in connection with the presentation kept a whole army of chamberlains, secretaries and palace officers busy for a considerable time. It was an unforgettable sight to see the officials presenting ceremoniously hoards of provincial revenues in the form of gold and silver bricks and utensils—bowls, ewers and the like; and for different kinds of presents different lines of procedure were laid down which were strictly observed. Unlike the durbār-i-'ām which was held daily, the 'Īd durbar was held twice a year and had some preliminaries and characteristics as follows.

Firstly, a procession was organized within the palace which was joined among other distinguished personalities by the *qāẓī-ul-quẓāt* and qazis, and comprised a parade of royal elephants, the principal elephant being mounted by the emperor himself; and before him marched slaves and palace officers clad in uniforms of gold. The troops were not allowed to join this procession until it had left the palace gates; even then they were preceded all along the route by the qazis and muezzins who shouted *Allāh-o-akbar*[1] intermittently. The relative position of the qazis and troops which was so noticeable in this procession—a prelude to the 'Īd durbar—was in consistency with the convention observed in all the other processions which were organized either to celebrate the emperor's return from his journeys or in connection with the hunting expeditions, precedence being uniformly given to the qazis over the troops. Some of the latter processions were joined personally by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who tells us that the qazis rode to the right of the sovereign in front of whom marched the guides; behind him were carried gold standards and drums mounted on the back of camels, and behind the camels were the royal slaves and the amirs with their respective troops. The same distinction was enjoyed by the qazis during the 'Īd durbar when they came in the front row and were the first to greet the emperor. Then came the orators who were followed by the 'ulamā, while the army chiefs presented themselves last of all. *Secondly*, the 'Īd durbar provided an opportunity to the jagirdars to display their allegiance to the throne and person of the emperor by making presents twice a year. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was impressed by the manner in which every landholder brought and presented some gold coins wrapped in a piece of cloth on which the latter's name was written. *Thirdly*, the 'Īd durbar was noted for the exhibition of the big throne and censer of gold, the performances of musicians and female singers, the marriages of the emperor's relatives, the manumission of the male and female slaves, the wedlock of those

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[1] *I.e.* God is the greatest.

amongst them who had still remained unmarried and the distribution of alms on a large scale.

Another important feature of the court ceremonial is presented by the institution of dinners, the scheme and objective of which is brought into relief when it is recalled that immediately after their arrival at the queen mother's gate, where the secretaries registered the visitors' presents, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and his party were asked to sit in a portico where food was served in gold utensils. A piece of cloth was spread on the floor and food was laid out in two rows in front of the visitors; then a bow performed, to mark the beginning of the dinner, was followed by choruses of '*Bismillāh*' which preluded the service of every fresh article on the menu. On a particular occasion after the dishes had been served on the floor, the palace officers stood up along with their chief, who made a discourse in favour of the emperor and bowed in his honour. Simultaneously all his staff and the visitors bowed; whosoever heard the discourse stopped instantly if he happened to be walking, and everybody listened in reverence

In the palace of Hinawr on the western coast dinner was served in what may be called modern or European fashion. The plates were placed on a large copper tray around which were installed chairs which were occupied by the guests. Hot rice, butter fat and pickles were brought in big pots the contents of which were served by a beautiful girl by means of a copper ladle. In this way four kinds of food were served in successive courses, the last being that of sweets amongst which the curded milk came in the end.

The service of curded milk after the meals was a common feature of the northern and southern dinners. 'When once it stands on the table', says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 'one knows that no further dishes are to follow'.

(7) Administration

The *Rehla* throws light on the position of two of the lowest administrative units—the ṣadī and the city (*madīna*)—affirming that the ṣadī was a collection of a hundred villages. And the mofussil of a city was divided into ṣadis, every ṣadī being placed under the charge of two Hindū officers, namely *chowdhrī* and *mutaṣarrif*. Both worked together and were responsible for the collection of dues and the maintenance of peace in the villages to an officer called *ḥākim*, and the latter in turn was subject to a still higher officer who was known as '*āmil* or *muqṭi*'. The *muqṭi*' who was a very important functionary was so called because he held the villages in his *iqṭā*' or administrative charge, which was not hereditary and was subject to transfer, the incumbent being entitled to one-tenth of the revenue accruing. His duties were similar to those of the revenue superintendent (*wāli-ul-kharāj*) mentioned indifferently in the *Reḥla*. The city was directly under the control of an amīr who might be described as 'commandant'. Such was the position of Faṣiḥ-ud-dīn 'Alā-ul-mulk, who held charge of the city of Lāharī in 1333/734. He was given no salary in cash but was entitled to receive one-twentieth of the

revenues; that is, out of the total sum of sixty lacs he received three lacs and the balance was forwarded to the provincial exchequer. At this rate, according to the *Rehla*, the emperor assigned the administration of cities to his officials who possessed troops of their own—a kind of local militia. Tāj-ud-dīn Ibn-ul-kaulamī, commandant of the city of Cambay, who held command of such a militia is said to have mobilized and brought it into the field when he revolted against his immediate officer, the deputy vezir.

Besides the administrative departments and the respective functionaries already mentioned, the *Rehla* describes the department of the officials' arrears (*dīwān-ul-mustakhraj*), which was created with a view to exacting the arrears from the recalcitrant officials under pain of corporal punishment; the head of this department was one of the ʻulamā, Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn by name.

The *Rehla* also describes other departments and functionaries in connection with the process of a royal grant and informs us *inter alia* that a royal grant was based upon a mandate called *khaṭṭ-i-khurd* [1] which was issued under the personal order and seal of the emperor, a chamberlain being entrusted with the delivery of it to the recipient. While delivering it the chamberlain would write his own name upon it, and subsequently other officials—keeper of the royal pen and paper (*kharīṭadār*) and keeper of the inkpot (*dawādār* [2])—would fix their respective signatures on the same. Then the document was taken to the ministerial department (*dīwān-ul-wizārat*) where it was copied. Afterwards, it was sent for registration to the control department (*dīwān-ul-ishrāf*) and the inspection department (*dīwān-un-naẓar*). This done, it was transformed into a *parvāneh* under the care of the vezir, who directed the treasurer to pay the specified amount. While the original *parvaneh* bearing the vezir's signature was sent to the treasurer, its copy was retained in the vezir's office and all relevant papers were sent *en masse* to the emperor immediately. Ultimately one-tenth of the total amount granted was deducted by the exchequer so that a grantee who should have received ten thousand tankas received nine thousand only.

Further, the *Rehla* acquaints the reader with a few other functionaries —the lord justice (*amīr-i-dād*), the inspector of the accounts (*mushrif-ul-muḥāsibāt*) and the news officer (*ṣāḥib-ul-khabar*). In every city a news officer was appointed and he reported to the emperor all the local incidents and events and furnished the central government with a list of newcomers. As soon as a visitor arrived, the news officer wrote whence he had come, noting his name, designation and dress as well as his companions and servants. Even his bearing, costume, habits and behaviour at the table and his virtues and vices—in fact all sundry things about him—were recorded, so that before his arrival at the royal court the emperor was well aware of him and showed him due favour. Under the news officer spies and

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[1] Literally 'small note'.

[2] See Appendix L, p 270.

reporters worked in different parts of the city; similarly female scavengers who worked in every house acted as secret informants.[1]

(8) Trade and Shipping

Koil was noted for its mango trees and Kanauj (*Qinawj*) for its sugar, which was found in abundance and was transported thence to Dehlī. Dnār (*Ẓihār*) had an abundance of wheat and betel-leaves which were exported to the metropolis. The town of Sāgar (*Ṣāghar*) was noted for an abundance of mango trees, bananas and sugar-cane Sirsa or Sarsutī (*Sarasatī*) produced a large quantity of fine rice which was exported to Dehlī. The city of Marh produced corn 'the like of which could not be had elsewhere' and was exported to different places including the city of Dehlī Along the coast of Malabar there was some trade between the islands of Hinawr and Fākanar which produced large quantities of pepper and ginger, and the islanders traded with the crews of the ships passing *en route*. The port of Quilon, which was one of the most beautiful places in Malabar, claimed many Hindus among its inhabitants who carried on a flourishing trade Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was highly impressed by the magnificence of this port and by that of Calicut; he counted these among the greatest ports of the world Speaking about Alexandria, which impressed him no less, he says, 'I have not seen among the ports of the whole world any equal to it excepting perhaps the ports of Quilon and Calicut in India' He was equally impressed by Aden and New Hormuz which had become known as 'Indian ports' and 'Indian marts' and have been described as 'centres of Indian shipping' Aden contained a colony of Indian merchants who lived there permanently and Indian ships sailed into it regularly from Cambay, Thāna, Quilon, Calicut, Fandaraynā, Manjarūr, Fakanar, Hinawr, Sandāpūr and Shāliyāt.

The town of Shāliyāt, seven miles south-east of Calicut, was noted for the local fabrics specially the *shāl* which was exported widely. Similarly the cinnamon wood of Ceylon was exported widely and particularly to Ma'bar and Malabar in exchange for cloth and sundry things. The Chinese cocks which were extremely big and looked like ostriches were taken to India Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw them at Quilon China porcelains, a speciality of Canton (*Ṣīn Kalān*), and beautiful bamboo plates, a speciality of Hang-chow (*Khansā*) were also taken to India Carpets were imported to India from Aksorai (*Aqṣara*) in Mesopotamia; finished garments of silk and velvet were imported from Nishāpūr; *ālūbukhārā*—a kind of prune or apricot—came from Wabkana in the vicinity of Bukhārā, and elephants were imported from Ceylon. Rice, food grains and cotton were exported from India to Dhofar (*Ẓafār*) and Qalhāt south of Oman; further Indian merchandise including wares were exported to Hormuz and Jarawan and thence to Arabia, Mesopotamia, Khurāsān and the rest of Irān.

[1] For further study of the Administration in this period, see *R F M*, pp 219–231

Perhaps the most important of all the trades was the horse trade in which the Hindus were particularly found participating along with the Muslims. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa affirms that horses of good breed from Dhofar (*Ẓafār*), Qipchaq, Crimea (*Qiram*) and Azov are sent to India in thousands, each merchant bringing in droves of two hundred or more. 'The horse merchants,' says he, 'pay a duty of seven silver tankas (*danānīr*)[1] for each horse on entering Sind at Shashnaghār (*Shashanqār*). Then they pay a further duty at Multān, the capital of Sind. Formerly they had to pay one-fourth of the value of their imports but the emperor of India, Sulṭān Muḥammad, abolished this tax and ordered that *zakāt* be taken from the Muslim merchants and *'ushr* from the infidels. Still the margin of the merchants' profit in this trade is very high because in India even the most inferior type of horse sells for a hundred silver tankas (*dīnār darāhim*), that is for twenty-five gold dinārs in Moroccan money; and often it sells for double and treble this price. An excellent horse sells for five hundred silver tankas (*dīnār*) or more. The Indians attach importance to the strength of the horse and the length of its steps They cover their horses with armour; and themselves they wear coats of mail at the time of war. Hence these horses are not purchased for swift driving and racing purposes. The horses required for racing are imported to India from Yemen, Oman and Persia; and each such horse is sold at a price ranging from one thousand to four thousand silver tankas (*dīnār*).'

It should be noted that the above injunction to realize *zakāt* from the Muslim merchants and *'ushr* from the Hindus was no more than a conventional difference in nomenclature. In fact, *'ushr* was not always a tax of one-tenth; it was reducible to one-twentieth and even to one-fortieth. As such it was no heavier than the *zakāt*. And Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was impressed by the emperor's generosity in ordering the abolition of high exactions for *all*. Formerly there had obtained in India something like the oppressive Chinese practice of confiscating all undeclared and smuggled goods along with the ship and in that case the guilty person had to pay 'elevenfold taxes'. But Sulṭān Muḥammad also 'abolished this tyranny when he abolished the oppressive tolls on merchandise'.[2]

Shipping was a State concern as well as a private business, and ships were built and owned by the State and individual merchants alike. The State ships were used by the emperor for personal and political purposes as well as for the transport of goods in the interest of his subjects. Individual merchants plied the ships through the rivers and along the coasts at their own risk for purposes of private trade. The ship-owner Ibrahīm of Gandhār (*Qandahār*) and Ḥasan as well as 'Umar, Miṣqāl, Tāj-ud-dīn Ibn-ul-kaulamī and Ilyās were some of the ship-owners and merchants whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa knew personally besides the Hindū merchants and rulers of Gandhār, Fākanar and Ceylon who were strong at sea and possessed many

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[1] *I.e. dīnār darāhim*.

[2] See pp. 12, 84, *infra* and Def. et Sang., IV, p. 265.

ships. It was at the port of Gandhār and in the ship of Ibrāhīm that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa embarked for China. Besides this ship which was named *jākar* he engaged two others—*manūrt* and *'ukairī*. *'Ukairī* was a kind of long, pointed, low, uncovered war-ship which could be propelled by sails as well as by oars. It carried sixty oars and could be covered with a roof at the time of war.

The Arabian Sea through which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed from Gandhār was then dominated by the Abyssinians. They are described in the *Reḥla* as 'lords of the sea' and 'custodians of private trade' capable of warding off the Indian pirates. Still, these pirates attacked and robbed many a merchant, *e.g.*, two foreign visitors of India, namely Shaikh Sa'īd and Ḥājī Washlī who had set out from India with an enormous amount of wealth and merchandise. When they reached the island of Socotra the Indian pirates sailing in many boats assailed them and a furious battle took place with many casualties on both sides. Ḥājī Washlī being an archer killed many of the enemies. Eventually, however, the pirates got the upper hand and wounded Washlī with a thrust of the lance. They seized all the wealth of their victims sparing them only their boats and provisions so that they reached Aden where Washlī died. It is reported in the *Reḥla* that these pirates do not kill anyone except in the midst of a battle, nor do they drown their victim. They seize his goods and then allow him to proceed in his own boat to any destination he likes, and 'they do not seize the slaves since they spring from their own stock.'[1]

Among the ship-owners and merchants mentioned above, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa considered Tāj-ud-dīn Ibn-ul-kaulamī whom the emperor had appointed commandant of the city of Cambay as important as the said Ibrāhīm. His ships plied along the coast of Malabar and went up to Ceylon while other Indian ships got as far as China, Yemen and Persia and often visited the harbour of Calicut *en route* to Hormuz and Qaṭīf. The Chinese ships bound for India also called at Calicut and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noticed thirteen of them anchoring there. He also found one hundred ships of Ceylon lying on the coast of Ma'bar. On the coast of Malabar, Hinawr was the most reputed centre and an emporium of trade and shipping; and to Jamāl-ud-dīn, the ruler of Hinawr who was very powerful at sea, the inhabitants of Malabar sent an annual tribute. He also owned war-ships and was seen fitting out fifty-two of these in order to prosecute the war against Sandāpūr. Ships were built at Sandāpūr; and of the various kinds of vessels which have been attributed to it mention may be made of two—'*ukairī* and *ṭarīda*. *'Ukairī* has been explained above, while *ṭarīda* was a kind of ship built in such a way that one could mount a horse and ride inside and then come out riding after putting on one's armour. The coast of Ma'bar was dominated by Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn of Ma'bar, who was strong at sea and possessed war-ships. In regard to Fākanar

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[1] *I.e.* class or brotherhood.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa informs us that its Hindū ruler named Bāsdeo possessed thirty war-ships the commander of which was a Muslim called Lūlā.

(9) Habits and Manners

The *Reḥla* illustrates Indian habits and the points of Hindū-Muslim social contact which had acquired the force and sanctity of custom, and testifies to the similarity of dress by saying that it was customary with both Hindus and Musalmans to wear white clothes. It was also customary to cover the cushions and blankets with white covers of cotton and linen, to use tent-enclosures while camping and to carry cots while travelling—the cots being light and portable. The manner of realizing the debts from those who enjoyed close access to the royal court was one and the same for the Hindus and Musalmans, namely a personal appeal made to the emperor by the creditor—be he a Hindū or a Musalmān—as soon as the debtor was found entering the royal precincts. While an educated Musalmān was generally addressed as 'Maulānā' and an Arab as 'Saiyid', the Hindus enjoyed the honorifics of 'Sāhū' and 'Rāi'.

The manner in which an Indo-Muslim marriage was then carried through is vividly described in the *Reḥla*; and it helps one to recall the corresponding features of an average Hindū marriage today. On being betrothed to the emperor's sister, Saif-ud-dīn Ghaddā, who was an Arab, was seated on a small wooden platform and his hands and feet were reddened with the henna powder by the ladies of the royal palace who acted as his sisters. This ceremony is still observed among the Muslims and Hindus to some extent and is known as *māyan* (मायन) or *māiyũṅ* (मायौं) and *mānjhā* (मांझा) in northern India, while in Bengal it goes under the name of *gāi halūd* (गाइ हलुद). Two days before the wedlock, the bride and bridegroom are seated separately in their respective houses, each on a small wooden platform and a paste of turmeric and mustard oil is applied to their hands and forehead by their friends and particularly by their sisters and sisters-in-law. The next ceremony described in the *Reḥla* was a kind of contest between the parties held at the bride's house as the bridegroom's party arrived to carry away the bride. Nowadays, when the bridegroom's party arrive at the bride's house they are warmly received, but it has become a convention to create difficulties in their way indirectly and even to put puzzling questions to the bridegroom. This ceremony now goes under the name of *chauthī*,—*i.e.*, the fourth night since the wedlock—when a contest is staged between the bridal parties and a sham fight takes place which is summed up in the Hindī term *pansāsāri*[1] (पंसासारि or पंसारी). Another feature of the said marriage is described as a sort of crown of flowers falling in scallops over the head and breast of the bridegroom at the nuptials. This is called *sehra*—a Sanskrit > Prakrit[2] term—and is still in use amongst the

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[1] *I.e.* a game of dice.

[2] Bühler—*Pāiyalachchhī Nāmamālā*, 1878.

Muslims and Hindus in some parts. Yet another feature of the Indo-Muslim marriage described in the *Reḥla* goes today under the name of '*arūsi*'-*musḥaf* or *shāh-nazar* with the Muslims and under the name of *shubho drishti* (শুভ-দৃষ্টি) with the Hindus in Bengal and under the name of *dhrūbadarshan* (ध्रुवदर्शन) with those in northern India, *i.e.*, the first ceremonial meeting of the bride and bridegroom before the wedlock. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noticed that the bridegroom entered the bride's house on horse-back and bowed before her while she was seated on a high pulpit studded with jewels. In acknowledgment of this she stood up and gave him a betel-leaf, and he took his seat on the pulpit below her. Then songs were sung to the beat of the drum in the midst of which '*Allāh-o-akbar*' was intermittently shouted. After this they stood up, and both joined hands and descended the pulpit. Today, among the Muslims the married couple are seated on the floor or on a wooden platform instead of being raised to the pulpit and in place of the cry of *Allāh-o-akbar*, a copy of the Qur'ān is kept open by their side on a wooden frame of moderate height and they are made to see each other's face in the mirror held between them. Amongst the Hindus a knot is made out of their dress called *gānṭh-chhāṛā* (গাঁট-ছাড়া) in Bengali which corresponds to the *battimilānā* (बत्तीमिलाना) in Hindi and signifies the tie of life-long union. Subsequently a large beautiful piece of cloth is spread over their heads so as to protect them from the gaze of others and the bridegroom is asked to have a look at the bride; then both are made to watch the reflected 'stars' through a sieve against which a burning candle is held to symbolize the brightness of their love. The Hindū bride and bridegroom in northern India are further made to stand in the open and watch the polar star considering it a symbol of the permanency of their love.

In connection with the mourning observed at the time of his daughter's death, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes what is now known as the *phool* ceremonial. The third day after the burial the grave was covered with silk cloth and flowers, and the people assembled round it holding copies of the Qur'ān in parts which they recited. The recital over, the heir of the deceased had rose-water with betel distributed to all. It should be noted that the term *phool*[1] is Sanskrit and something like the *phool* ceremonial, which essentially means showing respect to the dead, is observed today among the Hindus under the name of *shrāddha* (श्राद्ध). Great respect was shown by both the communities to the memory of the deceased whose belongings were preserved as a souvenir as far as possible. It was a custom[2] among the Muslims to place the shoes of the departed one on a

[1] [illegible]

[2] Kissing the shoes or the sandals of a revered person and preserving the same by way of respect is an old custom. According to the *Rāmāyana*, Bharat preserved the sandals of his brother Rām placing them on the throne during the fourteen-year exile of the latter. According to the *Reḥla* a certain jurist reverentially handled the shoes of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, kissed them and put them on his own head (MS. 2287, F. 54.)

pillow beside his or her grave and both the Hindus and Muslims 'provided[1] for their dead in the same way as they did during their lifetime'. It was customary with both to tear open their shirt-collar as a mark of mourning whenever anyone suffered a bereavement. While the Muslims were seen hanging their turbans round the necks of their respective horses when they resolved to die or swore to lay down their lives for the sake of truth, the Hindus courted death in defence of their honour and their women threw themselves into the flames in a noble cause, thus performing the 'jauhar.'

(10) Coins, Weights and Measures

Of all the chronicles of the period the *Rehla* is the first—the *Masālik-ul-abṣār*, its contemporary, being second—to throw light on the coins. It enables us to say that two kinds of tankas—silver ṭaṅka and gold ṭaṅka of 175 grains each—were current in the Sultanate of Dehlī until the age of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq. He introduced another silver ṭaṅka of 140 grains called *'adalī*. While the adalis are described in the *Rehla* as *dīnār darāhim*, the silver ṭaṅka of 175 grains which corresponded to the modern rupee is described as *dīnār*. Like the rupee or rupiya as it became known under Sher Shāh the said silver ṭaṅka weighed about a tōla. It should be noted that the term *ṭaṅka* or *ṭaka* is still in common use for a rupee.

The red ṭaṅka of unmixed gold weighing 175 grains which was current under Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq is described in the *Rehla* as ṭaṅka. Then mention is made of the dirham which was no Indian coin except rare specimens of it struck under Iltutmish, Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq, Aurangzeb[2] and Farrukhsīyar. It was[3] current in Arabia, Persia, Syria and Egypt. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa considers it an equivalent of *hashtkānī*—a coin which was equal to a modern two-anna piece.

The *Rehla* also throws light on the rate of exchange between gold and silver which then obtained. 'The *lak* is a sum of 100,000 dinars, an amount equal to 10,000 Indian gold dinars', says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. On the basis of this it has been concluded that the said rate of exchange was 1 : 10. But the above statement of the Traveller tends to contradict another made later. His loan amounted to 55,000 and the royal grant made was 12,000. Out of the total sum of 67,000 silver tankas, a tenth being deducted according to custom, he received only 6,233 gold tankas which sum is not adjustable if the rate of exchange be taken as 1 : 10. Perhaps it was a little higher.

The exchange value of Indian gold ṭaṅka is mentioned in the *Rehla* as equal to 2½ gold dīnār of *maghrib*. And the exchange value of the silver ṭaṅka (*dīnār*) is given as equal to eight dirhams of Syria and Egypt. Now,

[1] Among the Hindus the dead are provided for as during their lifetime on the tenth day after the death if the deceased is a Brahmin and on the thirtieth day if the deceased is a non-Brahmin. A similar custom is observed for their deceased by many of the Indian Muslims on a small scale every tenth day after the death and on a much larger scale on the fortieth day called *chālīswān* when the poor are fed in the name of the deceased.

[2] J.A S B, 1917, p. 46.

[3] Cf. Codrington—*A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, pp. 117, 123.

each dirham of Syria and Egypt may be taken as equal to an Indian *hashtkānī*. According to the *Masālik-ul-abṣār* a *hashtkānī* was equal to four *sulṭānī* or *dokānī* and each *dokānī* was equal to two jitals. A *jītal* being equal to a modern pice, a silver ṭanka fetched sixty-four jitals.

As in the case of coins the *Reḥla* throws light on the Indian weights, and measures. By mentioning the *raṭl* of Dehlī as equal to twenty-five ratls of Egypt it has enabled us to fix the weight of the Indian *mann* at fourteen sers approximately. But the raṭl of 'maghrib' is also mentioned and its weight amounting to 8 chataks is applied in more than one instance to the Indian commodities.[1] The *Reḥla* also uses the word *mann* in connection with the famine price of wheat at Dehlī explained elsewhere. As regards the Indian measures of distance the terms frequently used in the *Reḥla* are the *dhirā'*, *mīl* and *farsakh*. The *dhirā'* was a standard measure equal to one cubit and a *mīl* amounted to 4,000 cubits and can be taken as equal to 1·44 present mile; it has been described as synonymous with *kiroh*. A *farsakh* or parasang was equal to 18,000 feet in length.

(11) Music

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was fond of music and liked to travel in the company of singers. He has described two kinds of musical houses called Ṭarabābād—(i) the habitat of the musicians and (ii) the recreation centres with places of musical amusement—spread all over India. He has also described the professional minstrels whom he saw carrying their prayer-mats which they spread on the ground to perform the prayers as soon as they heard the call to prayer. And the *Reḥla* contains references to several kinds of music—ṣūfī music, military music, court-music, recreation-music and open-air music—besides mentioning Hindū music and the names of some of the musical instruments.

The ṣūfī music is referred to as *simā'* which signifies the singing of spiritual songs on the part of the dervishes or ṣūfī saints with or without the help of musical instruments—a performance commonly known as *qawwālī* even today. In the course of it the master performers become rapturous and begin to dance in a state of ecstacy, walk through a fire unscathed or fall into a trance and have spiritual visions. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa witnessed this at Mālamīr in Lūristān[2] and at the Afghānpur village in India; further he heard about the trance and visions of Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliyā at Dehlī.

The military music played at the army centres and in the camp at specific hours regularly in times of peace. It played also while the army was on the march and whenever an action was entered into or a battle won. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa witnessed demonstrations of it in the course of the battle of Kanauj and tells us how the battlefield rang with music when the rebel 'Ain-ul-mulk was defeated and taken prisoner. On sundry occasions within his ken thus military music was performed, and it presented certain features with sharp blowings of the bugles and forceful beats of the big drums combined with the sound of other and larger instruments which played

[1] See pp. 19, 85, 162, *infra*.

[2] A region in the S.W. of Persia.

artistically striking high and low notes in order to announce the different stages in the movement of the troops.

A kind of court-music was exhibited by the 'blowers of clarions, trumpets and horns' posted at the three successive gates of the royal palace at the metropolis. Whenever a man of renown came the clarions blew in chorus announcing his arrival, and in proportion to his rank and reputation the chorus was modulated. Another kind of court-music was exhibited on the occasion of the 'Īd durbars by the different classes of musicians before the emperor.

An instance of the recreation-music is afforded by the music played on board the ships in the course of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's voyage along the Indus from Sivistān to Lāharī The flotilla was equipped with the necessary musical instruments including the drums, flutes and trumpets; and on the boats sailing together a party of singers sang in chorus. Thus an orchestra-like music played at intervals and with a flourish while the governor of Lāharī whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa accompanied in that voyage took his meals. Another instance of recreation-music is found in the horse-dance attuned to music.

Instances of open-air music are noticeable in the frequent royal processions some of which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa joined personally. These were organized at the time of the emperor's return to the capital from his journeys and campaigns and during the fêtes. First sounded the trumpets belonging to the respective amirs in the processions interspersed with the chorus of *Allāh-o-akbar* voiced by the qazis and muezzins marching in front of the infantry. Then followed the musical notes emanating from the drums, trumpets, bugles and hautboys in the royal equipage. Occasionally girl musicians seated in wheeled wooden pavilions of several storeys sang while the procession moved. Similarly a procession was organized in Dehlī to celebrate the arrival of the caliph's letter of investiture. The city was decorated tastefully, and among other decorations one was that of the beautiful four-storeyed wooden pavilions containing a group of singers—'men, women and girl dancers'.

Demonstrations of Hindū music executed indoors as well as outdoors are noticeable in connection with the *satī* performance witnessed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. No details are available regarding the form of Hindū music and the Indian songs though mention is made elsewhere of (*a*) *an-nauba*—a form of music connoting a sort of vocal and instrumental suite of several movements; (*b*) *an-nol*—an Arab song signifying the form of music characterized by the guttural notes; and (*c*) *al-mulamma'*—a song of mixed Arabic, Persian and Turkish rhymes. And it appears that three families of the musical instruments were then in use:

(*a*) the wind-instrument family comprising *ṣurnāi*, *ghaiṭa*, *nafīr*, *būq* and *mizmār*.

(*b*) the string-instrument family comprising *ṭanbūr* and '*ūd*.

(*c*) the percussion-instrument family comprising *daff*, *ṭabl*, *naqqāra* and *dunqura*.

(12) Diplomacy

The *Reḥla* casts a lurid light on the diplomacy of the age of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq and envisages him as a diplomat maintaining diplomatic relations with different Asian countries as far as Sumatra, patronizing the foreigners who visited his court and taking them into his employ. These foreigners whom he honoured with the title of *a'izza*[1] were so conciliated that on being interrogated they divulged secrets and gave away valuable information about their respective countries. Thus equipped the emperor treated with the foreign governments sometimes by means of ambassadors and envoys, sometimes by correspondence and sometimes through tempting offers and rich presents, and he usually won diplomatic victories as in Egypt,[2] Khurāsān,[3] Shīrāz,[4] Transoxiana[5] and Herāt[6] As to the last two the *Reḥla* has much to say and although it is our only source, the information it gives is not mere hearsay.

It tells us that the king of Transoxiana, namely Ṭarmashīrīn paid two visits to India—*first* in the opening year of the reign of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq and *second* a little later.[7] In the course of his first visit he was fraternized with, and he was pleased in return to throw open Ghazni,[8] an outpost of his dominion, to all communications and diplomatic relations with India. At the time of his second visit Ṭarmashīrīn having fallen into disgrace with his 'tribal leaders and amirs' and outlived his glory as a potential ally the Indian emperor changed his attitude. He dealt with him accordingly and lost no time in expelling him from the country, realizing that his second visit unlike his first was fraught with danger to the peace of India.

With the government of Herāt, the negotiations were conducted on a different plane. Both king Ḥusain and emperor Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq were unpopular in their respective dominions, at least with some classes of people and both were anxious to rehabilitate themselves and to enlist foreign support; hence the negotiations. The charge of complicity in Malik Warnā's[9] murder brought against the emperor by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remains unconfirmed, and the fact that lay behind this charge seems to have been the diplomatic victory which after prolonged negotiations the emperor of India had won over the king of Herāt Such a victory roused no response in Herāt and, in fact, kindled some jealousy which the Indian emperor endeavoured to extinguish by making a formal present[10] of the city of Bukkur to the king of Herāt.

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[1] See pp. 4, 67, *infra*. [2] See R F.M., p. 125. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[4] MS. 2287 F 57. Cf. Egyptian edition, Pt. I, pp. 153-155.

[5] See Appendix F, p. 254.

[6] MS. 2287, Fs. 108-109 Cf. Egyptian edition, Pt. I, pp. 295-96.

[7] *I.e.* approximately in 1330 when the emperor halted and resided at Dehlī after the suppression of the Multān rebellion.

[8] *I.e.* Ghazna as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa would write. See R.F.M., p. 107.

[9] He was the cousin of Ḥusain, the king of Herāt. See pp. xxxix-xl, footnote 2, *supra*.

[10] See p. xl, footnote, *supra*.

GREAT TRAVELLER AND EXPLORER

Penetrating through rapid streams, burning deserts, treacherous ravines, dusty roads, rough and even dreadful and unknown seas Ibn Baṭṭūṭa faced incredible perils in the course of his long travels ranging over 77,640[1] relentless miles Out of these he covered more than 14,318[2] miles in the course of his travels through India, the Maldives and Ceylon.[3] He visited all the places of importance in the Islamic world and the court of every Muslim ruler of his age; in fact he went beyond into the non-Muslim countries of Constantinople, Ceylon and China as had been foretold by Burhān-ud-dīn al-a'raj of Alexandria. 'You like travelling and journeying through the countries', said he to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. 'Yes I do', was the reply. 'And up till then', says he, 'never had I thought of going to distant countries like India and China'. 'Surely, God willing', continued Burhān-ud-dīn al-a'raj, 'you will meet my brother[4] Farīd-ud-dīn in Hind, my brother Rukn-ud-dīn Zakarīyā in Sind and my brother Burhān-ud-dīn in China When you meet them convey to them my greetings'. 'I was amazed at his words, which inspired me with the idea of visiting these countries and I continued travelling until I met all the three men whom he had mentioned. I conveyed to them his greetings', says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. And he continues, 'During my stay at Alexandria I had heard of the most pious and virtuous Abū 'Abdullāh al-Murshidī. So I started from Alexandria to meet him and arrived at the city of Fua (*Fawwā*). There lay his hospice which I reached before the afternoon prayer (*'aṣr*). I greeted the *shaikh* He rose and embraced me and brought some food which we ate together At night when I felt sleepy he directed me to sleep on the roof of the hospice since it was the summer season. In the course of my sleep that night I beheld in a dream as if I was seated on the wings of a huge bird who was taking me thus towards the south and thence towards the north. Then he turned eastward; and going again towards the south he subsequently made a long flight towards the east and came down in a land which was dark and green where he left me. Amazed at this dream I said to myself—if the renowned *shaikh* could disclose it to me it would be in consistency with the popular belief about him. In the morning when I went to perform the prayer, he appointed me imām. The prayer over, he called me and disclosed to me my dream which I subsequently narrated. Then he said, "You will perform a pilgrimage and visit the tomb of the Prophet—peace be on him' And you will travel in the countries of Yemen, 'Irāq, Turkistan and India where you will stop for a long period and there you will meet my brother

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[1] Yule (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, p 40) is of opinion that the total distance travelled by Ibn Battūtā was over 75,000 miles short of his journeys during his eight-year service in India and immediately after the resignation. These come to 2,640 miles according to a rough compass measurement made by me

[2] This is also the result of a rough compass measurement I have made See pp. lxiii, lxv, lxviii, lxx

[3] See pp. lxii–lxx, *infra*

[4] I e brother in faith

Dilshād the Indian who will rescue you from an impasse in which you will have fallen." Then he provided me with a few small cakes and some dirhams. Since then I have not had anything but goodness in the course of my travels and have greatly benefited from his blessings.'

From the said predictions about his world travels, the reader may well pass to the available evidence about his explorations. Almost all modernists[1] hold that his explorations in Africa are of the first-rate importance and there is much in his *Reḥla* to enrich the geography of Arabia, Bukhārā, Kābul, Gandhar, India, Ceylon, Sumatra and China. He travelled through Africa from two different directions—(1) from the north to the south and (2) from the east to the north-east. And the information that he supplied has been found consistent at all points with the account of modern explorers.

'Baṭṭūṭa'[2] was his family name, his personal name being Muḥammad and his patronymic Abū 'Abdullāh; his father's name was 'Abdullāh *ibn* Muḥammad Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was also called Shams-ud-dīn and *al-maghribī*[3] and sometimes he was addressed as 'Maulānā Badr-ud-dīn' He was born at Tangier on 24th February, 1304, and is said to have died in Fez at the age of seventy-four He belonged to a family which had settled at Lawāta and subsequently at Tangier for some generations and had been identified with the administration of the judiciary (*qaḍā'*) and the hospice (*mashīkhat*) In reply to a query at the court of Dehlī he is reported to have said '....the ministry (*wizārat*) and secretaryship (*kitā at*[4]) are not my occupation; but as for the office of judge and administration of hospice it is my calling as well as that of my ancestors' Such a family which was highly religious and virtuous and noted for its scholastic and theological traditions was expected to produce a scholar and theologian like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who was also an explorer and adventurer desirous of discovering new places and routes and of performing the *ḥajj* frequently and visiting as well as studying the sacred sites of Islām and anxious to meet the kings, queens, theologians and saints of the world His travels ranging over a quarter of a century may be divided into five groups.

(*a*) 1325–1333

On 14th June, 1325, when he was over twenty-one[5] years of age he took leave of his parents and started from Tangier for Mecca and reached Alexandria on 5th April, 1326 There he met two saints—Burhān-ud-dīn

[1] (*a*) Walckenaer—*Researches geographique sur l'intérieur de l' Afrique septentrionale*, Paris, 1821, p 29

(*b*) Ritter—*Les pays de l' Euphrate*, p 277

(*c*) Cooley D.—*The Negroland of the Arabs examined and explained*, London. 1841, p 70

N.B.—For these modernists see Def et Sang.—*Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah, I, Préface*, pp. vi–viii.

[2] See p. xvi, *supra*.

[3] *I.e.*, westerner

[4] *I.e.* the profession of a scribe. Cf. p. 128 *infra*.

[5] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says he was twenty-two (MS 2287, F. 3; Def. et Sang., I, p. 13) But he was not yet completely twenty-two even according to the lunar calendar

al-a'raj and Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh al-murshidī. The former predicted that he would undertake a long journey and would meet the saint's brothers[1] in Hind, Sind and China; the latter foretold that he would visit India where he would be helped by one[2] Dilshād.

From Alexandria the young traveller proceeded towards the Hedjaz and visiting on the way Cairo, Jerusalem, Tripoli and Antioch, he reached Damascus on 9th August, 1326. Then he resumed his journey and went to Medina and Mecca where he performed the *ḥajj*, in the course of which he met a number of saints. On 17th November, 1326, he left Mecca and came to the country of 'Irāq where he visited the sacred tombs at Najaf and Karbalā. Then he made a short journey to Īrān to come back to 'Irāq and visited Baghdād. From Baghdād he set out again for Mecca but fell ill on the way. Still he continued his journey, and on reaching Mecca he decided to stay. Accordingly he stayed for three years learning Islamic philosophy at the feet of the learned saints of Mecca. Then he started for East Africa, whence he came back to Mecca to perform another pilgrimage. After this, he proceeded eastward in the direction of India but stopped at Jedda for want of a ship. He turned northward; and making a detour in the direction of Asia Minor he came to Constantinople. Then travelling eastward he came to Nishāpūr, Hindū Kush, Herāt, Kābul and Karmāsh successively whence he reached the Indus on 12th September, 1333.

(*b*) 1333–1342:

After crossing the Indus, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reached Janānī and visited Sehwān, Lāharī, Bukkur and Uch successively. Then he came to Multān where he had to give an undertaking to the government that he had come with the definite object of staying in the country and of seeking service. He was allowed to resume his journey and passed through Abohar, Abū Bak-har, Ajodhan, Sarsutī, Hānsī and Mas'ūdābād *en route* to Dehlī. He was careful enough always to travel in company; and on his arrival at Dehlī where his companions were counted, the number amounted to forty. The original number must have been much larger since we are told that on his leaving Abohar he found himself in the midst of a desert where he and his party were attacked by a band of the Hindus armed with swords, bows and arrows. In the course of the fight that ensued Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was struck and wounded by arrows, and many were killed.

At Dehlī he was appointed *qāẓī* and assigned the office of hospice administrator (9th June, 1334) and subsequently he went on business to Amroha and Afghānpūr[3] across the Sarjū (August, 1336). In 1338 when the emperor shifted to Sargadwārī he also went (1339) to join his camp and remained in attendance on him throughout the action caused by the

[1] See pp. liii, liv, *supra*. [2] See p. 157, *infra*, footnote 4.

[3] This should not be confounded with the Afghānpūr which lay near Tughluqābād and was the site of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq's tragic death.

rebellion of 'Ain-ul-mulk. In 1340, he crossed the river Ganges and its tributary the Sarjū in royal company to pay homage at the shrine of Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī whence he came back to Dehlī (1341). Shortly after this, he renounced the world and joined the group of fakirs in the service of Kamāl-ud-dīn 'Abdullāh al-Ghārī (1341). The emperor called him at Sehwān, desired him to return and offered him service again; but he declined and solicited permission to go to Mecca which was granted (July, 1341). Before long he was asked to conduct a royal embassy to China which he agreed to do (September, 1341).

In the course of this period he happened to see a certain man under the executioner's sword and saved his life by recommending him to Aḥmad *bin* Sher Khān, the governor of Gwalior on the plea that he could not bear the sight of any one being killed. On another occasion when he visited the Jalālī palace at Dehlī he recalled the fate of the deceased kings and was moved to tears on finding the palace deserted and uninhabited. He was frightened out of his wits on seeing a jogī suspend himself high up in the air and recovered his consciousness when the emperor administered medicine to him.

He mixed with the people and married one Ḥūr Nasab, the daughter of Saiyid Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh of Madura. He was fond of her, and she bore him a daughter. But separation took place later, and he did not know what became of either. He mentions no other marriage of his in the course of this period of nine years, although he acknowledges his union with the slave girls One slave girl bore him a daughter who was born near Bukhārā and died at Dehlī one and a half months after his arrival in India. She had accompanied him from Bukhārā to India This tends to prove, as he subsequently observes, that he hardly ever travelled without a girl.

(*c*) 1342–1344:

The royal embassy to China started from Dehlī on 22nd July, 1342, but was broken on the way near Koil on account of a Hindū assault. The assailants, who numbered 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot, got the upper hand, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa lost twenty-three horsemen and fifty-five infantrymen and was left alone. He was then captured by three Hindus who intended to kill him But he managed to escape and wandered about several days in a jungle in search of food. Whipped by hunger he made his way one day into a 'Hindū village' and begged of the villagers something to eat, but they refused. In the hope of getting better treatment elsewhere he proceeded to another village also inhabited by the Hindus; but far from satisfying his hunger they tried to kill him and searched and assaulted him. He was rescued by the saint Dilshād and was set down in a village called Tājpura, a few miles off Koil, where he met his companions who had been entrusted with the royal presents and recovered his clothes which on reaching Koil he had given to an Arab. Then the party was reorganised; and proceeding by way of Brijpur, Kanauj, 'Alāpūr, Gwalior, Chanderī, Dhār, and Ujjain they came to Daulatābād whence they journeyed

to Nandurābār, Cambay and Goa successively and reached the port of Gandhār. Here they embarked on a ship; and sailing along the Malabar coast they visited Gogo, Hinawr, Barcelore, Fākanar, Manjarūr, Hīlī, Jurfattan, Dahfattan, Fandarayana and Calicut in succession. At Calicut they embarked on the Chinese ships for the voyage to China ; but the ships which conveyed some members of the royal embassy and the presents were wrecked. And Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who was yet waiting for another ship to embark on, was left alone on the shore with no belongings except a carpet and a paltry sum of ten tankas. In the hope that the boat—*kakam*—which had sailed away from Calicut with all his possessions would call and anchor at Quilon, he sailed in that direction to a distance of ten days' journey and disembarked at Quilon putting up in a hospice. But he saw no trace of the *kakam* although he met the Chinese ambassadors who had accompanied him from Dehlī and had embarked at Calicut on one of the above-mentioned ships. Their ship had also been wrecked and they now resumed their journey homeward. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa returned to Hinawr (22nd April, 1343) and remained there till 24th July, 1343, as a guest of the ruler, Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn whom he accompanied to the Sandāpūr expedition. In the course of the naval fight that ensued his life was endangered and he leapt into the water and managed to swim to the coast. After the enemy had been defeated he joined hands with the plunderers and rushed forward sword in hand to pursue the fugitives and capture the booty.

After a short stay at Sandāpūr he set out for Hinawr and landed on 7th January, 1344, at Shāliyāt where he stayed for an indefinite period. Then he returned to Calicut. There he found two of his slaves who had been on board the *kakam* and was informed that most of his girls and belongings had been captured by the ruler of Sumatra and that his comrades had dispersed over China, Sumatra[1] and Bengal. This upset him; and in a confused state of mind and indecision he bent his steps towards Hinawr whence he repaired to Sandāpūr (9th June, 1344) and came to Calicut. Then he made up his mind to go to the Maldive islands and landed at Kannalūs (5th September, 1344) and thence proceeded to Mahal in order to meet Sulṭāna Khadīja and the vezir Sulaimān Mānāyak. He arrived there on 18th September, 1344, and desired to remain unrecognized but was identified by a group of the Arab and Persian fakirs who introduced him to the vezir. Then he married four wives in succession and accepted meanwhile the post of *qāzī* (December, 1344). In August, 1345, he resigned this post and left the islands taking two of his wives provisionally with him and divorcing the third As for the fourth, who was pregnant, he fixed a period of nine months failing which she was free to act as she thought fit. In the course of his voyage from Mahal he dropped anchor at the island of Mulūk where he stayed more than two months and married two women. Then he left for the Mahal island which he did not enter because the vezir insisted on taking back his arms and returned instantly to Mulūk, which he left finally on or about 12th September, 1345

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[1] The same may be read *infra* pp 196, 242

(*d*) **1344–48:**

On his way from the Maldive islands to Ma'bar he stopped at Ceylon and met Ayri Shakarvatī, the king of Ceylon, and visited the Foot of Adam. Then he resumed his voyage, in the course of which the wind became violent and the ship wrecked. But he got on to the raft which the sailors had prepared and in this manner reached Madura, the capital of Ma'bar. There he was prostrated by an attack of malignant fever but was relieved on taking about half a *ser*[1] of tamarind which caused him motions. While still unwell, he left for Fattan and arrived at Quilon in the same condition. He boarded a ship *en route* to Hinawr, when some pirates fell on him and seized all that he had possessed. With great difficulty he arrived at Calicut, where he consulted the Qur'ān by divination (*istikhāra*) regarding the voyage to the Maldive islands which he subsequently undertook. Fortunately there was no mishap on the sea. From the Maldive islands this time he sailed in the direction of Bengal, which he reached after a voyage of forty-three days (July, 1346). He visited the towns of Sudkāwān and Lakhnautī and went to the mountains of Kāmarū[2] to meet a notable saint Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn of Tabrīz, who gave him a mantle.

In August, 1346, he left Bengal and embarked on board a ship bound for Sumatra where he arrived after a voyage of forty days. The king of Sumatra, Malik Ẓāhir of the Shāfa'ī cult, gave him a good reception and enabled him after a fortnight to sail for China. On the way he visited Java (*Mul-Jāwa*) and the land of Ṭawālisī.[3] The 'infidel' ruler of Java (*Mul-Jāwa*) knew no Arabic and could be understood only through an interpreter; and in that realm nobody could ride a horse except the king. In the kingdom of Ṭawālisī which was then ruled by Urdujā, an 'infidel' queen, women—free as well as slave—were enrolled in the army like men. In China, which he reached after sailing for another seventeen days, the first town he visited was Ts'wan-chow-fu (*Zaitūn*) and then he went to see the district of Ṣīn (*Ṣīn-uṣ-ṣīn*) and Peking (*Khān Bāliq*), the capital of China. The *qān* was then absent from Peking having gone out on a hunting expedition in the course of which he was killed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa witnessed the public mourning and the disorders that followed

Afterwards he left China and set out on a return journey visiting on the way the towns of Khansā, Qanjanfū and Zaitūn where he boarded a ship which took him *via* Sumatra to Calicut. Then he journeyed in the direction of Arabia and Irān and visited the towns of Dhofar (*Ẓafār*), Mascat, Shirāz, Iṣfahān, Baṣra, Najaf, Kūfa, Ḥilla, and Baghdād in succession. From Baghdād, which he had reached in January, 1348, he proceeded to Damascus whence he travelled to Jerusalem and then to Cairo and arrived in Mecca (16th November, 1348) to perform the 7th and last pilgrimage.

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[1] See p. 232, *infra*, footnote 1.

[2] See p. 237, *infra*, footnote 5.

[3] *I.e* Tawal island in the Malay archipelago, see p. lxxvii, *infra*.

(e) 1348–53:

From Mecca he went to Cairo and then started for Morocco reaching the royal city of Fez on 12th November, 13.9. After some time he resumed his journey and set out in the direction of Spain (*Andalus*). On the way he visited Gibraltar and the towns of Ronda, Marbala and Granada. Then he came back to Fez passing through Marrākush.[1]

After some days he set out again and proceeded in the direction of the Negroland on the Niger; in the course of this journey he visited the towns of Sijilmāsa and Taghāza. Here he stayed about two weeks and then travelled in the direction of Mālli, the capital of the Negroland, where he met Mansā Sulaimān, the Negro ruler.

On 27th February, 1353, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa left Mālli exploring the middle course of the river Niger which he called the 'Nile' or the 'Nile of the Negroes'; in the course of this journey he visited the towns of Timbuktū, Takaddā and Būda successively and arrived finally at Fez. Here ended his travels, and the composition of the *Reḥla* entitled *Tuḥfat-un-nuẓẓār fī gharāib-il-amṣār wa 'ajāib-il-asfār* was finished on Wednesday, 9th December, 1355/3rd *Dhilḥijja*, 756.

Little is known about Ibn Baṭṭūṭa since that date until his death which is said to have occurred in or about 1377-78. It appears that he fell into oblivion on account of his old age and passed away quietly some years after his *Reḥla* had been abridged by Ibn Juzayy.

DATA OF HIS INDIAN TRAVELS

The data available in the *Reḥla* for building a correct itinerary of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Indian travels is insufficient. Although he avows his stay of sixty days[2] at Multān he does not name the months, and mentions no duration of his halts at Tilpat, Hilū, Bayāna, Koil, Jalālī and at many other stations in the course of his ill-fated ambassadorial journey to China He has left unspecified the 'three years'[3] that he says he spent in the Maldive islands, Ceylon, Malabar and Ma'bar and has left equally unspecified his statement that he stopped 'one and a half years'[4] in the Maldives and spent 'three months[5] in seclusion' at Calicut. He makes no mention of the year of his visits to the sulṭān of Hinawr; and the isolated notice of the 'three days' halt[6]' in the first instance and of the three months (13th *Jumāda* I to 15th *Sha'bān*)[7] in the second instance and yet of eleven months[8] 'on another occasion' only adds to the many instances of insufficiency of the data of his Indian travels. Occasionally he declares that he reached a certain destination in a certain month but neither specifies the year nor the approximate time. For instance, after visiting about a dozen places in succession along the western coast—all without

[1] It is a town in Morocco.
[2] Def. et Sang., III, p 121.
[3] Def. et Sang., IV, p. 70
[4] *Ibid*, p. 114
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[7] *Ibid.*, p 108.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

dates—he says he 'reached Shâliyāt and remained there for *a long period*'.[1] On his arrival at Sandāpūr *via* Calicut towards the 'end of *Muharram*' he says he remained there until 2nd *Rabi*' II[2] but gives no year. Lastly he says that he left the Maldive islands on the 15th of *Rabi*' II, 745[3]/26th August, 1344. But this creates a conflict with his previous statement that he stayed there 'one and a half years'—in which case the date of his departure from the Maldives would fall on 15th *Dhilq'ada*, 746/9th March, 1346. A closer study, however, of his later journey up to Dhofar (*Ẓafār*) which according to his own statement he reached in *Muharram*, 748/May, 1347, shows that he must have left the Maldives on or about the 15th *Dhilq'ada*, 745, and if this were the case, his stoppage in the Maldive islands would extend to seven months only and not to one year and a half. In view of these difficulties Yule[4] has in the first place pointed out that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's date of arrival at Dhofar—*Muharram* '48—'is inconsistent with previous statements.' In the second place he has put one year back, viz., to the cold weather of 1345-46 the date of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit to Bengal in spite of the fact that the data available for calculating the said date places it during the cold weather of 1346-47. Instead of the cold weather, however, I am inclined to fix Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit to East Bengal in the midst of the monsoons, viz., July, 1346—a fact which would bear out his remark about Bengal being cloudy and dark and justify his use of the simile of inferno.

Précis of his Travels

Date	*Arrival*
Thursday 2 Rajab, 725 A.H[5] 14 June, 1325	Ibn Baṭṭūṭa left Tangier for Mecca.
Saturday 1 Jumāda I, 726[6] 5 April, 1326	*En route* he visited Alexandria and Cairo.
Wednesday 14 Sha'bān, 726[7] 14 July, 1326	He resumed his journey from Cairo and visited Palestine.
Thursday 9 Ramaẓān, 726[8] 9 August, 1326	He visited Damascus.
Sunday 1 Shawwāl, 726[9] 31 August, 1326	He left Damascus and arrived at Medina and subsequently at Mecca.

[1] Def. et. Sang., IV, p. 109.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[4] *Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, p. 149
[5] Def. et Sang., I, p 12.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 111
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

Date	*Arrival*
Friday 10 Dhilḥijja, 726 [1] 7 November, 1326	He performed the pilgrimage (1st ḥajj).
Monday 20 Dhilḥijja, 726 [2] 17 November, 1326	He left Mecca with a caravan bound for Baghdād and visited Medina again.
Tuesday 10 Dhilḥijja, 727 27 October, 1327	He came to Najaf; and then travelled to Baṣra, Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, Kazarūn, Kūfa, Ḥilla, Karbalā, Baghdād, Tabriz, Sāmarra, Tekrit, Mosul, Māridīn whence he returned to Baghdād and Kūfa. On setting out from Kūfa he fell ill of diarrhoea and arrived at Mecca in the same condition to perform the pilgrimage (2nd ḥajj).
Friday 10 Dhilḥijja, 728 [3] 16 September, 1328	He performed the pilgrimage (3rd ḥajj).
Thursday 10 Dhilḥijja, 729 [4] 5 October, 1329	Being still at Mecca he performed another pilgrimage (4th ḥajj).
Monday 10 Dhilḥijja, 730 [5] 24 September, 1330	He continued at Mecca and performed the pilgrimage of this year also (5th ḥajj).
Wednesday 12 Dhilḥijja, 730 26 September, 1330	He left Mecca and after visiting part of East Africa and some of the Persian Gulf ports and Lār in South Īrān returned *via* Hormuz to Mecca.
Thursday 10 Dhilḥijja, 731 [6] 15 August, 1331	He performed the pilgrimage (6th ḥajj).
Sunday 13 Dhilḥijja, 731 18 August, 1331	He left Macca and sailing from Jedda passed through Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Tripoli, and Asia Minor visiting Anatolia, and Denizli.
Friday 1 Shawwāl, 732 26 June, 1332	(*Lādhiq*) where he performed the *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr* prayer.

[1] Def. et Sang., I, p. 305. [2] *Ibid.*, p 404.
[3] Def. et Sang., II, pp. 152-53. [4] & [5] *Idem*

[6] The text (Def. et Sang., II, p 248) has 732 which should be read as 731, since leaving Mecca on 12th *Dhilḥijja* 730 and passing through different places—the duration of his journey and haltage being considered—Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reached Yamāma probably in *Rabī'* II, 731. Thence he came to Mecca to perform the *ḥajj* in *Dhilḥijja* 731 A.H., otherwise he could not have arrived in India on the 1st of *Muharram* 734 (12th September, 1333) after visiting so many and distant places as he did

Date	*Arrival*
Saturday 2 Shawwāl, 732 27 June, 1332	He resumed his journey passing through Konia and Smyrna.
Wednesday 10 Dhilhijja, 732 2 September, 1332	He performed the *'Īd-ul-Aḍḥā* prayer at Manisa.
Tuesday 11 Dhilhijja, 732 3 September, 1332	He resumed his journey and proceeded to Sinope and then to Crimea.
Saturday 28 Ramaẓān, 733 12 June, 1333	He came to Bulghār on the Volga.
Tuesday 1 Shawwāl, 733 15 June, 1333	He performed the *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr* prayer in the royal camp shortly after leaving Bulghār.
Wednesday 2 Shawwāl, 733 16 June, 1333	He arrived at Astrakhān whence he proceeded to Constantinople. Then travelling on the Volga he came to Sarā and visited Khwārizm, Bukhārā and Nakhshab where he met Ṭarmashīrīn. Then passing through Samarqand and Tirmidh he entered the province of Khurāsān and visited Balkh, Herāt, Jām, Meshhed, Nīshāpūr and Bisṭām, whence he turned in the direction of India journeying *via* Qundūz, Baghlān, Ghaznī and Kābul in modern Afghanistān.
Saturday 30 Dhilhijja, 733 [1] 11 September, 1333	He arrived at the Indus
Sunday 1 Muḥarram, 734 [2] 12 September, 1333	He crossed the Indus. See p. 1, *infra*.
Tuesday 3 Muḥarram, 734 14 September, 1333	He arrived at Janānī. See p. 6, *infra*.
Saturday 7 Muḥarram, 734 18 September, 1333	He reached Sivistān. See p 6, *infra*.
Thursday 19 Muḥarram, 734 30 September, 1333	He voyaged with 'Alā-ul-mulk down the Indus till he arrived at the city of Lāharī. See p. 10, *infra*.

[1] Déf. et Sang., III, p. 92.
[2] Déf. et Sang., III, p. 93.

Date	*Arrival*
Sunday 6 Ṣafar, 734 17 October, 1333	He reached the city of Bukkur. See p. 11. *infra*.
Sunday 13 Ṣafar, 734 24 October, 1333	He arrived at the city of Uch. See p. 11, *infra*.
Friday 25 Ṣafar, 734 5 November, 1333	He came to the city of Multān. See p. 12, *infra*.
Thursday 20 Jumāda I, 734 27 January, 1334	He set out from Multān and reached Pakpattan. See p. 20, *infra*.
Friday 5 Jumāda II, 734 11 February, 1334	He reached Abohar. See p. 16, *infra*.
Saturday 13 Jumāda II, 734 19 February, 1334	He came to the fortress of Abū Bak-har. See p. 20, *infra*
Wednesday 17 Jumāda II, 734 23 February, 1334	He reached the city of Sarsuti or Sirsa. See p. 23, *infra*.
Thursday 25 Jumāda II, 734 3 March, 1334	He arrived at Hānsī. See p. 23, *infra*.
Friday 4 Rajab, 734 11 March, 1334	He arrived at Mas'ūdābād. See p. 24, *infra*.
Sunday 13 Rajab, 734 20 March, 1334	He reached Dehlī *via* Palam. See p. 24, *infra*.

Approximate distance travelled from the Indus to Dehlī—1,303 miles

737 1336	He left Dehlī for Amroha travelling *via* Bijnor. Then he proceeded from Amroha to Afghānpūr across the Sarjū and returned. See p. 144, *infra*.
740 1339 741 1340	He journeyed from Dehlī to Sargadwārī whence he accompanied the emperor to Kanauj and Bahrāich and back to Dehlī. See p. 104, *infra*.
742 1341	He went from Dehlī to Sehwān to meet the emperor and returned. See p 148, *infra*.

Approximate distance travelled *en route* to Amroha, Sehwān and back—2,640 miles.

Date	*Arrival*
Monday **17 Ṣafar, 743** [1] **22 July, 1342**	**He started from Dehlī on an embassy to China.** See p. 151, *infra.*
Tuesday **18 Ṣafar, 743** **23 July, 1342**	**He arrived at Tilpat.** See p. 152, *infra.*
Saturday **22 Ṣafar, 743** **27 July, 1342**	„ „ „ **Aou.** See p. 152, *infra.*
Monday **24 Ṣafar, 743** **29 July, 1342**	„ „ „ **Hilū.** See p. 152, *infra.*
Wednesday **26 Ṣafar, 743** **31 July, 1342**	„ „ „ **Bayāna.** See p. 152, *infra.*
Thursday **5 Rabī' I, 743** **8 August, 1342**	„ „ „ **Koil.** See p. 153, *infra*
Friday **6 Rabī' I, 743** **9 August, 1342**	„ „ „ **Jalālī.** See p. 153, *infra.*
Monday **23 Rabī' I, 743** **26 August, 1342**	„ „ „ **Tājpūr.** See p. 157, *infra.*
Thursday **26 Rabī' I, 743** **29 August, 1342**	„ „ „ **Brijpūr.** See p. 158, *infra.*
Thursday **3 Rabī' II, 743** **5 September, 1342**	„ „ „ **Kanauj.** See p. 159, *infra.*
Monday **7 Rabī' II, 743** **9 September, 1342**	„ „ „ **Hanaul** See p. 160, *infra*
Thursday **10 Rabī' II, 743** **12 September, 1342**	„ „ „ **Wazīrpur** See p. 161, *infra*
Saturday **12 Rabī' II, 743** **14 September, 1342**	„ „ „ **Jalesar** See p. 161, *infra.*
Monday **14 Rabī' II, 743** **16 September, 1342**	„ „ „ **Mawrī.** See p. 161, *infra.*

[1] Def. et Sang., IV, p. 4

Date	*Arrival*
Wednesday 16 Rabī II, 743 18 September, 1342	He arrived at Marh. See p. 161, *infra*
Sunday 20 Rabī II, 743 22 September, 1342	,, ,, ,, Alāpūr. See p. 161, *infra*
Wednesday 23 Rabī' II, 743 25 September, 1342	,, ,, ,, Gwalior See p. 163, *infra*
Friday 25 Rabī' II, 743 27 September, 1342	,, ,, ,, Perwan. See p 163, *infra.*
Wednesday 1 Jumāda I, 743 2 October, 1342	,, ,, ,, Amwārī. See p. 166, *infra.*
Saturday 4 Jumāda I, 743 5 October, 1342	,, ,, ,, Khajrāo. See p 166, *infra.* (*Kajarrā*)
Wednesday 8 Jumāda I, 743 9 October, 1342	,, ,, ,, Chanderī See p. 166, *infra.*
Sunday 19 Jumāda I, 743 20 October, 1342	,, ,, ,, Dhār. See p. 167, *infra.*
Thursday 23 Jumāda I, 743 24 October, 1342	,, ,, ,, Ujjain. See p. 168, *infra.*
Sunday 3 Jumāda II, 743 3 November, 1342	,, ,, ,, Daulatābād. See p. 168, *infra.*
Monday 11 Jumāda II, 743 11 November, 1342	,, ,, ,, Nandurbār. See p. 171, *infra.*
Friday 22 Jumāda II, 743 22 November, 1342	,, ,, ,, Cambay See p. 172, *infra.*
Wednesday 27 Jumāda II, 743 27 November, 1342	,, ,, ,, Kāwā. See p. 174, *infra.*
Friday 29 Jumāda II, 743 29 November, 1342	,, ,, ,, Gandhār See p. 175, *infra.*

Approximate distance travelled from Dehlī to Gandhār—1,595 miles

Date	*Arrival*
Monday 3 Rajab, 743 2 December, 1342	He arrived at Perim See p. 176, *infra*.
Wednesday 5 Rajab, 743 4 December, 1342	,, ,, ,, Gogo. See p. 176, *infra*.
Saturday 8 Rajab, 743 7 December, 1342	,, ,, ,, Sandāpūr (1st visit). See p. 177, *infra*
Tuesday 11 Rajab, 743 10 December, 1342	,, ,, ,, Hinawr (1st visit). See p. 178, *infra*.
Monday 17 Rajab, 743 16 December, 1342	,, ,, ,, Barcelore. (*Abū-sarūr*). See p. 184, *infra*.
Wednesday 19 Rajab, 743 18 December, 1342	,, ,, ,, Fākanar. See p. 184, *infra*.
Tuesday 25 Rajab, 743 24 December, 1342	Manjarūr. See p. 185, *infra*.
Sunday 30 Rajab, 743 29 December, 1342	Hilī. See p. 186, *infra*.
Monday 1 Sha'bān, 743 30 December, 1342	Jurfattan. See p. 186, *infra*.
Tuesday 2 Sha'bān, 743 31 December, 1342	Dahfattan. See p. 187, *infra*.
Tuesday 2 Sha'bān, 743 31 December, 1342	Budfattan. See p. 188, *infra*.
Wednesday 3 Sha'bān, 743 1 January, 1343	Panderani. (*Fandaraynā*). See p. 188, *infra*.
Thursday 4 Sha'bān, 743 2 January, 1343	Calicut (1st visit). Here he halted for 88 days,[1] *i.e.*, from 4 *Sha'bān* 743 (2 January, 1343) to 3 *Dhilqa'da*, 743 (29 March, 1343). See p 189, *infra*.
Thursday 7 Dhilqa'da, 743 3 April, 1343	He arrived at Kunjakarī. See p. 192, *infra*.

[1] Def. et Sang., IV, p. 90.

Date	*Arrival*
Monday 11 Dhilqa'da, 743 7 April, 1343	He arrived at Quilon. See p. 193, *infra.*
Tuesday 12 Dhilqa'da, 743 8 April, 1343	,, ,, ,, Calicut (2nd visit). See p. 194, *infra.*
Tuesday 26 Dhilqa'da, 743 22 April, 1343	,, ,, ,, Hinawr (2nd visit). Here he halted three months.[1] See p. 195, *infra.*
Thursday 1 Rabi' I, 744 24 July, 1343	He arrived at Sandāpūr (2nd visit). Here he participated in a naval battle on behalf of his host, the king of Hinawr. And he halted at Sandāpūr from 13 *Jumāda* I to 15 *Sha'bān*[2] (744 A.H.). See p. 196, *infra*
Saturday 16 Sha'bān, 744 3 January, 1344	He arrived at Hinawr (3rd visit). See p. 196, *infra.*
Sunday 17 Sha'bān, 744 4 January, 1344	,, ,, ,, Fākanar. See p. 196, *infra.*
Sunday 17 Sha'bān, 744 4 January, 1344	,, ,, ,, Manjarūr. See p. 196, *infra.*
Monday 18 Sha'bān, 744 5 January, 1344	,, Passed through Hīlī See p. 196, *infra.*
Monday 18 Sha'bān, 744 5 January, 1344	,, ,, ,, Jurfattan See p. 196, *infra.*
Tuesday 19 Sha'bān, 744 6 January, 1344	,, ,, ,, Dahfattan. See p 196, *infra*
Tuesday 19 Sha'bān, 744 6 January, 1344	,, ,, ,, Budfattan. See p. 196, *infra*
Tuesday 19 Sha'bān, 744 6 January, 1344	,, ,, ,, Panderani (*Fandaraynā*). See p. 196, *infra.*
Wednesday 20 Sha'bān, 744 7 January, 1344	,, ,, ,, Calicut (3rd visit). See p. 196, *infra.*

[1] Def. et Sang., IV, p. 105.

[2] *Ibid.*, p 108.

Date	*Arrival*
Wednesday 20 Sha'bān, 744 7 January, 1344	He arrived at Shāliyāt. Here he mentions his long halt. See p. 196, *infra*.
Thursday 3 Dhilqa'da, 744 18 March, 1344	He arrived at Calicut (4th visit). See p. 196, *infra*.
Saturday 19 Dhilqa'da, 744 3 April, 1344	,, ,, ,, Hinawr (4th visit).[1] See p. 196, *infra*
Wednesday 26 Muharram, 745 9 June, 1344	,, ,, ,, Sandāpūr (3rd visit). He came here towards the end of *Muharram* and halted up to the 2nd of *Rabī'* II,[1] (745 A H.) See p. 196, *infra*.
Tuesday 13 Rabī' II, 745 24 August, 1344	He arrived at Calicut (5th visit). See p. 196, *infra*
Sunday 25 Rabī' II, 745 5 September, 1344	,, ,, ,, Kannalus (1st visit). See p. 206, *infra*
Saturday 9 Jumāda I, 745 18 September, 1344	,, ,, ,, Mahal (1st visit). See p. 207, *infra*
Monday 3 Rabī' I, 746 4 July, 1345	,, ,, ,, Mulūk (1st visit). He records 70 days'[2] halt at Mulūk. See p. 215, *infra*. And he says he halted in the Maldives for a year and half.[3]
	It should be noted that he came from Mulūk to Mahal but returned to Mulūk without stopping.
	He mentions his departure from Mulūk for Ceylon on 15th *Rabī* II, 745[4]/26 August, 1344. See p. 216, *infra*.

Approximate distance travelled from Gandhār to Mulūk 3,633 miles

Wednesday 23 Jumada I, 746 21 September, 1345	He arrived at Battāla. See p. 217, *infra*
Monday 28 Jumāda I, 746 26 September, 1345	,, Salawāt. See p. 219, *infra*.

[1] Def. et Sang., IV, p. 109 [2] *Ibid.*, p. 184 [3] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[4] This should be Monday, 14 Jumāda I, 746/12 September, 1345, according to my calculation. See also p. lvii, *supra* and Def. et Sang., IV, p. 164.

Date	*Arrival*
Thursday 1 Jumāda II, 746 29 September, 1345	He arrived at Kunākar. See p. 219, *infra.*
Sunday 11 Jumāda II, 746 9 October, 1345	,, ,, ,, Qālī. See p. 223, *infra.*
Thursday 15 Jumāda II, 746 13 October, 1345	,, ,, ,, Colombo. See p. 223, *infra.*
Monday 19 Jumāda II, 746 17 October, 1345	,, ,, ,, Battāla. See p. 224, *infra.*
Tuesday 27 Jumāda II, 746 25 October, 1345	,, ,, ,, Harkātū. See p. 225, *infra.*
Sunday 10 Rajab, 746 6 November, 1345	,, ,, ,, Pattan. See p. 229, *infra.*
Sunday 15 Sha'bān, 746 11 December, 1345	,, ,, ,, Madura. See p. 230, *infra.*
Wednesday 17 Ramaẓān, 746 11 January, 1346	,, ,, ,, Pattan. See p. 232, *infra.*
Friday 26 Ramaẓān, 746 20 January, 1346	,, ,, ,, Quilon. He mentions his halt here for three months.[1] See p. 232, *infra.*
Thursday 4 Muḥarram, 747 27 April, 1346	He reached the Pigeon island and was robbed. See p. 232, *infra.*
Tuesday 9 Muḥarram, 747 2 May, 1346	He arrived at Calicut (6th visit). See p. 232, *infra.*
Thursday 25 Muḥarram, 747 18 May, 1346	,, ,, ,, Kannalūs (2nd visit). See p. 233, *infra.*
Friday 3 Ṣafar, 747 26 May, 1346	,, ,, ,, Mahal (2nd visit). See p. 233, *infra.*
Sunday 18 Rabī' I, 747 9 July, 1346	,, ,, ,, Chittagong. See p. 235, *infra.*

[1] Def. et Sang., IV, p. 206

Date	*Arrival*
Sunday 9 Rabī' II, 747 30 July, 1346	He arrived at Kamarū. See p. 239, *infra.*
Thursday 20 Rabī' II, 747 10 August, 1346	,, ,, ,, Habanq. See p. 241, *infra.*
Monday 24 Rabī' II, 747 14 August, 1346	,, ,, ,, Sonārgāon. See p. 241, *infra.*

Approximate distance travelled from Mulūk to Sonārgāon—5,147 miles.

Ramaẓān, 747 [1] January, 1347	,, ,, ,, Quilon and then at Calicut (7th visit) on his return from China *via* Sumatra.
Muḥarram, 748 [2] April, 1347.	He arrived at Dhofar (*Ẓafār*.)
Shawwāl, 748 [3] January, 1348	He reached Baghdād and subsequently visited Damascus where he heard of the death of his son from a wife he had married there twenty years before; he was also informed of the death of his father at Tangier. Then he went to Jerusalem and afterwards to Alexandria and Cairo *en route* to the Hedjaz
Saturday 22 Sha'bān, 749 [4] 15 November, 1348	He came to Mecca.
Sunday 10 Dhilḥijja, 749 [5] 1 March, 1349	He performed the pilgrimage (7th ḥajj).
Dhilḥijja, 749 March, 1349	He left Mecca for Egypt
Ṣafar, 750 [6] May, 1349	He set out from Cairo for Tunis.
Sunday 12 Rabī' I, 750 [7] 31 May, 1349	He attended the *yaum-un-nabī* at Qābis on way to Tunis.
Rabī' I, 750 June, 1349	He arrived at Tunis
Jumāda I, 750 August, 1349	He left Tunis for Sardinia and subsequently reached Tāzā where he heard of his mother's death at Tangier

[1] Def. et Sang., IV, p 309. [2] Ibid p 310. [3] *Ibid.*, p 313
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 324. [5] *Ibid*, p 325. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 327.

Date	*Arrival*
Friday 23 Sha'bān, 750 [1] 6 November, 1349	He arrived at Fez and went later to Tangier.
751-752 1350-1351	He left for Spain and journeying through Gibraltar, Ronda, Marbala, Mālaga, Ballash and Granada came back to Fez. Then he left for Sudan and came to Sijilmāsa.
Saturday 1 Muḥarram, 753 [2] 18 February, 1352	He set out from Sijilmāsa *en route* to Walata of Negroland.
Tuesday 1 Rabī' I, 753 [3] 17 April, 1352	He reached Walata.
Thursday 14 Jumāda I, 753 [4] 28 June, 1352	He arrived at Māllī.
Wednesday 22 Muḥarram, 754 [5] 27 February, 1353	He left Māllī exploring the Niger coast. Then he arrived at Takaddā.
Wednesday 11 Sha'bān, 754 [6] 11 September, 1353	He left Takaddā.
Thursday 15 Ḏhilqa'da, 754 [7] 12 December, 1353	He came to Sijilmāsa again.
Sunday 2 Ḏhilḥijja, 754 [8] 29 December, 1353	He left Sijilmāsa for Fez.

His knowledge of Indian Geography and Memory

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa stands last in the long list of the Arab and Persian geographers and explorers who came to India—Sulaimān[9] at-Tājir (852/238), Abū Dulaf Mis'ar al-Yanbū'ī (943/332), Buzurg *ibn* Shahryār (910/298), al-Mas'ūdī[10] (915/303), al-Iaṣṭkhrī (952/341), Ibn Ḥawqal (943/320), al-Maqdisī (986/376) and al-Bīrunī (1010/401)—and even in the list of those who did not come to India but wrote on the authority of travellers, namely Abū Zaid

[1] Def. et Sang., IV, p. 332. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 377. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 385. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 424

[5] *Idem.* [6] *Ibid.*, p 444. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 447. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 447.

[9] Sulaimān at-Tājir is said to have explored the Indian ocean, rounded the whole coast-line of India and visited Ceylon and Konkan. The book of his travels entitled *Silsalat-ut-tawārīkh* was translated into French and published in Paris (1718).

[10] Abul Ḥasan al-Mas'ūdī visited Multān and Manṣūra in the north and travelled into the south up to Cambay and Ceylon. His famous book—*Murūj-udh-dhahab*—contains an account of the rivers of India and mentions Kanauj in Sind—a town different from its namesake on the Ganges.

Ḥasan (878/265), Ibn Rosta (903/291), Qudāma *ibn* Ja'far (909/297), al-Balāḏhurī (892/279), Ibn an-Nadīm (988/378), al-Idrīsī (1165/561), Zakarīyā Qazwīnī (1283/682) and Yāqūt (1230/628). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is contemporary with Ṣūfī ad-Damishqī (1329/730), an-Nuwāyrī (1331/732), Abul Fidā (1331/732) and Shihāb-ud-dīn al-'amrī commonly known as Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad 'Abbās (1349/750). Many of these have made important contributions to Indian geography while some like Sulaimān at-Tājir, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Bīrūnī have earned immortal fame, their respective works having become classical. But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not possess the same faculty for geographical observation as these, although he has displayed greater spirit of adventure and exploration and his *Rehla* is not without attractions[1] for a student of Indian geography

A study of the places, rivers, mountains, routes and the fauna and flora described in the *Rehla* suggests that his knowledge of Indian geography was based on observation and experience rather than on books. He acquired information on these heads as he travelled through the country and acquainted himself particularly with the physical features. In his account[2] of the largest rivers of the world—the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Volga—he also mentions 'the river of Sind which is called Panjāb (*Banjāb*), the river of Hind which is called Ganges (*Kank*)' and the river Jumna (*Jūn*) In regard to the Ganges, however, he disappoints the reader by only remarking twice over that the 'Hindus go to it for pilgrimage and when they burn their dead they throw in it the ashes and they believe that it originates from paradise' He describes[3] the Himalayas (*Qarājil*) as amounting in length to a journey of three months which would yield 1,800 miles at the rate of 20 miles per day. This may be compared with the description given by the modern scientists. They say that the mountainous region between India and Tibet enclosed within the arms of the Indus and the Brahmaputra amounts in length to 1,500 miles.[4]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also acquired first-hand and personal information about the intervening distances in the country which he covered partly on foot and partly riding a pony travelling from one town to another and journeying each day to a certain distance. He tells us that the distance from Sivistān to Multān amounted to ten days' journey; from Sind to Dehlī, fifty days; from Telingānā (*Tiling*) to Daulatābād, forty days; from the river Indus to Janānī, two days; from Multān to Sivistān, ten days, from Multān to Dehlī, forty days; from Kanauj (*Qinauj*) to Dehlī, ten days Similarly he states that the distance from Kaṛā-Mānikpūr to Dehlī amounted to eighteen days; from Sindpat (*Sindbat*) to Dehlī, one day, from Gwalior (*Kalior*) to Dehlī, ten days; from Daulatābād to Dehlī, forty days, from Ma'bar to Dehlī *via* Daulatābād and Telingānā, six months; from Multān to Dipālpūr

[1] Cf. Raverty, H G—J.A S B., Pt I, pp 263-264, footnote 217.
[2] *The Rehla*, MS 2287 F. 11b; Pt I, p. 26, Egyptian edition
[3] *Ibid.*, MS F. 138, and Pt. II, p. 74.
[4] E.B., XI, p 360.

(*Dibālbūr*), three days; from Daulatābād to Multān, eighty days; from Dhār (*Ẓihār*) to Dehlī, twenty-four days; from Amroha to Dehlī, three days; from 'Alāpūr (*'Alābūr*) to the Chambal, one day; and from Kāmarū to Chittagong (*Sudkāwāṅ*), one month. From Ma'bar he boarded a ship and the voyage to the Maldive islands took three days. The voyage from the Maldive islands to Bengal took him forty-three days and that from the Meghna (*an-nahr-ul-azraq*)[1] to Sonārgāon (*Sunurkāwāṅ*) came to fifteen days. He has created no confusion in the course of his long and disconnected narrative of these distances, and if he has made two repetitions—the distance between Dhār and Dehlī and that between Multān and Sivistān being mentioned twice over—he has made no conflicting statements. Some of the above places and a few others like Kampila—a State in the Bellary district of Madras—he did not visit; but his topographical remarks even about these are not incorrect. He describes Kampila well and does not confuse it with Kampil which lay near Kanauj. He locates Abohar—the scene of a battle—correctly in relation to Multān. He distinguishes Ma'bar from Malabar and has made a valuable contribution by establishing Ma'bar as a separate province of the Dehlī empire and by certifying that the Pandya country was then ruled by the Muslims. He gives correctly the position of Sargadwārī as well as of Zafarābād, Sandila and Bahrāich—places connected with a rebellion of which he was an eye-witness. Similarly he describes Cambay (*Kanbāyā*), Broach (*Bilo-ara*) and Nahrwāla—places connected with the rebellion of the amīrān-i-ṣadah in Gujarāt of which he was not an eye-witness. In the course of his journey from Dehlī to Malabar he places Tilpat at a distance of seven or eight miles from the metropolis and describes in correct order Aou—an old town near Dīg now in the Bharatpur State—and Bayāna. From Bayāna he came to Koil which lay in the north-east and not in the direct line of his travel southward; and from Koil he went to Kanauj *via* Muttra (if Burjbura or Brijpur, as has been suggested by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, be identified with Muttra) and thence to Hanaul, Wazīrpūr, Bajālsa, Mawrī, Marh, 'Alāpūr, Gwalior, Parwan, Amwārī and Khajurāho successively. This is a mystery. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, who has used the large collection of maps in his library to verify and examine the above places and their sites, is of opinion that 'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's text does not give the places on his routes in proper sequence . . . ; they are jumbled together from a dim memory.' He holds it most unlikely that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Khajurāho in Bundhelkhand in the course of this journey. Of the remaining places visited by him in succession—Chanderī, Dhār, Ujjain, Daulatābād, Nandurbār, Sāgar (*Ṣāghar*), Cambay, Kāwā and Gandhār—difficulty is offered by Chanderī and Sāgar which were again not directly on the route if Khajurāho were eliminated from the scheme. In regard to Kāwā Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar says, 'It cannot be Goa; it should be Gogo—a safe anchorage in the south of the Kathiawad peninsula'.

[1] Literally 'blue river'.

At any rate Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has enriched the geography of India by bringing out many places—*e.g.* Wazīrpūr, Bajālsa, Mawrī, Marh, 'Alāpūr, Barwan, Amwārī—which have been traced, identified and shown on the maps now. In almost all cases he has introduced the names carefully with correct pronunciation—a fact which tends to show that his information was genuine and that he was not always relying on memory. It should be noted that of all the things which might leave an impression on the human mind and therefore be stored in the safe box of memory the names of places and their correct pronunciation are the last; they simply cannot be learnt by heart. If it were assumed that he wove the cobwebs of his journey from his imagination, he could not have enriched the domain of geography, history, sociology and botany in the way he has done; and in that case his *Reḥla* would have been classed with books of fiction and romance. Again, if it were assumed that he relied on his memory—sharp or dim matters little—for all the information he gave to Ibn Juzayy because 'his notes were lost at sea', it would become very difficult to account for the not ill-balanced information to be found throughout the *Reḥla*. If it were assumed that he was a 'theologian of sharp memory' and could learn as such everything by heart, the assumption will not bear examination. It is true that Muslim history presents examples of theologians who have learnt by heart the holy Qur'ān and even the books of *ḥadīṣ*, but it has presented no example of a person who could learn by heart the day-to-day events, phenomena and minutiae ranging over a quarter of a century and keep them stocked for years together in a mind which like that of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was not infrequently distressed and embittered.

This tends to show that the alleged loss of notes is a fallacy. The probability is that the notes which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had been taking all along were not completely lost, or if lost were reproduced immediately with some lacuna; this will account for certain insufficiency in the data of his itinerary. Perhaps he liked to be misunderstood on this point, and that is why he says not a word about his immediately re-writing the notes if they were lost. Perhaps he desired to have the credit for possessing a prodigious memory,[1] which he could not have enjoyed if the secret about the notes had been disclosed to the reader. Regarding the things—the epitaphs of Bukhārā—which he could not recover and reproduce, he openly acknowledges the loss.[2] But he says not a word about losing also the notes of his

[1] An evidence of this is afforded by his mentioning an incident which took place at Gheiva (*Kāwiya*) in Anatolia. There he met a certain jurist who spoke to him in Persian. And the jurist's Persian words which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not understand at all stuck in his memory until many years later when he learnt the Persian language. Then he came to know the meaning of all that he had learnt by heart without an effort. (The *Reḥla*, Pt I, p. 235; Egyptian edition, Def. et Sang., II, pp. 327-328)

[2] Says he, 'At Bukhārā I visited the tomb of the learned imām Abū 'Abdullāh al-Bukhārī, author of the *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* and chief of the Muslims, and there was an epitaph bearing the author's name—Muḥammad *ibn* Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī—together with the title of his works. It is customary at Bukhārā to epitaph the 'ulamā's names

earlier travels. Nor does he mention this kind of loss in connection with his report of the attack by the pirates, under which head he expresses sorrow exclusively for being robbed of the money[1] he had collected and of all that he had hoarded against the day of adversity—'jewels, rubies, clothes and provisions'.

The above fallacy has unavoidably led to some assumptions. For instance, it is assumed[2] that on crossing the Indus on the first day of *Muḥarram*, 734/12th September, 1333, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa loitered in the region of the Indus for a period of eight months, that is, until *Ramaẓān* 734/May 1334, visiting different places and enjoying sights of which he made no mention in the *Reḥla*. From this assumption it would follow that he arrived at Sivistān in *Shawwāl*, 734/July, 1334 and at Dehlī about *Rabī'* I, 735/November, 1334—a result which would militate against the historical order of facts in the *Reḥla*, namely (1) the emperor's absence[3] from the capital whilst Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived at Dehlī on 13th *Rajab*, 734/20th March, 1334; (2) the death of his daughter one and a half months after his arrival towards the close of *Sha'bān* or in the beginning of *Ramaẓān*, 734/May, 1334; (3) the celebration of the *'Id-ul-Fiṭr* at the metropolis during the emperor's absence on 1st *Shawwāl*, 734/5th June, 1334, and (4) the emperor's return on the fourth day after the said 'Īd, *i.e.*, on 8th June, 1334.

Similarly it is assumed[4] that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa depicts Wunār[5] as Sāmirī of the Sāmira or es-Sāmara stock of Muslims, although 'his description of their customs clearly shows that the Sāmira were Hindus and therefore an indigenous Sindhi tribe'.[6] But the said depicture consists of two parts.[7] In the first part Ibn Baṭṭūṭa merely reproduces the time-honoured view regarding their habitat, while in the second part he makes a personal observation in a manner which shows that he actually believed them to have been Hindū converts to Islām. The same is the view held by Ḥājjī-ud-Dabīr[8] and other later writers.[9]

Further Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the Wunār rebellion has led to an assumption[10] that he blundered into fixing 'the date of the commencement of the Samma rule in Sind'. This is highly problemetical since the contention that Wunār, the hero of the said rebellion, was Jām Unār—a Samma and not a Sūmra—is not borne out by Baranī[11] who uses the term Jām for the Sūmra chief of the age of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq and takes no notice of the Sammas. Moreover, the Sammas are neither mentioned by 'Iṣāmī[12] nor by Ḥājjī-ud-Dabīr[13]; both mention the Sumras

together with a list of their works. I copied many of these epitaphs which I lost among all the other things when the infidel pirates of India robbed me.' (The *Reḥla*, MS. 2287 F. 102; Pt. I, p. 282, Egyptian edition; Def. et Sang., III, p. 28.)

[1] Def. et Sang., IV, pp. 206-207. [2] J.R. As. Soc, 1873, p. 404.

[3] See p. 24, *infra*. [4, 6 & 10] J.R. As. Soc., 1873, pp. 405–408.

[5] See p. 8, *infra*. [7] See p. 6, *infra*. [8] A.H.G., I, p. 22,

[9] Is.C., 1935, p. 156. [11] T.F., p. 523. [12] F.S. verse 3331.

[13] Though a much later writer and a contemporary of Firishta, Ḥājjī-ud-Dabīr has used sources which are not available now. See R.F.M., p. 256. A.H.G., III, p. 885.

instead. Still, a comparative study of the available sources of information including the *Tārīkh-i-Sind*[1], *Tuḥfat-ul-kirām*[2], the *Beglar Nāma*[3] and the Kathiwad annals[4] urges the conclusion that the aforesaid account of the Wunār rebellion in the *Reḥla* adumbrates the Samma beginnings in Sind and that the Sumras who had been rebellious[5] since the time of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq encountered Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq primarily in 729/1328 when they appear to have joined the rebel hordes of Kishlū Khān and subsequently in 751/1350 when they gave shelter to the rebel Ṭaghī. Then followed the royal campaigns in pursuit of Ṭaghī, and the Sumras suffered in the process. In this way their decline which had commenced a little before the arrival of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Sind was complete by 752/1351 when Urrah Mehl[6], the last of the Sūmra chiefs, was killed by the Samma conspirators who asserted their independence. As a result, when in 763/1361 Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh invaded Sind it was the Sammas who opposed him.

Furthermore, it is assumed[7] that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's memory failed him in regard to the orthography of Janānī which, it has been contended, should have been Halānī. But Halānī, a village in the Kandhiaro taluka, was founded in the seventeenth century with a large population of the Lohano agriculturists. Rather it appears, as a study of the oldest available geological maps[8] of the Indus valley tends to suggest, that Janānī, rightly reproduced in the *Reḥla*, was destroyed by the Indus—a probability in view of the tortuous changes occurring in the course of the Indus and its feeders through the ages. Perhaps its name survived partly in Jalbānī which later arose and now stands about seven miles off the right bank of the Indus.

I feel that it would not be fair to view any or every odd thing in the *Reḥla* in the light of the fallacious 'loss of his notes'. What might appear a weird statement concerning, for instance, the so-called river (*wādī*) of Khusroābād[9] or about the island of Java, the towns of Qāqula and Qamāra and the land of Ṭawālisī[10] should not be laid at the door of the above fallacy. It is true that Khusroābād is usually not the name of a river. But the term *wādī* in the text might as well signify a big channel. Possibly it was the name of an artificial channel constructed under Quṭb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī and named after his favourite minister Khusrav Khān to canalize the waters of the Rāvī and to prevent the tendencies of that river towards an upward rise. The fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not specify the Rāvī should not create any difficulty, for he considered all the rivers that disembogued themselves into the Sind as bearing the same name—a fact

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1 Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm—T.S., pp. 60–64.
2 'Alī Shēr—T.K., III, pp. 47–49.
3 E.D., I, p. 494.
4 A.S.I. Kathiawad and Kachh, p. 185.
5 *Antiquities of Sind*, p. 31.
6 Cf Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, 2nd edition, pp. 27-28.
7 J.R. As. Soc., 1873, p. 412.
8 I have studied these in the G.S.I
9 See p. 12, *infra*.
10 See p. lviii.

which finds cofirmation in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.[1] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa crossed the said *wādī* of Khusroābād not far from Multān; and if it be recalled that the Rāvī then flowed[2] by Multān his point would be substantiated.

Java (*Jāwa*) was an early Arabic denomination[3] of both Java and Sumatra, while Java *in esse* bore the name of Zābaj.[4] Later the terms Java Major and Java Minor were used for Java proper and Sumatra respectively. Yule's opinion that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not visit Java proper and visited Cambodia instead clashes with the text which clearly mentions *Mul-Jāwa* meaning Java proper. From the reasons[5] given by Yule it would appear that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited both Java proper and Cambodia, the quandary[6] in question being due to the insufficiency of data, above illustrated. Similarly in regard to Qāqula[7] and Qamāra[8] Yule's finding[9] that these lay on the coast of the Malay peninsula to the exclusion of every testimony[10] in favour of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement tends to establish his visit to the coastal region of the Malay peninsula as well. Ṭawālisī, which reminds one of Tawal[11] in the Malay archipelago and Talysian[12] east of Borneo, might be identified with either of the two. Still there is great speculation about it; and underlying the wide range of suggestions[13] identifying it with Cambodia, Cochin-China, Celebes, Tonkin, Philippines, Soolo north-east of Borneo, and with Japan there is a tendency to treat it as hearsay on the part of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—an instance of the consequences that flow from the said fallacy about the loss of his notes.

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[1] Jarret and Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar—A. Ak., II, p. 330. [2] I.G., XVIII, p. 24.

[3], [4] E.I., II, pp. 576-577 and IV, p. 551; M.B., II, p. 904.

[5] *Cathay*, IV, p. 155.

[6] *Idem*.

[7], [8] Both these places were noted for the fragrant wood described elsewhere as *qamārī* and *qāqulī*. See p. 63.

[9] *Cathay*, IV, pp. 96, 157.

[10] M.B., IV, p. 173.

[11], [12] *Cathay*, IV, p. 159.

[13] *Cathay*, IV, pp. 155, 157-160, 173.

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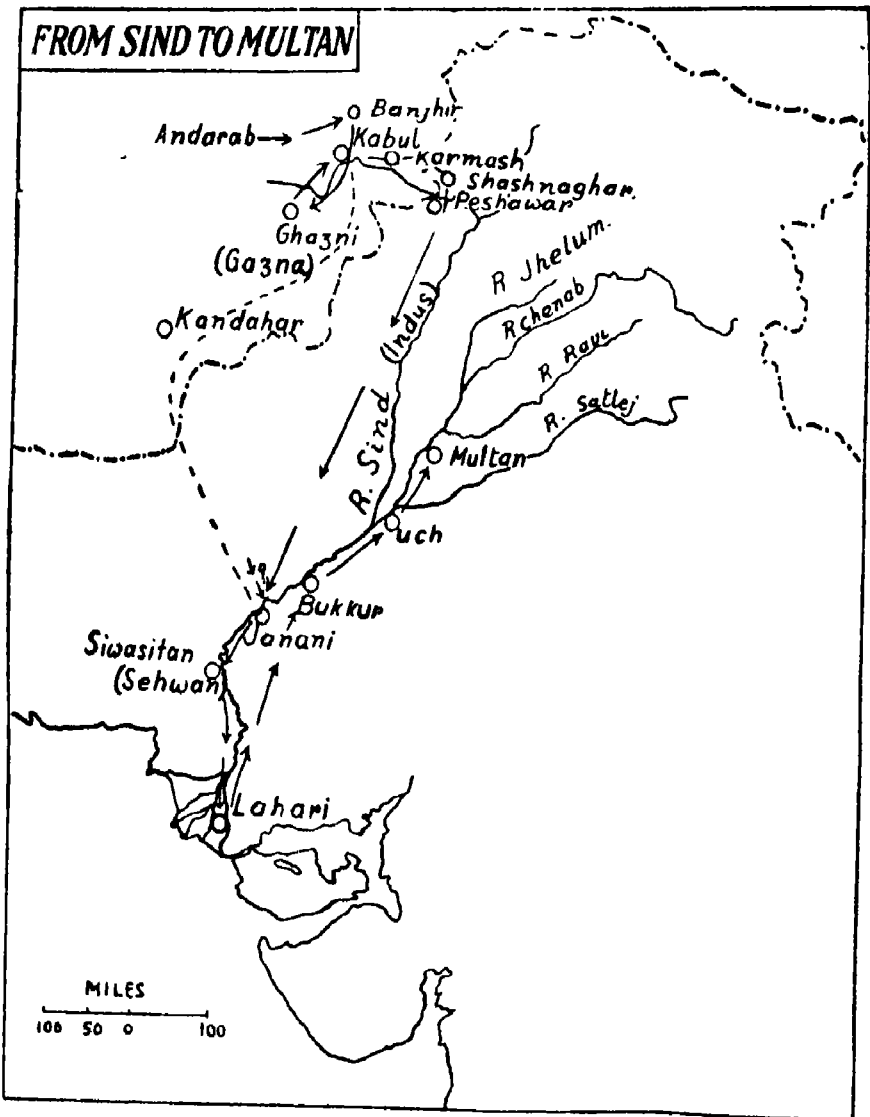
CHAPTER I

FROM SIND TO MULTĀN

In the name of God, kind and merciful, may God bless our Prophet Muḥammad, his descendants and companions! And may He accord them peace!

Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad *bin* 'Abdullāh *bin* Muḥammad *bin* Ibrāhīm of the tribe of Lawāta,[1] and an inhabitant of Tangier (*Ṭanja*)[2] commonly known as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—may God have mercy on him!—says:—

On the first of the month of Allāh[3]—*Muḥarram*—which marked the opening of the year[4] 734 we reached the valley of Sind[5] known as the

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[1] 'Lawāta' was the name of a place in Andalus, and also a name given to some Berber tribes who inhabited the eastern part of North Africa.

[2] Tangier on the Strait of Gibraltar is a town in Morocco.

[3] *I.e. al-ilāh* meaning 'the God'. For *Muḥarram* see page 143 *infra*.

[4] 12th September, 1333 A.C.

[5] It is difficult to determine the exact route which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa pursued in order to reach the Indus. But his journey from Kābul to Shashnaghār near Peshāwar *via* Karmāsh urges the conclusion that he entered India by the famous route of the Khyber Pass. That he visited Ghaznī prior to Kābul is not impossible; and in any case the mention of Ghaznī in the *Reḥla* before that of Kābul is no powerful evidence that he pursued any other route; nor is the mention of a desert extending to fifteen days' journey from Shashnaghār strong enough reason to alter the conclusion.

In his notes on '*Afghanistan and Part of Baluchistan*' Raverty has described several routes leading from Kābul to Peshāwar *via* 'Ash-Naghar, which is, in fact, no other than the Shashnaghār of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Raverty (pp. 175, 177, 239) tells us that 'Ash-Naghar was the ancient name of the district near Peshāwar which in modern times became known as Hashtnagar. And Karmāsh or Koh-i-Karmāsh has been described by the same author (p. 91) on the authority of Bābar as the mountainous tract south-east of Gardaiz, not far from Kābul. This is exactly the position and character of Karmāsh related in the *Reḥla* (Def. et Sang. III, p. 91).

Mžik describes Hashtnagar as a district 16 miles north-east of Peshāwar, and fixes Karmāsh between Hashtnagar and Kābul roughly. This tends to support the conclusion reached above. Mžik wonders why Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not use the ordinary way which would have led him to Multān, and is impressed by his arrival at a place on the Indus which lay at a distance of two days' journey from Janānī. But the *Reḥla* makes it quite clear that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived in the vicinity of Peshāwar whence he travelled *en route* to Multān passing through Janānī, Sehwān, Lāharī, Bukkur and Uch successively. Why he did not go straight to Dehlī which was his objective is a mystery. That Dehlī, the capital of Hind, and not Multān, the capital of Sind, was his objective is evident from his start at Kābul. 'In marching from our country to Sind', says al-Bīrūnī, 'we start from the country of Nīmroz, *i.e.* the country of Sījistān; whilst marching to Hind or India proper we start from the side of Kābul' (Sachau I, p. 198). Presumably Ibn Baṭṭūṭa changed his mind subsequently, and instead of journeying from the vicinity of Peshāwar ahead to Dehlī he set his mind on Multān where he had been directed to meet the renowned saint Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn Multānī, otherwise known as Rukn-i-'ālam. And the fact that the latter is introduced in the *Reḥla* in the course of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit to Janānī tends to show why he travelled to

Panjāb, which means five waters. This is one of the largest river-beds of the world. It overflows in summer; and the people of the Panjāb cultivate the soil after its overflow in the same way as do the people of Egypt at the time of the overflow of the Nile. This river marks the beginning of the dominions[1] of the great Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, emperor of Hind[2] and Sind.[3]

When we reached this river the news officers, deputed for the purpose, came to us and reported our arrival to Quṭb-ul-mulk, governor

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Janānī Most probably he met Rukn-i 'ālam there; and from Janānī he proceeded to Sehwān because it contained the sacred and historic letter of 'Umar *bin* 'Abdul 'Azīz, the most popular of the Ommayyad caliphs. Ibn Battūta's journey from Sehwān to Lāharī was accidental. He himself says that he met a rich merchant 'Alā-ul-mulk who owned several ships and was then sailing from Sehwān to Lāharī and that he made friends with him and resolved to sail with him. From Lāharī Ibn Baṭṭūta must needs make his way to Multān and so he did, visiting the towns of Bukkur and Uch respectively which lay on the way.

Mžik is of opinion that difficulties about securing an immediate permit for a direct journey from the place of landing to the metropolis of Dehlī came in the way. Says he, ' .the reason may be that the frontier police which kept a very good eye on the Indus and Khusroābād did not let him in. For the district of Sehwān and Lāharī there might have been other regulations, of which at least the first had the position of a self-governing province under a native dynasty which was only tributary to Dehlī. At any rate there existed between the provinces and the province of Sind a custom-frontier and therefore at the same time a frontier of passports.'

Mžik's opinion in regard to Sehwān remains unconfirmed. He appears to have been impressed by the name Sumra or Sāmira which has raised a controversy. In this connection the reader is requested to refer to my book—*The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*—(pp. 79-80, footnote). It may be recalled that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met Shaibānī, the hereditary orator (*khaṭīb*) at Sehwān and obtained necessary information from him; and he also met one Shaikh Muḥammad who was more than 140 years old and acted as his informant, but he (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) does not say a word about Sehwān being under a 'native dynasty'. Far from it, he describes it as an integral part and province of Muhammad *bin* Tughluq's empire and tells us that the emperor had appointed a Hindū, named Ratan Chand, governor of Sehwān and had conferred on him the title of '*aẓīm-us-Sind*, *i.e.* raja of Sind.

[1] See map of the empire of Dehlī, p. 2

[2] & [3] Al-Bīrūnī throws light on the term *Hind wa Sind*. 'The country of Sind,' says he, 'lies to the west of Kanoj. In marching from our country to Sind we start from the country of Nīmroz, *i.e.* the country of Sijistān, whilst marching to Hind or India proper we start from the side of Kābul' (Sachau, I, p. 198). It appears that Hind is a generic name for India synonymous with Bhārat Varsha (भारतवर्ष) According to Platts (*Hindi-English Dictionary*, p. 178) 'Bhārat (भारत) is the Hindū name for India proper', the so-called patrimony of Bhārat, son of Dushyānt. Platts (p. 1198) further tells us that 'Varsha (वर्ष) signifies a division of the earth or known world'. Borrowing his information from Hindū sources, al-Bīrūnī says that 'Bhārat which constitutes half the world is divisible into nine parts, Sind being one of these....'

(Al-Bīrūnī : *Fī Taḥqīq Mā Lil Hind*, London, p. 149.)

Firishta (*Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Bombay, p. 16) says that 'Hind was the name of one of the sons of Noah; and his descendants who bore the names of Sind, Bang, Dakan and Nahrwāl gave their respective names to the various parts and provinces of India.' But it is generally accepted that the word 'Sind' originates from 'Sindhū'—a Sanskrit name of the Indus.

(*amīr*) of the city of Multān.[1] At this time the chief governor (*amīr-ul-umarā*) of Sind was Sartez, the sulṭān's slave and the minister of the army (*'arẓ-ul-mamālik*).[2] Before him pass in review the troops of the sulṭān. The name '*sartez*' signifies sharp-headed,—*sar* meaning 'head' and *tēz* meaning 'sharp.' At the time of our arrival he was at the city of Sivistān (*Siwasitān*) in Sind, which lies at a distance of ten days' journey from Multān. Between the province of Sind and Dehlī, the sulṭān's residence, there is a journey of fifty days. When the news officers write from the province of Sind to the sulṭān, the message reaches him because of the postal system within five days.

Postal System

In India the post is of two kinds. The horse-post called *ūlāq*[3] is run by the royal horses stationed at a distance of every four miles. The foot-post has three stations per mile; it is called *dāwa*,[4] that is to say, one-third of a mile. The mile (*mīl*)[5] is known among the Indians as *kuroh*.[6] Now, at every third of a mile there is a well-populated village, outside which

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[1] Al-Bīrūnī writes 'Mūlastān' or 'Mūlasthān' as well as 'Multān' (*Fī Taḥqīq Mā Lil Hind*, London, p. 149); and he tells us that the town of Multān changed names in the course of ages. Originally it was called Kasyapapura, then Hamsapura, then Bagapura, then Sambhapura and then Mulasthana, *i.e.* the original place, for *mūla* means root, and *sthana* means 'place' (Sachau, I, p. 298).

Multān is obviously derived from Mulasthān. It is an old town in the Panjāb famous for its idols and temples. It was the frontier outpost and provincial capital of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq's empire.

[2] Mžik (p. 24) translates '*Arẓ-ul-mamālik* (عرض الممالك) as 'Inspector of Provinces'. The French scholars translate it as 'Inspector of Slaves' (Def et Sang, III, p. 94). But they explain in the appendix that a different reading—عرض المماليك in some MSS. led them to do so and that the correct reading was عرض الممالك, *i.e.* a military officer who surveyed the troops. Defrémery and Sanguinetti also point out that Briggs (I, p. 210) has given an inexact translation of the term عرض الممالك, *i.e.* 'an officer through whom petitions are presented'. See *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. 220.

[3] *Ūlāq* connotes a messenger or courier, *i.e.* 'one who is the channel for forwarding messages or letters' (Redhouse *Turkish Dictionary*).

[4] '*Dāwa*' (داوة) seems to have been originally داوية which is an Arabic word for desert and wilderness. It may be a short form of the Persian word 'davādavīya' (دوا دوية) or 'dawā-dav' (دوا دو) which means 'running incessantly or in every direction or a messenger or anyone constantly employed in running of errands' (Johnson).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses the word دوا دوية elsewhere (*vide* Chapter XIII, p. 136) to denote men who run in front of a conveyance, and carry torches by night.

[5] It should be noted that *mīl* (ميل) in Arabic did not originally signify a fixed distance. '*Mīl*', says *al-Munjid*, 'is a distance without definition. It is said by some to be just what you can see of the land; and in *ḥadīs* it is a distance of 4,000 cubits (*al-Munjid*, 7th edition, p. 845). As such the said *mīl* could be conveniently interchanged with any unit of measurable distance which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa identified with the term *kuroh* then in common use.

[6] *Kuroh* is the third part of a *farsakh* of 12,000 *gaz*, each *kuroh* consisting of 3,000 *gaz* of 32 *angusht* or fingers' breadth or 4,000 *gaz* of 24 fingers' breadth, equal

are three pavilions in which sit men with girded loins ready to start. Each carries a rod, two cubits in length with copper bells at the top. When the courier starts from the city he holds the letter in one hand and the rod with its bells in the other; and he runs as fast as he can. When the men in the pavilion hear the ringing of the bells they get ready. As soon as the courier reaches them, one of them takes the letter from his hand and runs at top speed shaking the rod all the while until he reaches the next *dāwa*. And the same process continues till the letter reaches its destination. This foot-post is quicker than the horse-post; and often it is used to transport the fruits of Khurāsān which are much desired in India. Placed in secure baskets the fruits are carried by the couriers who run at top speed till they reach the sulṭān. In the same way notorious criminals are transported. Each is placed on a frame of wood and is carried on their heads by the couriers who go at full speed. Similarly, water for the sulṭān's use is carried from the Ganges to Daulatābād when he resides there. The Ganges is the river to which the Hindus make their pilgrimage. It lies at a distance of forty days' journey from Daulatābād. When the news officers write and despatch the news of the new arrivals in the country to the sulṭān, they write out the news in full and vigorously, telling him the physical features, the garment, the number of the companions, servants and slaves and horses of the new-comer; they communicate further how he behaves on the march and at rest and his whole conduct, leaving out no pertinent detail whatever. When the new-comer reaches Multān, the capital of the province of Sind, he stops there till the issue of the royal orders for his coming and entertainment. There every person is honoured according to his deeds and conduct and ambition, no recognition whatever being made of his descent and parentage.

One of the habits of the emperor of India (*malik-ul-Hind*), Sulṭān Abul Mujāhid Mahammad Shāh, is to honour foreigners and to love them by specially appointing them as governors and high officers. Most of his special officers, chamberlains, ministers, judges and brothers-in-law are foreigners. He has issued orders that in his dominions foreigners should be addressed as *a'izza*.[1] And *a'izza* has consequently become a proper name for them. And every new-comer must make a present to the sulṭān, a present which might serve as a means of access to him. The sulṭān gives in return presents worth several times more Many references will shortly be made to the foreigners' presents to the emperor.

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to six fists . . . It varies in different localities, and is on an average something less than two miles. In Hindustan, the Panjab and the Derahjat, *kuroh* is termed 'kos' (Raverty: *Notes on Afghanistan and Part of Baluchistan*, I).

It should be noted that *kos* or *krósa* (क्रोश) is a Sanskrit word (Monier-Williams, p. 322) and amounts to 4,000 yards in length as a rule. Under Shēr Shāh Sūr the standard *kuroh* amounted to 60 jaribs, each *jarib* being equal to 60 yards in length. Under Akbar, the Mughal emperor, a *kos* was fixed at 100 tanabs, each *ṭanāb* or chain being equal to 50 *gaz* or 400 bamboos. Thus the Shēr Shāhī mile (میل) comes to 1,800 yards, Akbar's to 2,500 and Muhammad *bin* Tughluq's to about 2,000 yards.

[1] See p. 67 *infra*, footnote 1.

And, as the giving of presents has become an unfailing practice with the people (*an-nās*),[1] the merchants in Sind and Hind advance a loan of thousands of dinars to every new-comer intending to visit the sulṭān; and they provide him with all that he needs for the purpose of presents to the king or for his personal use in the form of riding animals, camels and goods. They even render monetary and personal services to such persons and wait on them like attendants. When these persons reach the sulṭān, he gives them magnificent gifts with which they pay off their debts and honour their pledges. So the trade of the merchants thrives and they make enormous profits. This has become an unfailing practice with them.

When I arrived in Sind I did the same. I bought horses, camels, slaves and other things from the merchants. From Muḥammad-ud-dūrī, a merchant of 'Irāq, an inhabitant of Takrīt,[2] I purchased at Ghazna about thirty horses and a camel carrying a load of arrows—a gift usually presented to the sulṭān Muḥammad-ud-dūrī went to Khurāsān whence he returned to India and exacted from me the money which I owed him. He made an enormous profit through me and in this way was classed among the great merchants After many years I met him in the city of Aleppo (*Halab*) when the infidels had robbed me of all I possessed, but I got no help from him.

Account of the rhinoceros

When we crossed the river Indus, better known as the Panjāb, we entered a swamp of reeds which lay across our way. Suddenly a rhinoceros sprang on us. It was a huge black animal with a large head of inordinate bulk and stoutness That is why it is said that the rhinoceros is all head and no body. It is smaller than an elephant but its head is several times bigger[3] than that of the elephant. Between its eyes is a horn about three cubits long and a span wide. When it sprang upon us, a horseman encountered it on the way. The rhinoceros attacked his horse with its horn which pierced its thigh knocking it down. Then it returned to the swamp and we were unable to overpower him.

Again on this route I saw a rhinoceros after the '*aṣr*[4] prayer while it was grazing. When we intended to attack it, it fled. Still again I saw a rhinoceros,[5] but then we were with the Indian emperor (*malik-ul-Hind*). While the sulṭān was riding on an elephant and we were riding

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[1] *An-nās* here signifies 'foreign visitors', 'travellers' and 'officials'. Cf. pp. 34, 50, 54 *infra*.

[2] Takrīt or Tikrīt was a town of great importance on the Tigris. It is said to have been founded by the Sāsāniān king Sābūr and to have been named after a Christian woman Takrīt *bint* Wāil (*E.I.*, IV, p. 632).

[3] See. p. 111 *infra*.

[4] 'Aṣr literally means time or a period of time. Here *aṣr* signifies the prayer of afternoon, so called because it is performed in عصران, the last portion of the day (Lane, p. 2062).

[5] 'The *gaṇḍa*', says al-Bīrūnī, 'exists in large numbers in India, more particularly about the Ganges . . . .' (Sachau I, p. 204). Al-Bīrūnī gives more details than Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and throws greater light on the conspicuous position of this animal.

on other elephants we entered a reed swamp along with him; and the infantry as well as the cavalry entered the swamp, started the beast and killed it. Its head was carried to the camp.

We journeyed from the river Indus for two days and arrived in the city of Janānī,[1] a big and handsome city on the bank of the Indus. It has splendid markets and the inhabitants are a people called Sāmira.[2] They have been residing there from ancient times. Their ancestors were living there when during the time of Ḥajjāj[3] *bin* Yusuf it was conquered, as has been recorded by historians dealing with the Sind conquest.

The learned and sincere prelate and devout worshipper Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn—the son of the pious jurist Shaikh Shams-ud-dīn, the son of the devout worshipper and prelate Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakarīya al-Qurashī who was *one*[4] of the three personages whom the holy and pious Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn al-'Araj had foretold at Alexandria that I should meet in the course of my journeys and whom I met, praise be to God!—told me that his great-grandfather was Muḥammad *bin* Qāsim al-Qurashī and that at the time of the conquest of Sind he was on the roll of the army which Hajjāj *bin* Yusuf had sent for the conquest during his governorship of 'Irāq. Muḥammad *bin* Qāsim al-Qurashī lived there and his descendants increased. As for the people who go by the name of Sāmira, they do not eat with anybody nor can anyone look towards them when they are eating; nor do they marry among people other than their own and no one marries in their fold. At the time of my visit they had an amīr called Wunār whose story we shall tell later.

We then journeyed from the city of Janānī till we reached Sivistān (*Sīwasitān*)—a large city outside which is a treeless waste and sandy steppes. The only tree to be seen there is the acacia. And along the banks of its river nothing is cultivated, except the melon. The food of the inhabitants is millet and peas called '*mushunk*'. With it they prepare bread. Fish and buffalo milk can be had there in abundance. The people eat the *saqanqūr*—a small animal resembling the chameleon—called by the westerners[5] the paradise-snake (*ḥunaishal-ul-janna*) But it differs from the latter in having no tail I saw them dig it out of the sand, cut it open, throw out its intestines and stuff it with curcuma which they call *zard shob*[6] meaning 'yellow wood' and which they use instead of saffron

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[1] Janānī: a town, which then lay probably between Uch and Sukkar, has long been extinct.

[2] *I.e.* Sūmra or Sumera Opinions differ as regards the origin of the Sāmira. Some regard them as Rajpūt converts to Islām; others as Hindū Rajputs. It has also been contended that they were Jewish converts to Islām, and had originally come from 'Irāq. They embraced the Qarāmita heresy in Sind, where they established their rule. See—

(i) E.D., I, pp. 483–495. (ii) R.F.M., pp 79, 80 footnote.
(iii) Is C., Jan, 1935 (iv) J R.As Soc., 1887, pp. 404–407.

[3] An Ommayyad statesman and conqueror (661/41–714/95).

[4] See p. 20, footnote 5.

[5] *I.e.* the inhabitants of north-west Africa.

[6] *Shob* is the Arabic form of Persian *chob* (چوب) which means wood (Steingass).

When I saw this small animal being eaten by them I regarded it as dirty and did not eat it.

We entered Sivistān in the height of summer when it was exceedingly hot. My companions used to sit naked, wearing one piece of cloth round the waist and another soaked in water round the shoulders. Very soon after it was put on this cloth became dry; then they wetted it again, and so continued. Here I saw an orator (*khaṭīb*) of Sivistān [1] known as Shaibānī who showed me a letter of *amīr-ul-mominīn* [2] Caliph 'Umar *bin* 'Abdul 'Azīz [3]—may God be pleased with him!—addressed to Shaibānī's great-grandfather investing him with the *khaṭīb's* office at Sivistān. His descendants had all succeeded to that office from that time onward.

Text of the letter

'Hereby the servant of God *amīr-ul-mominīn* 'Umar *bin* 'Abdul 'Azīz issues an order for such and such a man.'

This letter dated 99 [4] bore the script of *amīr-ul-mominīn* 'Umar *bin* 'Abdul 'Azīz—'All praises to God, the Lonely'. Such was the information the aforesaid orator gave me!

In Sivistān I also met the grand old Shaikh Muḥammad of Baghdād who lived in a hospice built upon the tomb of the pious Shaikh 'Usmān Marandī. He is said to have been more than one hundred and forty years old and is reported to have been present at the time of the murder of al-Must'aṣim Billāh, the last of the Abbasid caliphs—may God be pleased with them!—, committed by the infidel Hulāūn [5] *bin* Tankez the Tartar. Despite his age Shaikh Muḥammad is a man of strong body and walks freely about by himself.

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[1] *I.e.* Sehwān—probably the same as Sīwasītān or Sivistān; an old town in the Larkana district of Sind. (See map, p. 1.)

[2] *I.e.* the chief of the faithful.

[3] 'Umar *bin* 'Abdul 'Azīz was the eighth of the fourteen Ommayyad caliphs. He was the most godly and popular of them all. His reign (A.C. 717–19) though short has been considered by orthodox Muslims as good as the period of the *khulafā-i-rāshidīn*.

[4] 717 A.C.

[5] Hulāūn is an attempt on the part of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to reproduce the correct Mongolian form of the name of Chingiz Khān's grandson, commonly known as Hulāgū. It should be noted that Hulāgū is the Persian form of the said Mongolian name Hula'ū or Ula'ū (*Journal Asiatique*, 1925, p. 225).

Hulāgū, whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa erroneously describes as the son of Chingiz, was the fifth son of Tulul, the youngest son of Chingiz Khān. He was a Mongol conqueror and founder of a Mongol kingdom in Persia. He was born in 1217 A.C. and died in 1265 Under the orders of his brother Mongke, he marched against Baghdād in 1258 and destroyed the caliphate of the Abbasids.

It should be noted that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has previously described Chingiz in the course of his account of the Tartars (Def. et Sang. III, pp. 22–27). 'Tankez Khān', says he, 'was a blacksmith in the country of Cathay . . . . .'

Tankez is the Turkish form of the Mongolian name Cinggis Khagan; and 'Cinggis' appears to have been derived from 'cinga' meaning strong, powerful. Pelliot thinks that 'Čingiz' may be a palatalised form of Turkish 'tengis' or 'dengiz' which means 'sea'. Cf. Pelliot: *Les Mongols et la Papauté* referred to by Grousset: *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient* II, p. 445.

Anecdote

In this city lived the amīr Wunār[1] as-Sāmirī, who has been mentioned before, and the amīr Qaiṣar-ur-rūmī, both in the sulṭān's service, having with them about one thousand and eight hundred cavalry. Here also lived a Hindū infidel, named Ratan, who was skilful at writing and arithmetic and served with a certain amīr at a deputation on the emperor of India (*malik-ul-Hind*). The sulṭān appreciated him and honoured him with the title of *'aẓīm-us-Sind*.[2] He installed him as governor of this province and granted him the *iqṭā'* of Sivistān and its dependencies. Further, he conferred on him the *marātib*[3]—an honour which is usually conferred upon great amirs, namely the trumpets and distinctive marks. When Ratan arrived in Sind, Wunār and Qaisar were aggrieved because they detested the predominance of an infidel over them. Consequently they determined to kill him. A few days after his arrival they advised him to tour the suburbs of the city to examine its condition. He went with them, but at nightfall there arose an uproar in his tent. They declared that a beast had sprung upon it and, wending their way to the infidel's tent, they killed him. Then they returned to the city and seized the whole of the government money there amounting to twelve lacs—a lac being equal to one hundred thousand silver tankas (*dīnār*); and the value of each lac is equal to ten thousand Indian gold dinars. And the Indian *dīnār* is equal to two and a half gold dinars of the *maghrib*[4].

The rebels installed the aforesaid Wunār as their chief, whom they called Malik Fīroz, who distributed the money among the troops. Wunār then feared for his life, cut off as he was from his tribe. With a following of his kinsmen still with him he came out of the city and made his way towards his tribe. The remaining army made Qaiṣar-ur-rūmī their chief.

All this news reached 'Imād-ul-mulk Sartez, the sulṭān's slave, who was then the governor of Sind and resided at Multān. He assembled his troops and set about his journey by land and on the Indus. From Multān to Sivistān is ten days' journey. Qaiṣar marched out towards him, and a battle was fought. Qaiṣar and his followers suffered a severe defeat and they fortified themselves in the city. 'Imād-ul-mulk Sartez besieged them and aimed his ballistas at them. The siege was so severe that they begged for mercy forty days after it had been laid. He granted them an amnesty; but after they had surrendered he broke his word, appropriated their property and ordered them to be executed. Every day he had some executed; some he would decapitate, others he would cut by the waist in two. He skinned the others; and stuffing their skins with straw he hung these on the ramparts. The ramparts largely covered with the cruciform skins presented a ghastly sight which frightened every one who looked at them. And their heads he gathered in the centre of the city where they formed a hillock.

[1] See p. 6 *supra* and also J.R.As.Soc., 1887, p. 406. [2] *I.e.* raja of Sind.
[3] See p. 136, *infra*. [4] *I.e.* Morocco. For silver and gold tankas, see R.F.M., p. 237. Also see p. xlvii *supra*.

Soon after this occurrence I came to Sivistān and put up there in a large school. I used to sleep on the roof; and in the course of the night whenever I got up and saw those cruciform skins I shrank before the sight. And I did not like to stay at that school; so I left it.

The learned and accomplished jurist 'Alā-ul-mulk of Khurāsān, commonly known as Faṣīḥ-ud-dīn, previously the *qāẓī* of Herāt, had come to the emperor of India (*malik-ul-Hind*) who had appointed him administrator [1] of the city of Lāharī and its dependencies in the province of Sind. 'Alā-ul-mulk had participated in the above-mentioned expedition under 'Imād-ul-mulk Sartēz with the soldiers he had with him. I resolved to travel with him to the town of Lāharī. He had with him fifteen ships to carry his luggage during his voyage down the Indus. So I travelled with him.

Indus voyage and its organization

Among the ships belonging to the jurist 'Alā-ul-mulk there was one called *al-ahaurah*—a kind of tartan (*tarīda*) of ours, the only difference being that it is a little broader and shorter. Half of it formed a wooden cabin to which access was gained by means of a ladder. At the top of that cabin was a dais specially prepared for the amīr to sit upon. in his front used to sit his suite, his slaves standing on his right and his left. About forty sailors rowed the ship; and along with the *al ahaura* there were four boats on its right and left Two of them contained the amīr's insignia (*marātib*), namely the distinctive marks—the drums, the trumpets, the bugles and flutes, that is *ghaiṭāī* The other two boats carried singers. and by turns the drums were beaten, trumpets were blown and the singers sang. So it continued from daybreak till the time of lunch The boats then joined together and were connected with one another. The ladders were placed between them and the singers came to the *al-ahaurah*, the amīr's boat. And they continued to chant till the amīr finished his meal. Afterwards they took theirs. And their meal being over, they came back to their boat and resumed their voyage according to the prescribed order till nightfall. Then a camp was pitched on the river bank and the amīr alighted in his camp and the *simāṭ* [2] was laid; and most of the troops took part in the meal. When the retiring *'ishā* prayer was finished the sentries mounted guard by turns during the night. When a group of sentries had finished their duty, one from amongst them would call out in a loud voice, 'Your Excellency (*khūnd malik*)! so many hours of the night have passed.'

Then the next group mounted guard; and on coming off duty, their crier would likewise call out how many hours had passed. At dawn the drums were beaten and trumpets blown, and the morning prayer was performed Food was then served, after which the journey was resumed. If the amīr wished to go by water he embarked in the way we have

[1] Literally 'governor'.

[2] *I.e.* a sheet of cloth specially prepared to serve as a dining table.

described, but if he wanted to go by land drums and trumpets were sounded. The chamberlains walked in front, followed by the foot soldiers who immediately preceded the amir. Directly in front of the chamberlains were six horsemen, three of whom bore trumpets round their necks and the other three flutes. When they approached a village (*qariya*) or a highland, drums were beaten and flutes played. Then the military trumpets and bugles were sounded. To the right and to the left of the chamberlains were the singers who sang in turn. When the time came for lunch, a halt was made.

I voyaged with 'Alā-ul-mulk for five days till we arrived at the seat of his government, that is the city of Lāharī.[1] It is a handsome city on the shore of a big sea[2] near which the Indus empties itself. Two seas[3] have their confluence near Lāharī which is a big port. People from Yemen (*Yaman*), from Fārs and other countries come to it. Consequently its revenue has grown enormously and its prosperity has increased.

The aforesaid Amir 'Alā-ul-mulk told me that the annual revenue of this city was sixty lacs; and the value of the lac we have explained before. Out of this revenue the amir's share is one-twentieth. At this rate the sulṭān assigns territories to his officials. Out of the revenue they take one-twentieth for themselves

A queer sight outside Lāharī

One day I rode in company with 'Alā-ul-mulk and arrived at a plain called Tārna[4] at a distance of seven miles from the city. There I saw innumerable stone images and animals, many of which had undergone a change, the original shape being obliterated. Some were reduced to a head, others to a foot and so on. Some of the stones were shaped like grain, wheat, peas, beans and lentils. And there were traces of the ramparts and the walls of houses. Then we noticed traces of a house which contained a chamber built of hewn stone, the whole of which looked like one solid mass. Upon it was a statue in the form of a man, the only difference being that its head was long, its mouth was towards a side of its face and its hands at its back like a captive's. There were pools of water from which an extremely bad smell came. Some of the walls bore Hindī inscriptions. 'Alā-ul-mulk told me that the historians assume that on this site there was a big city, most of the inhabitants of which were notorious. They were changed into stone. The petrified human form on the platform in the house mentioned above was that of their king. The house still goes by the name of 'the king's house'. It is presumed that the Hindī inscriptions, which some of the walls bear, give the history of the destruction of the inhabitants of this city. The destruction took place about a thousand years ago. I stayed there in company with 'Alā-ul-mulk for five days, after which he gave me a

[1] 'Lāharī' was a leading port of Sind in the fourteenth century. Now, it is a village in the Karachi district.

[2] *I.e.* 14 miles east of the Arabian Sea north of the Rāhu creek

[3] *I.e.* the Rāhu creek and the Turni creek.

[4] *I.e.* 'Morā-Mārī.' See J.R.As.Soc., 1887, p. 411.

liberal supply of provisions; and I parted from him and proceeded to the city of Bukkur[1] (*Bakār*).

Bukkur is a handsome city. It is crossed by a canal[2] of the Indus river. In the middle of the canal is a fine hospice where comers and goers are fed. It was built by Kishlū Khān during his governorship of the province of Sind. Kishlū Khān's story will be told shortly. In this city I met the jurist and prelate, Ṣadr-ud-dīn al-Ḥanafī, and the judge of the city named Abū Ḥanīfa; also I met there the pious and devout Shaikh Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad ash-Shīrāzī, who is one of the very aged men; I was told that his age exceeded one hundred and twenty years.

Then I travelled from the city of Bukkur and arrived at that of Uch[3] (*Ūja*), a big city on the banks of the Indus river with fine bazaars and new buildings. At that time the commandant (*amīr*) of Bukkur was the learned Malik Sharīf Jalāl-ud-dīn al-Kījī, decidedly one of the brave and generous. He died in this city of a fall from his horse.

Generosity of this malik

Between me and this Malik Sharīf Jalāl-uddīn a friendship grew up. Our mutual love and regard was very deep and we met in the capital, Dehlī. When the sulṭān marched to Daulatābād, as will be described later, ordering me to stay at the capital, Jalāl-ud-dīn said to me, 'You are in great need of money, while the sulṭān's absence is being prolonged. You should take over my village and use its revenues till my return'. This I did; and I utilized from it about five thousand dinars. May God grant him the highest recompense!

At Uch I met the devout and pious and venerable Shaikh Quṭb-ud-dīn Ḥaider al-'alawī,[4] who robed me with a garment. He was one of the renowned men of piety. This garment remained with me till it was seized by the Hindū pirates on the sea.[5]

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[1] & [2] Bukkur, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives as *Bakār*, was then important for its insular position as an island in the Indus. A channel about 100 yards wide separated it from the Sukkur shore.

[3] Uch, which Ibn Baṭṭūta would write as *Ūja*, is now reduced to a group of three villages in the Bahāwalpur State in the Panjab. It was the chief city of Upper Sind under Nāṣir-ud-dīn Qubācha. Cunningham identifies it with the city built by Alexander near the meeting of the Panjab rivers. It has been identified by Raverty with Bhatia near Multān which is supposed to have been taken by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in A C. 1006.

It is believed that the original name of Uch was Deogarh (god's stronghold) which was converted into Uch in the twelfth century. According to the local legends Deo Singh, the last raja of Deogarh, fled to Marwar when his daughter Sundarpurī was converted to Islām by the saint Saiyid Jalāl-ud-dīn Bukhārī. Subsequently at the instance of the saint she built a fort called Uchha or Uch (high) and the whole town became known as Uch-i-Sharīf (Uch the sacred).

Under Iltutmish (1210–1235 A.C.) Uch became a great centre of learning and the seat of a college of which the historian Minhāj *bin* Sirāj was made the principal in 1227 A.C.

[4] *I.e.* a descendant of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī.

[5] See p. 232 *post*.

CHAPTER II

FROM MULTĀN TO DEHLĪ

Then I travelled from Uch to the city of Multān, the capital of the province of Sind and the residence of its governor (*amīr-ul-umarā*). On the road to it, and at a distance of ten miles from it,[1] runs the river known as Khusroābād.[2] It is one of the great rivers, which cannot be crossed except by boats. There the strictest search is made of the passengers' goods and their luggage is inspected. At the time of our arrival it was the custom at Multān that one-fourth of the commodities brought by the merchants was appropriated by the State and on every horse was levied a tax of seven dinars. Two years after our arrival in India the sulṭān remitted these taxes. And he ordered that nothing should be realized from the merchants (*an-nās*)[3] except the *zakāt*[4] and *'ushr*,[5] when he took the

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[1] *I.e.* Multān.

[2] Khusroābād was 'probably an arm of the Ravi or the Ravi itself.....' (Mžik, note 23). I agree with Mžik. On his way from Uch to Multān Ibn Baṭṭūta should have crossed the Sutlej, then the Ravi; Khusroābād as a river or channel finds no mention on the maps. See p. lxxvi *supra*.

[3] For *an-nās* the French scholars give 'voyageurs', *i.e.* travellers (Def. et Sang. III, p. 117). Subsequently the same word has been translated as 'peuple' (*ibid.*, p. 288). I also feel that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has not always used the word *an-nās* in its literal sense as has been shown in this book (*vide* footnotes, pp. 5, 34, 50, 54, 63–64, 73, 99, 104, 109, 111, 114–121, 134, 136, 167, 172, 225). But the remark in question must needs be read along with the subsequent statement of Ibn Battūta (Def. et Sang. III, p. 288). It would appear that in 741/1340 the sulṭān being anxious to rehabilitate himself made concessions not only to the travellers and merchants but also to other classes of people. This has been discussed in Chapter IX of *The Rise and Fall of Muhammed bin Tughluq*.

[4 & 5] This statement of Ibn Battūta has been mistaken as an evidence of the abolition of all the taxes except the *zakāt* and *'ushr* in the empire of Dehlī (*vide* A.A., p. 19). But a subsequent statement in the *Rehla* (*vide* p. 84 *infra*) to the effect that Sulṭān Muhammad abolished surplus taxes on horse trade and ordered that '*zakāt* should be taken from the Muslim merchants and *'ushr* from the infidels' urges the conclusion that on taking the oath of allegiance to the Abbasid caliph the emperor abolished the high taxes hitherto levied on merchandise and on the horses imported from Turkistān; and he ordered that henceforth only the *zakāt* due on imports including the horses should be realized from the Muslim merchants and that the infidel merchants should be made to pay a similar tax under the name of *'ushr*. Lane (Bk, I, p. 2051) has made it clear that although *'ushr* literally means 'tenth', legally it also means 'the half of the 10th, *i.e.* 1/20th or the quarter of the 10th, *i.e.* 1/40th. It appears that the *'ushr* tax was no heavier than the *zakāt* tax particularly under Sulṭān Muhammad who was noted for his great kindness towards the Hindus.

That the Muslims were required to pay the tax under the name of *zakāt* was due to the fact that *zakāt* was a Quranic injunction from which obviously the Hindus were free. And *zakāt* was so called because it literally means purification, and a believer is supposed to purify himself by paying it.

Now *zakāt* has been defined as a levy of 2½% on idle, specified coins and one-tenth to one-twentieth of certain agricultural produce. And for the *zakāt* to be due on

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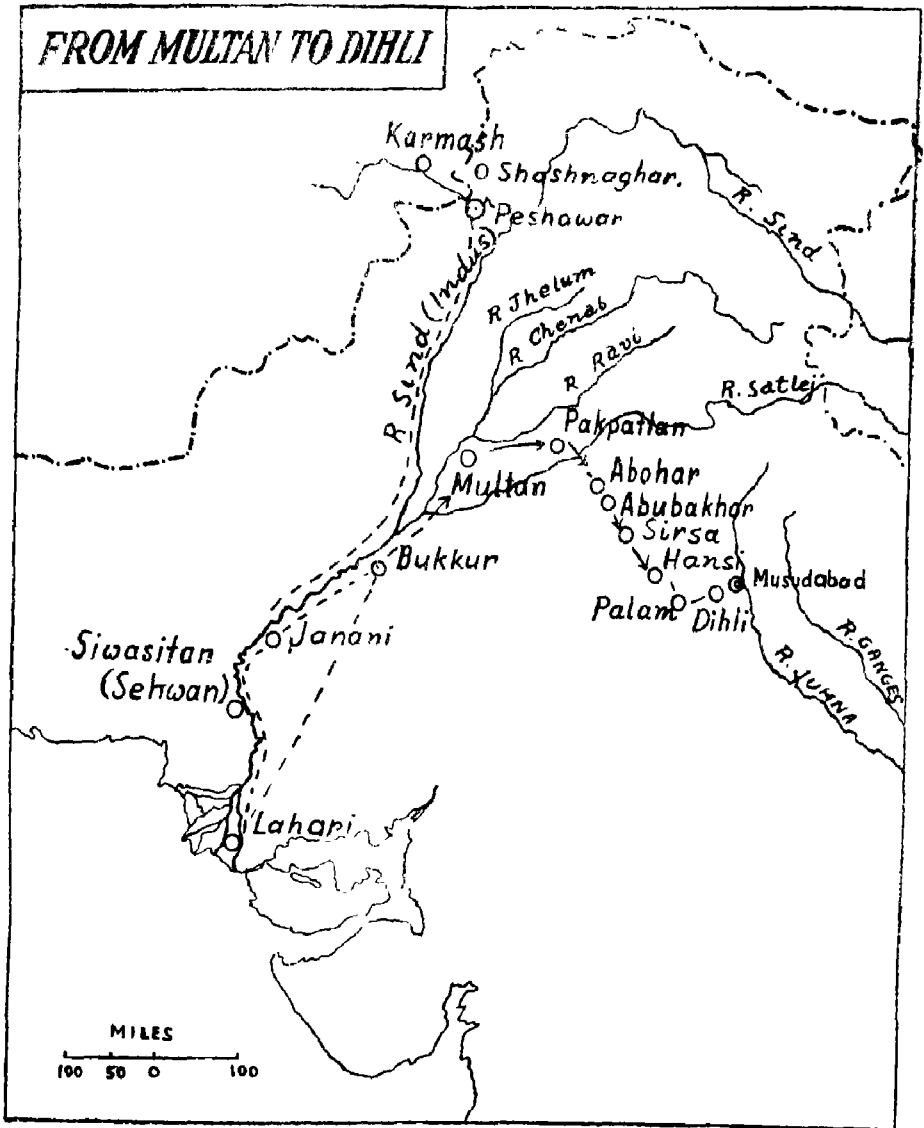
oath of allegiance to Abū'l 'Abbās, the Abbasid caliph. When we took to crossing the river and when the luggage began to be inspected, I felt very much aggrieved about the search of my luggage, for although it contained no wealth it looked prominent enough. I did not like my luggage to be searched. And by the grace of God the exalted there came one of the great military officers on behalf of Quṭb-ul-mulk, the governor of Multān, and he ordered that my luggage should not be subjected to scrutiny and search. And exactly so it happened. I praised God for the favours which He conferred on me. We spent that night by the river bank. On the morrow the postal superintendent (*malik-ul-barīd*) named Dihqān came to us. He was originally from Samarqand. It was he [1] who used to write the news of that city and its dependencies to the sulṭān—the news concerning all its events and arrivals. I was introduced to him and in company with him I went to the governor of Multān.

Governor of Multān and some particulars about him

The governor of Multān was Quṭb-ul-mulk, one of the great and learned amirs. When I went up to him he rose to receive me and shook hands with me, and gave me a seat by his side. I presented him with a slave and horse together with some raisins and almonds. This is one of the greatest presents that can be made to the Indian chiefs, since these cannot be had [2] in their country and are imported from Khurāsān.

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each kind of wealth there is a minimum exemption limit called *niṣāb*. In the case of silver the *niṣāb* is about 56 tolas and in that of gold it is about 6 tolas. In the case of certain cereals and fruits—wheat, barley, dates and grapes—the *niṣāb* is about 820 sers. As for the agricultural produce, if the land in question is cultivated by means of rain water or the overflow of rivers, the tax will amount to one-tenth of the produce and will diminish to one-twentieth if the land is watered by artificial means and hired labour. In the case of cattle the *zakāt* tax varies according to the herds and heads of cattle. For example the *niṣāb* for goats is 40, that for cows 30 and that for camels 5. And what is true of the camels is also true of the horses. That is, horses were classified with camels both being popular riding animals.

Thus it would appear that *zakāt* was a comprehensive term and as a leviable tax it included almost all kinds of taxes and comprised even the land revenue and *kharāj*. As for *'ushr* which literally means a tithe it should be noted that even before the birth of the Prophet tithes were levied on merchandise that passed through the city of Mecca. And this pre-Islamic practice was recognized by 'Umar the second caliph. When it was reported to him that the Muslim traders were subjected to a 10% tax on merchandise in foreign countries he ordered that the same amount of tax be levied on foreigners trading in Muslim countries. Such was the origin of the aforesaid *'ushr*; and it was applied also to the zimmis. *Vide*—

(i) Ibn 'Ābedīn—*Radd-ul-moḥtār* II, p. 2.
(ii) *Majma'-ul-baḥrain* (Tabriz), pp. 171, 508.
(iii) 'Allāma Hillī—*Tabṣira* (Bombay), p. 40.
(iv) Shaikh Majd-ud-dīn—*Ṣifr-us-sa'ada* (Cairo), p. 58.

[1] Evidently it was he who was deputed as news officer along with others. See p. 2 *supra*.

[2] See p. xxxviii *supra*.

This amir was sitting on a big dais embellished with large carpets. Near him was the *qāzī* named Sālār and the *khatīb* whose name I do not remember. On his right and left were the military chiefs; and armed warriors stood high behind his head. The troops passed before him in review. There were many bows. When anyone came desiring to enlist as an archer in the army, he was given one of these bows to pull. These differed in strength, and the salary of the candidate was fixed according to the strength he displayed in pulling the bow. And if he desired to be enlisted in the cavalry a drum was placed. He would drive his horse and strike it with his lance. A ring was also suspended against a small wall. The horseman would make his horse run until he came abreast of it. Should he succeed in lifting it up with his lance he was considered an excellent horseman. If one desired to enlist as a mounted archer, a ball was placed on the ground. The candidate galloped on horseback and aimed the arrow at the ball. His salary was fixed proportionately to his success in striking the ball.

When we waited on this amir and greeted him as we have related, he ordered us to be lodged in a house outside the city—a house which belonged to the companions of the pious Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn mentioned above.[1] As a rule, no one was made a guest there unless orders of the sultān were received to this effect.

Foreigners whom I met in this city and who had come as visitors to the emperor's court

Of these the *first* is Khudāwandzāda Qiwām-ud-dīn, *qāzī* of Tirmidh[2] who had come with his family and children. He was later joined by his brothers—Imād-ud-dīn, Ziyā-ud-dīn and Burhān-ud-dīn. The *second* is Mubārak Shāh, one of the great personages of Samarqand; the *third* is Arun Bughā, one of the great men of Bukhārā; the *fourth* is Malikzāda, nephew of Khudāwandzāda; and the *fifth* is Badr-ud-dīn al-Fassāl. Each had come with his companions, servants and followers.

Two months after our arrival at Multān there came Shams-ud-dīn al-Fūshanjī, one of the royal chamberlains, as well as Malik Muhammad al-Haravī, the kotwāl. They had been sent by the sultān to receive Khudāwandzāda, and were accompanied by three young waiters who were sent by Makhdūma-i-jahān, the sultān's mother, to receive the wife of Khudāwandzāda. They brought robes of honour for them[3] and their children, and were commissioned to furnish provisions for all the visitors. Then all of them[4] came to me and asked me the object of my visit. I told them that I had come to remain in the service of *khūnd ʿālam*[5]; and the sultān in his dominions goes by this title. He had issued orders that no comer from Khurāsān[6] should be allowed to enter Indian

[1] See p. 6 *supra*.

[2] Tirmidh was an old town on the Oxus.

[3] *I.e.* Khudāwandzāda and his wife.

[4] *I.e.* the chamberlains and waiters.

[5] *I.e.* lord of the world.

[6] *I.e.* every foreigner, since all the foreigners were indiscriminately known as *Khurāsānī*.

territory unless he came with the express purpose of staying in India. When I told them that I had come with the object of staying, the qazis and notaries (*'udūl*) were sent for; and they made me write a bond in my name and in the name of those of my companions who desired to stay. Some of my companions refused thus to bind themselves.

We prepared to travel to the capital which lies at a distance of forty days journey through fertile land. The chamberlain and his companion made the necessary arrangements for feeding Qiwām-ud dīn; and they took along with them about twenty cooks from Multān. The chamberlain used to go ahead in the night to a station to secure the eatables and other things, and as soon as Khudāwandzāda arrived he found his meals ready. Each of these visitors whom I have mentioned used to put up separately in his tents with his companions and sometimes they attended the meal prepared for Khudāwandzāda. As for me, I attended it only once. And the order in which the meal is served is this: to begin with, loaves are served which are very thin[1] and resemble cakes[2] of bread, then they cut the roasted meat into large pieces in such a manner that one sheep yields from four to six pieces. One piece is served before each man. Also they make round cakes of bread[3] soaked in ghee[4] resembling the bread called *mushrak* in our country, and in the midst of these they place the sweet called *ṣābūnia*.[5] On every piece of bread is placed a sweet cake called *khishtī* which means 'brick-like'[6]—a preparation of flour, sugar and ghee. Then they serve meat cooked in ghee, onion and green ginger in China dishes. Then is brought a thing called samosa (*samūsak*)—minced meat cooked with almond, walnut, pistachios, onion and spices placed inside a thin bread and fried in ghee. In front of every person are placed from four to five of such samosas. Then is brought a dish of rice cooked in ghee on the top of which is a roasted fowl.[7] And next is brought the *luqaimāt-ul-qāḍī*[8] which is called *hāshimī*. Then is brought *al-qāhiriya*.[9] Before the dinner begins the chamberlain stands at the head of the dinner-carpet (*simāṭ*) and performs the bow (*khidmat*) in the direction of the sultān; and all present do the same. The *khidmat* in India consists in bowing down to the knee as in prayer. After this the people sit down to eat; and then are brought gold, silver and glass cups filled with fine sugar-water perfumed with rose-water which they call *sherbet*. After they have taken the sherbet the chamberlain calls

[1] *I.e. chupātī*

[2] *Jarādīq*—plural of *jardaq* and an arabicized form of the Persian *girda*, a thick round cake—were a kind of sea-cakes.

[3] *I.e. parāṭhā*

[4] *Samn* which means clarified butter.

[5] *I.e.* the *ṣābūnī* which is a mixture of almonds, honey and sesame oil called after 'Ṣābūnī'—a small island off Egypt on the eastern bank of the Nile (*Kitāb-ul-khiṭaṭ*, III, p. 301 and *Mu'jam-ul-buldān*, III, p. 356.)

[6] Still the shape of cakes on fashionable dinner tables.

[7] *I.e. pulāo* with 'murgh musallam' in its classical form.

[8] *I.e.* a kind of sweets. See p. 139 *infra*, footnote 2.

[9] *I.e.* a kind of pudding introduced from Qāhira.

out *Bismillāh*.[1] Then all begin to eat. At the end of the dinner jugs of barley-drink[2] (*fuqqā'*) are brought; and when these have been consumed betel-leaves and nuts are served which have already been mentioned. After the people have taken the betel and nut, the chamberlain calls out *Bismillāh*, whereupon all stand up and bow in the same way as before. Then they retire.

We travelled from the city of Multān; and until our arrival in the country of Hindustān (*al-Hind*) our suite pursued the journey in the same order as we have described. The first city that we entered was that of Abohar.[3] It is the first of the cities of Hind (*al-Hind*); it is small, handsome and thickly-populated and possesses rivers and trees. Of the trees of our country there is none there except the zizyphus lotus (*nabq*). But the Indian zizyphus lotus is very big; its stone is equal in volume to that of the gall-nut and is very sweet. The Indians have many trees none of which exists in our or any other country.

Indian trees and fruits

One of them is the mango[4] (*'amba*). Its tree is like that of the orange, though bigger in size with a larger number of leaves, and its shadow is deepest. But it is unhealthy and whoever sleeps under it is seized with fever. The fruit of the tree is as large as a big pear and is green before it is quite ripe. The mangoes which have fallen from the tree are picked up, sprinkled with salt and pickled like the sweet lime and lemon in our country. The Indians treat green ginger and pepper in the same way; they eat these pickles with their food taking after each mouthful a little of the pickle.

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[1] *Bismillāh* which literally means '*in the name of God*' is a Quranic phrase commonly used by the Muslims at the opening of every ceremonious action and at commencing to do anything which they consider serious.

[2] See p. 66 *infra*.

[3] Abohar—an old town in the Fazilka Tahsil of Firozpur district, Panjab—is said to have been founded by the Bhatti king, Jaura who named it Ubohar (the Pool of Uboh) after his wife. Early in the fourteenth century Baranī described it as the seat of the Bhatti Rajputs; and it was held by Rana Mal Bhatti during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. In A.C. 1328 it was the scene of a decisive battle between the emperor Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq and Kishlū Khān. (See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammād bin Tughluq*, p 146.)

Abohar was also the native place of Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, the author of the *Tarīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*.

[4] 'Mango' (*mangifera indica*) is known as *āmra* (आम्र) in Sanskrit, *ām* (আম) in Bengali and as *ām* (आम) and *āmb* (आम्ब) in Hindī. Ibn Baṭṭūta has used the Hindi word which was current then, but has arabicized it as '*amba* (عنبة) His account of the mango tree and fruit is borne out by the modern botanists (E.B., XIV) and also by Amir Khusrav who calls it '*naghzak*' and describes it as the most elegant of the Indian fruits (B.N., F. 294*b*) and says how fond he was of the mango pickle 'eating it invariably with his food taking after each mouthful a little of the pickle' (A.A., p. 27). This is exactly what Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has remarked in regard to the mango pickle; and he implies that the mango served as victuals—victuals being the literal meaning of the Sanskrit word *āmra* (Monier-Williams).

When in autumn[1] (*kharif*)[2] the mango is ripe, it becomes very yellow and is eaten like an apple. Some people cut it with a knife and others suck it to the finish. This fruit is sweet but has a slightly sour taste. It has a large stone which is sown like the orange pip or some other seed and the trees grow from this.

Then there are the jack trees (*shakī*[3] *wa barkī*) which live to a great age. Their leaves look like those of the walnut and the fruit grows out of the root[4] of the tree. The fruit which is near the soil is called *barkī*; it is sweeter, and of a more agreeable taste. And the fruit which grows on the upper part is called *shakī*; it resembles a large pumpkin with a skin like the hide of a cow. When it becomes yellow in autumn (*kharif*) it is plucked and torn up; and inside each fruit from a hundred to two hundred seed-vessels resembling the cucumber are found. Between every two seed-vessels there is a yellowish film; and each seed-vessel has a stone like that of a large bean. When these stones are roasted or cooked the taste is similar to that of the broad bean which does not exist there. These stones are preserved in reddish earth and last till the following year. This fruit is one of the best in India.

Next, the diospyros peregrina (*tendū*) is the fruit of the ebony tree; each fruit is as large as the apricot which it resembles also in colour. It is extremely sweet.

Next the jambol (*jumūn*)[5]. Its trees are large and their fruit is like the olive. It is black in colour and like the olive has one stone.

Then the sweet orange (*nāranj*).[6] It is very abundant in India. As for the sour orange it is rare. There is a third species of orange which

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[1] & [2] The word *kharif* which has been translated as autumn is, according to Lane (Bk. I, Pt. 2, p. 726), 'not the name of a division of the year but the name of the rain of summer'. It follows that the period of ripening described in the *Rehla* is the month of June when the summer rains break out. This is corroborated by Bābar (B.N., F 294) who says that 'the mangoes ripen during the rainy season'. In his account of the mango (*mangifera indica*) a modern botanist says, 'The flowers usually appear from the end of January to March; and the fruits mostly ripen from May to July, though some varieties produce fruit at different times of the year'. (Benthall, A. P.—*The trees of Calcutta and its neighbourhood*, p. 134.)

[3] '*Shakī*' is the Arabic form of *chakī* which is identical with *kathal* or jack-tree (artocarpus integra). Ibn Battūta's account of it is corroborated by the authentic work on Indian medicine called the *Makhzan-ul-adwiya* I, p. 474, as well as by Nairne (Nairne, A. N.—*The Flowering Plants of Western India*, pp. 308-9).

[4] Ibn Battūta's statement regarding the fruit growing out of the root is confirmed by the *Makhzan-ul-adwiya*, I, p. 475, as well as by Benthall who says, 'Some very old trees produce their fruits on their roots in which case the position of the fruit is only disclosed by the cracking of the earth above it' (Benthall, A. P.—*The trees of Calcutta and its neighbourhood*, p. 401).

[5] It is called 'jāman' or 'jāmun' in Hindī, as 'jām' (জাম) or phaunda ([illegible]) in Bengali and as jambol or black plum in English, its botanic name being syzygium cumini.

[6] A more lively account of the Indian oranges which is not incompatible with that of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is given by Bābar (B.N., F. 295a).

is half-way between the sweet and the sour. This fruit is as large as a sweet lime. It is very agreeable in taste. I liked to eat it.

Next the madhuka latifolia (*mahwā*).[1] Its trees live to a great age, and the leaves are like those of the walnut except that they are of a red and yellow colour. The fruit of the *mahwā* is like a small pear. It is extremely sweet. On the upper part of each fruit is a small hollow seed as large as the fruit of the grape. It resembles the grape in taste, but when eaten in large numbers gives [illegible] headache. What is astonishing is that when these seeds are dried in the sun they taste like figs. I ate these instead of the figs which is not to be found in India. The Indians call these fruits *angūr*, a word which in their language means grapes. And grape is very rare in India and is found only in some parts of Dehli and in a few other provinces. The *mahwā* bears fruit twice a year, and oil is made out of its stones; this is used for lighting.

Among the Indian fruits there is still another called the *kaserā*.[2] It is taken out of the earth, and is very sweet resembling the chestnut.

Of the trees which grow in our country we find the pomegranate (*rummān*) in India. This bears fruit twice a year. I have seen some in the Maldive islands which never stopped bearing fruit. The Indians call it *anār*—a word which, I believe, has given us the word '*julnār*', for *jul*[3] in Persian means a flower, and '*nār*' the pomegranate.

Grains which are sown in India and on which they live

The Indians sow the earth twice a year. In summer, when the rains fall, they sow the autumn grain, which is reaped sixty days after the sowing. And the following are the autumn grains. (1) The *kudhrū*, which is a kind of millet, and of all the grains this is found most abundantly. (2) The *qāl* which is like the *anlī*.[4] (3) The *shāmākh*, whose seeds are smaller than those of the *qāl*. Often the *shāmākh* grows without being cultivated. It is the staple food of the devout, of the abstainers, of the poor and of the humble who go out to gather that corn which springs up without being cultivated. Each of them holds a huge basket in his left hand and in his right a whip with which he strikes the corn which falls into the basket. In this way they gather enough to live for a whole year. The seed of the *shāmākh* is very small. When it has been gathered it is placed in the sun and crushed in wooden mortars, its husk flies away and a white substance remains, and with this a gruel is made which is cooked with buffalo's milk. This gruel is more agreeable than the bread made

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[1] The *mahwā*: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account is borne out by Bābar (B.N., F. 295a), N[illegible] and Benthall. 'The mohwa is a very important tree in most of the dryer parts of India owing to its valuable timber and fruits, but particularly on account of its fragrant, fleshy petals which are eaten both raw and cooked, are made into sweetmeats and are the principal source of country spirit in many districts . . . Properly prepared they are said to be pleasant to eat tasting rather like pressed figs.' (Benthall, A. P. *The trees of Calcutta and its neighbourhood*, p. 292.)

[2] *I.e.* scirpus grossus.

[3] *I.e. gul.*

[4] A kind of millet.

of the same substance. I ate it often in the country of India and liked its taste. (4) The *māsh* which is a species of peas. (5) The mūng (*mūnj*) which is a kind of *māsh;* but its seed is long and it is bright green in colour. The *mūnj* is cooked with rice and accompanied with ghee when eaten. This is called *kishrī,*[1] and they breakfast on it every morning. It is to the Indians what the *ḥarīra* is to the people of Morocco. (6) The *lōbia* which is a kind of bean. (7) The moṭe (*mūt*) which is like the *kuḏhrū* except that its seeds are smaller. In India it forms part of the fodder given to the animals who grow fat by eating it. In this country barley is not considered as strengthening, so that animal food consists of moṭe (*mūt*) or chick-peas which is given them to eat after being crushed and moistened in water. Instead of green fodder the *māsh* leaves are given to the animals after they have been fed on ghee for ten days—three[2] or four[3] ratls per head per day; and during this period they are not ridden. Then they are given *māsh* leaves to eat for a month or so, as we have mentioned.

The grains which we have mentioned are the autumn grains. When they have been reaped sixty days after having been sown, the spring grains which are wheat, barley, chick-peas and lentils are sown in the same soil in which the autumn grains had been sown, for their country is excellent and the soil is fertile.

As for rice they sow it three times a year, and it is one of their principal cereals. They also cultivate the sesame and the sugarcane at the same time as the autumn grains which we have mentioned. To return to the subject, we travelled from the city of Abohar through a desert which it would take a day to cross. Along its sides there were inaccessible mountains; and it was inhabited by the Indian infidels who often make the way unsafe. And the inhabitants of India for the most part are infidels. Some of them are subject people under the protection of the Muslims and live in villages. They are placed under a Muslim officer (*ḥākim*) who is under an *'āmil* or *khadīm*[4] who holds the village in his *iqṭā'*. Others are rebels who are at war and they fortify themselves in the mountains and waylay the people.

Our fight on the way—the first I went through in India

When we intended to travel from the city of Abohar, people came out of it in the first part of the day; and I stopped there till midday amongst a group of my companions. Then we set out. We were twenty-two horse-

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[1] '*Kishrī*' is the Arabic form of 'khichṛī' (खिचड़ी) —'a dish made of rice and split pulse boiled together with ghi and spices' (Platts). This is the *bhunī* or roasted 'khichṛī' described in the *Reḥla*; and it is still eaten in the morning in some parts as noticed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The ordinary 'khichṛī' is looked upon as a light diet in northern India; and in Bengal it forms a popular dish.

[2] *I.e.* 1 *ser* and 8 chataks.

[3] *I.e.* 2 sers of modern Indian weight.

[4] See p. 100 *infra* footnote 4.

men, some being Arabs and others non-Arabs. In that desert there sprang upon us eighty infidels on foot and two horsemen. My companions were brave and enduring and they put up a very valiant fight. We killed one of their horsemen and took his horse as a booty; and of those on foot we killed about twelve. An arrow struck me and another struck my horse. But God rescued us from them as their arrows had not much force. Another horse belonging to a companion of mine was wounded; we replaced it by the horse of the infidel and slaughtered the wounded horse which was eaten by the Turks accompanying us. We took the heads of those killed in the fight to the fortress of Abū Bak-har[1] and hung them on the city-wall. We reached this fortress at midnight. Two days after leaving it we reached the city of Ajodhan[2] (*Ajudahan*)—a small city belonging to the pious Shaikh [3] Farīd-ud-dīn[4] of Budāūn (*Budhāūn*) whom at Alexandria the holy and pious Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn al-'Araj had foretold[5] that I would meet. Accordingly I met him. Thanks to Allāh for this. Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn of Budāūn is the spiritual guide (*shaikh*) of the emperor of India (*malik-ul-Hind*) who has bestowed this city on him. This *shaikh* is afflicted with an apprehension of the uncleanliness of others. And from this I seek the protection of God. He does not shake hands with anyone and does not go near anyone; and as soon as his garment touches that of another he washes it. I entered his hospice and met him; and I conveyed to him the greetings of Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn—a fact which astonished him and he said, 'I am below the greetings you have conveyed'. I met his two learned sons, the elder being Mu'izz-ud-dīn. When their father died the latter succeeded to the dignity of sainthood (*shiyākhat*). The younger is 'Alam-ud-dīn. I visited the tomb of their grandfather, the pious *qutb*[6]

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[1] Abū Bak-har which is written in the *Rehla* as *Abī Bak-har* was probably a small place containing a hospice 20 miles off Ajodhan or Pakpattan on the way to Abohar (A.A., p. 30).

[2] Ajodhan which is shown in the map (p. 12) by its modern name Pakpattan lay 10 miles off the Sutlej. Prior to the age of Akbar the Great it was known as *Paṭanfarīd* because it was the habitat of the famous saint Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Shakarganj. Emperor Akbar rechristened it Pākpattan—holy town—in view of its sanctity.

It should be noted that Ajodhan (Pakpattan) lying in the north of Abohar (see map, p. 12) was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa before Abohar, although it has been mentioned otherwise in the *Rehla*.

[3] *Shaikh* (شيخ) which literally means 'an old, elderly man' is specially applied as an appellation of honour to a doctor of religion and law, to a chief of a religious confraternity, tribe or village and to a reputed saint (Lane, p 1629).

[4] There existed no saint of this name at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit. The saint whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa really met and meant was Shaikh 'Alā-ud-dīn Mauj-daryā, the grandson of Bābā Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Shakarganj Shaikh 'Alā-ud-dīn Mauj-daryā was the spiritual guide of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq and lived at Ajodhan where he died in 734/1335; and the sultān is said to have built his mausoleum (J.F., pp. 302–308).

[5] Here is the *second* of the three personages foretold. (Cf. p. 6 *supra*.)

[6] *Quṭb* was one of the greatest honorifics and a courtesy-title granted to the most revered personalities among the sufis.

Farīd-ud-dīn of Budāūn,[1] so called from his connection with the city (*madīna*) of Budāūn, the chief town[2] of Sambhal (*Sanbal*). When I wished to go from this city 'Alam-ud-dīn said to me, 'You must see my father'. So I saw him. He was on his terrace clothed in white; on his head was a big turban the end of which was hanging on one side. He blessed me and sent me some candy and some refined sugar.

Inhabitants of India who burn themselves

When I left the *shaikh*[3] I saw people hurrying out of our camp and with them some of my comrades. I asked them what the matter was, and was told that an infidel Hindū had died, that fire was kindled to burn him and that his wife was going to burn herself along with him. When they were both consumed, my comrades returned and told me that the woman had held the dead man in her arms until she was consumed with him. After this, I used to see in India a woman from among the infidel Hindus adorned and seated on horseback and the people following her—Muslims as well as infidels—and drums and bugles playing before her and the Brahmins, who are the great ones from among the Hindus, accompanying her When this happens in the sulṭān's territory they ask him for permission to burn the widow. He gives them permission and they burn her.

After some time it so happened that I was once stopping in a town called Amjerī.[4] Most of the inhabitants were infidels while the governor of

[1] Bābā Farīd or Khwāja Farīd-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shakarganj lived at Ajodhan, not at Budāūn. He was a real dervish; hence the epithet Bābā which won better recognition than the title Khwāja. As for the epithet *Shakarganj* there are two stories. According to one, Bābā Farīd saw a caravan of merchants once passing nearby and carrying bags full of sugar. Bābā Farīd enquired what the caravan were carrying. The merchants thought that Bābā Farīd was an ordinary beggar and would demand as such a little sugar if he came to know the contents of the bags. So they pretended that they were carrying salt in the bags. Bābā Farīd replied, 'Let it be salt'. The caravan then proceeded to their destination where the bags being opened were found containing salt instead of sugar. The merchants then came to Bābā Farīd and supplicated his goodwill and prayer He prayed; and the salt was then transformed into sugar (A.A., p. 8). According to the other story which Prince Dārā Shikoh (S.A., p. 163) has given and which has been drawn upon by European scholars (E.I., IV, p. 290), Bābā Farīd had become so thin and lean by continued fasting and his body had thereby become so pure that whatever he put into his mouth to allay his hunger including the earth turned into sugar; hence his title *Shakarganj* (sugar-store) which was first conferred on him by his master Khwāja Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. He was born in 1173/569 and died at the age of 92 in 1265/664. His teachings and utterances have been collected in the form of books called the *Asrār-ul-auliyā* and the *Rāḥat-ul-qulūb* (J.F., p. 178 ff.).

[2] Budāūn was one of the 23 provinces of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq's empire; and the city of Budāūn was the provincial capital. (Cf. *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 91.)

[3] *I.e.* Shaikh 'Alā-ud-dīn Mauj-daryā.

[4] *Amjerī*, otherwise known as Amjhera, lay in Mālwa near Dhār; and the *satī* incident described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa occurred probably during his journey from Dhār, the capital of Mālwa, to Daulatābād in 1342/743. See map, p. 150. M M Ḥusain

the town was a Muslim of the Sāmira tribe. Near the town there were infidel rebels. One day they carried out some robbery[1] on the highway and the amir went out to fight them. With him went his subjects—Muslims as well as infidels—and a furious fight took place in which seven of the infidel subjects were killed. Three of them had three respective wives. Their widows agreed to burn themselves. The self-burning of widows is considered praiseworthy by the Hindus without, however, being obligatory. When a widow burns herself, her kinsfolk acquire glory and her faithfulness is highly esteemed. If she does not burn herself she puts on coarse clothes and lives with her relatives as one who is despised for faithlessness. But she is not compelled to burn herself.

When the three aforesaid widows had agreed to burn themselves they passed three days preceding the burning—eating and drinking amidst music and joys as if they wished to bid the world farewell. Women came from parts to see them. In the morning of the fourth day each was brought horse which she mounted—adorned and perfumed. In her right hand each held a coco-nut with which she played; and in the left a mirror in which she saw her face. The Brāhmins stood around her, and her relatives accompanied her. In front drums and bugles were played and timbals were beaten. Each of the infidels then spoke to her thus, 'Give my greetings to my father or my brother or my mother or my companion.' And the widow replied smiling, 'I shall'.

I mounted horse with my companions so as to see how these women would behave during the burning ceremony. We walked with them about three miles, and came to a dark spot with abundant water and trees shaded by thick foliage. In the midst of the trees stood four pavilions each containing a stone idol. Between the pavilions lay a cistern of water completely shaded by trees with their locking branches through which the sun's rays could not pass. It was as if this spot was one of the valleys of hell, may God keep us far from it!

When I came to these pavilions the three women dismounted near the cistern, plunged in, removed their clothes and ornaments and gave these away as alms. Then each of them was brought a coarse cotton cloth which was unsewn,[2] part of which they tied round their waist and part over their head and shoulders. Meanwhile, fires had been lit near the cistern in a sunken spot, and the *kunjud* oil—that is the oil of the sesame—was poured intensifying the fury of the flames. There were about fifteen men holding thin wooden faggots, and ten others with large poles. The drum and bugle players stood waiting for the widow to come. The fire was hidden from her view by a blanket held by the men, so that the woman should not be afraid. I saw one of these women come up to the blanket, tear it from the hands of those holding it and say smiling the following

has read 'Amjeri as '*Abrahi*' and places it near Multān on the authority of the *Āin-i-Akbari* (see A.A., pp. 33–35).

[1] *I.e.* cut off the road.

[2] *I.e.* sārī.

words:—'*Mā*[1] *rā mīlarsānī az ātish. Man mī dānam ōō ātish ast; rihā kunī mā rā.*'[2] And this means 'Do you want to frighten me with the fire? I know that it is fire; let me be.' Then she put her hands together over her head as if to salute the fire and threw herself in headlong. At that instant drums, timbals and bugles sounded and the men threw on her the wood they carried. Others placed poles over her lest she should move. Shouts went up and the noise augmented considerably. On beholding this scene I would have fallen from my horse, had not my companions brought water which they threw over my face and so restored me.

The people of India have the same custom in connection with drowning. Many do so voluntarily in the Ganges where they go on pilgrimage. There they throw the ashes of those who have been burnt. The Indians claim that the river has its source in paradise. When anyone comes to drown himself he says to those present, 'Do not imagine that I am drowning myself because of what has happened to me here on earth or because I am in want of money. My sole aim is to reach *Kusāī*'[3]—which in their language is the name for Allāh to whom belongs might and majesty. Then he drowns himself. When dead, he is drawn out by those present and burnt; and the ashes are thrown back into the said river.

Let us return to our original theme. We started from the city of Ajodhan; and after four days' journey we reached the city of Sarsutī (*Sarasatī*). It is a big city which produces a great quantity of fine rice which is exported to the capital, Dehlī. The revenues of Sarsutī are enormous. Shams-ud-dīn al-Fūshanjī, the chamberlain, told me the exact amount; but I have forgotten it.

From Sarsutī we journeyed to Hānsī (*Hānsī*), one of the finest and perfectly built cities which is most thickly populated. It has a huge rampart whose builder, they say, was one of the great infidel kings called Tūra. Many traditions and stories are attached to his name. Kamāl-ud-dīn Ṣadr-i-jahān, the chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*) of India and his brother Qutlugh (*Qatlū*) Khān, the sulṭān's tutor as well as their brothers—Niẓām-ud-dīn and Shams-ud-dīn—trace their origin from this city. Shams-ud-dīn renounced the world, devoted his life to the service of God, and took up his residence at Mecca until he died.

We then travelled from Hānsī and arrived after two days at Mas'ūdābād which lies at a distance of ten miles from the capital, Dehlī. There we stayed three days. Hānsī and Mas'ūdābād both belong[4]

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[1] Presumably these women did not speak Persian. They spoke Hindustānī as it was then developing; and their Hindustānī clauses were probably reproduced in Persian by his fellow-witnesses to Ibn Baṭṭūta who was on horseback and not within close hearing.

[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has not translated into Arabic the Persian phrase '*rihā kunī mā rā*'.

[3] गोसाईं, (lord of the earth)—an epithet of the Deity (Bate).

[4] This does not mean absolute ownership and signifies only assignment by *iqṭā'*. (*Vide* p. 74 *infra*.)

to the great Malik Hoshang (*Hoshanj*) *bin* Malik Kamâl Gurg. *Gurg* means wolf Malik Hoshang will be described later.

The sulṭān of India whose court we intended to visit was away in the suburbs of the city of Kanauj (*Qinawj*); and between Kanauj and the capital, Dehlī, was a distance of ten days' journey. In the capital were the sulṭān's mother called Makhdūma-i-jahān—and *jahān* means world—and his vezir Khwāja Jahān named Aḥmad *bin* Aiyāz (*Aiyās*), a man of Turkish origin [1] The vezir sent his men to meet us and nominated persons of equal rank as ours to meet each of us. Of those nominated to meet me were Shaikh Bustāmī and Sharīf Māzindrānī, chamberlain of the foreigners (*ḥājib-ul-ghurabā*), and the jurist (*faqīh*) 'Alā-ud-dīn Multānī commonly known as *Qunnara*. The vezir sent the news of our arrival to the sulṭān in the form of a letter which was carried by *dāwa*, the foot-post mentioned before. It reached the sulṭān; and a reply from him came during the three days that we spent at Mas'ūdābād After three days the qazis, jurists, saints (*mashāikh*) and some of the amirs came to meet us. The amirs in India are called maliks; that is those who in Egypt and other countries are known as amirs are called maliks in India. Shaikh Ẓahīr-ud-dīn Zanjānī, who holds a high position in the court of the sulṭān, also came to meet us.

Then we set out from Mas'ūdābād and encamped in the vicinity of the village called Pālam [2] (*Bālam*), which belonged to [3] Saiyid Sharīf Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muṭahr-ul-auharī, one of the sulṭān's confidants He is one of those personages who enjoy great favour with him Next day, in the morning, we reached Dehlī, the imperial residence and capital of the country of India. It is a magnificent and huge city; its buildings are both beautiful and solid. The city has a rampart which is unmatched in the whole world. It is the largest of the cities of India, and even of all the cities of Islām in the east.

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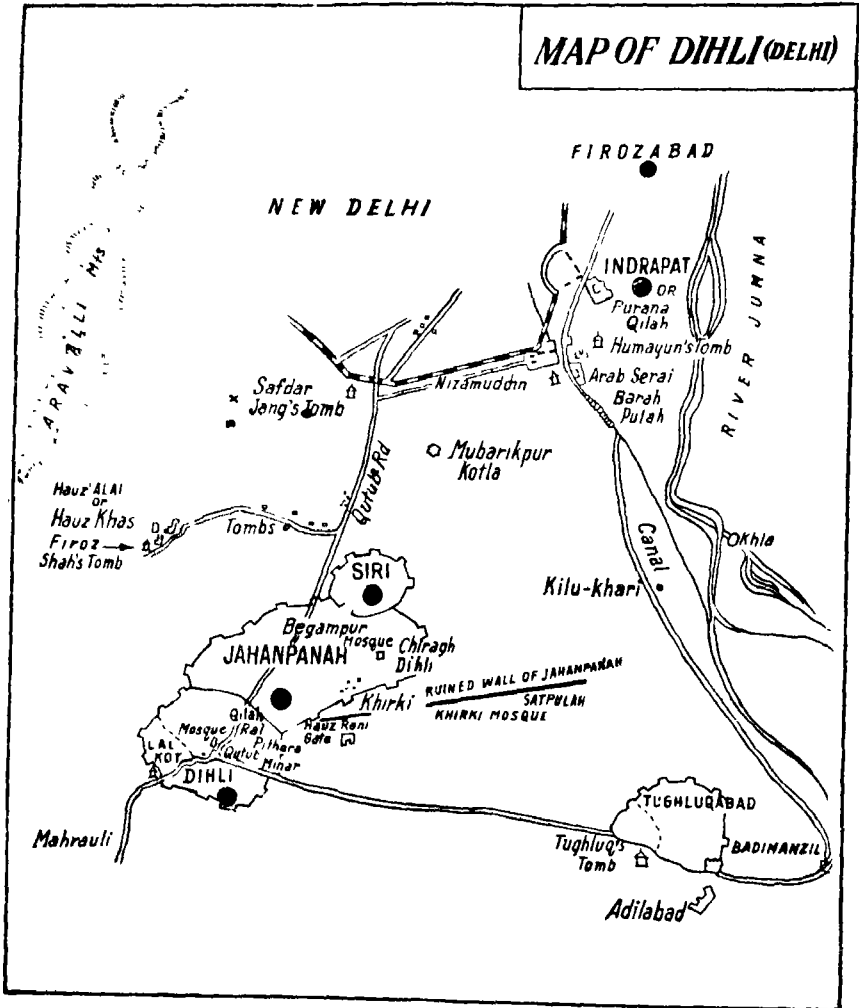
[1] See p. 54 *infra*

[2] Pālam—a small village south-west of modern Delhi.

[3] See p. 74 *infra* and footnote 1

To face page 25.

CHAPTER III

DEHLĪ

Description of Dehlī

The city of Dehlī [1] covers a wide area and has a large population. It is now a combination of four adjacent and contiguous cities. The *first* of them goes by the name of Dehlī. It is the ancient city founded by the Hindus. Its conquest took place in A.H. 584 [2] The *second* city is known as Sīrī, which is also known as the *dār-ul-khilāfa*.[3] It was given by the sulṭān to Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn, the grandson of al-Mustanṣir, the Abbasid caliph when he visited his court. In it had lived Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, and his son Quṭb ud-dīn, whom we shall mention. The *third* is named Tughluqābād after its founder Sulṭān Tughluq, the father of the sulṭān of India whose court we visited. The reason for its construction is this. One day Tughluq was standing before Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn and said to him, 'Your Majesty!' '(*khūnd 'ālam !*) it would be highly befitting you to build a city on this site'. The sulṭān replied mockingly, 'You will build it if you become king'. It so happened by the pre-determination of God that he did become king. He therefore built it and named it after himself. The *fourth* is known as Jahāṅpanāh, a city particularly distinguished as the residence of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, emperor of India (*malik-ul-Hind*)

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[1] 'The old Delhi (Dihlī) lay about ten miles south of the city of Shāhjahānābād. Its history can be traced from the middle of the eleventh century when Anangpāl built a 'red' fort in which the Qutb Mīnār now stands. In 1192 (A.H. 588) Delhi was taken by Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa repeatedly asserts that Delhi was captured in 1188 (A.H. 584) and that he saw with his own eyes an inscription in the great mosque telling of this: this date, however, is not reliable. For two centuries the town was the seat of Muslim rulers under whom it grew in extent and importance In the first half of this period arose the quarters and buildings described in the *Rehla*.

A turning point in its history is marked by repeated attempts of Muḥammad Tughluq to shift his residence further south to Daulatābād. The enforced emigration of the inhabitants, many of whom died on the journey there and back—for the refounding never took place—was a severe blow. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found whole quarters deserted. Not until the time of Fīroz Shāh, the son of the above-mentioned sulṭān, did the city make an advance. He founded Fīrozābād, not far from where the oldest settlement Indraprastha (Indarpat) stood, and thus shifted the centre of gravity north. The conquest of the town by Tīmūr in December 1398 marks the end of its glory. Since then it has never recovered.

New Delhi is a creation of Shāhjāhān (1627–1658), after whom the town is called Shāhjahānābād, which lies north of the ruins of Fīrozābād.' (Mžik, p. 61.)

N.B.—Mžik's views regarding Delhi should be read along with mine (cf *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 116, 117).

Mžik is obviously incorrect in describing Sulṭān Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq as the son of Fīroz Shāh.

[2] *I.e.* 1188 A.C.

[3] Literally, 'house of caliphate'.

at present, whose court we visited. It is he who built it. He wished to combine the four cities in one rampart; and he built this in part, but left it incomplete on account of the great outlay which its construction would entail

Dehli ramparts and gates

The rampart round the Dehli city is without parallel. The breadth of its wall is eleven cubits, and inside it are houses in which live night-sentinels and gatekeepers And in it there are store-houses of edibles called *ambār*, magazines containing ammunition, ballistas and siege machines. The corn remains there for a long time without undergoing any change or suffering damage. I saw the rice brought out from one of these granaries which had developed a black colour but possessed quite a good taste. I also saw millet which was being taken out from one of the store-houses. All these had been stored in the time[1] of Sulṭān Balban and have been there for the last ninety years. And in the interior[2] of the rampart horsemen as well as infantrymen move from one end of the city to the other. It is pierced through by windows which open on the city side; and through these light enters. The lower part of this rampart is built of stone; the upper part of bricks. It has many towers close to one another. There are twenty-eight gates of this city which they call **darwāza** (*bāb*), and of these are the Budāūn darwāza which is the greatest of all, the Mandvī darwāza where the corn market is; the Gul (*Jul*) darwāza where the orchards are, the Shāh darwāza named after a personage; Pālam darwāza, Pālam being the name of a village we have already mentioned, Najib darwāza after the name of some personage; Kamāl darwāza similarly named; the Ghazni darwāza named after the city of Ghazna which lies on the border of Khurasān, the 'Īd-mosque and the burial grounds lying outside it; and the Bajālsa darwāza, outside which is the Dehli cemetery. It is a fine cemetery in which domes are built; and every grave must needs have an arch, even if there is no dome on it. In the cemetery they sow flower trees such as the tuberose, jessamine, wildrose and others, and flowers do not cease to blossom there in any season.

Congregational mosque at Dehli

The congregational mosque is of great extent; its walls, its roof and its pavement are all of white stone excellently cut; and the pieces are very artistically cemented together by means of lead. There is no wood at all in the entire structure. There are in it thirteen pavilions of stone, as well as a stone pulpit, and there are four courtyards. In the centre of the mosque stands an awfully enormous pillar It is not known of what metal it is made. Some of the Indian savants told me that it was made of seven

[1] 1266–1286 A.C. See p. 34 *infra*, footnote 5; and note that ninety years back, *i.e.* 1244 Balban was not the ruler.

[2] *I.e.* the rampart was wide enough to admit even riding.

metals mixed together. A space equal to the fore-finger on this pillar has been polished; and it is very bright. Even iron produces no effect on the pillar. The length of the column is thirty cubits; as I threw my turban across it, its circumference came to eight cubits. Near the eastern gate of the mosque lie two very big idols of copper connected together by stones. Every one who comes in and goes out of the mosque treads over them. On the site of this mosque was a *bud*[1] *khāna*, that is an idol-house. After the conquest of Dehlī it was turned into a mosque. In the northern courtyard of the mosque is a minaret[2] which is without parallel in the Muslim countries. It is made of red stone in contrast with the rest of the mosque, which is white. The stones of the minaret are sculptured and it is very high. Its spire is of pure white marble, and its apples[3] are of pure gold. Its staircase is so wide that elephants can go up there. A reliable person told me that while its construction was in progress, he saw an elephant carrying stones up to its top. It was built by Mu'izz-ud-dīn,[4] son of Nāṣir-ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban.

Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn[5] had intended to build another and a higher minaret in the western courtyard of the mosque. He had built one-third of it when he passed away leaving it incomplete. Sulṭān Muḥammad wished to complete it, but he changed his mind considering its construction as an ill-omen. As for its thickness and the breadth of its staircase, this minaret is one of the wonders of the world. The staircase is so wide that three elephants at once can mount it side by side. This one-third[6] is as high as the entire minaret of the northern courtyard. Once I ascended it whence I commanded a view of most of the houses; and I sighted the city walls which in spite of their height and altitude appeared suppressed, and the people below looked like small children. He who looks at the minaret from below does not take it to be so high on account of its great bulk and extent.

Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn[7] had also intended to build a congregational mosque at Sīrī called *dār-ul-khilāfa*. But he could not build more than an arch and a wall facing Mecca. The portion that he constructed was of white, black, red and green stones; and if the building had been completed

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[1] See p. 177 *infra*, footnote 5.

[2] *I.e.* the famous Quṭb minār. Popularly known as 'mīnār', the Quṭb Mīnār was really a minaret attached to the Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque and was used as a *mādhana*, that is, the tower from which the muezzin proclaimed the hour of prayer summoning the believers to perform the *namāz*. (*Vide* Cunningham—A S.I. Reports, I, pp. 194-195.)

[3] *I.e.* the outside and rounded ornamentations.

[4] See p. 38 *infra*.

[5] & [7] That is, Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī (1316–1320 A.C.).

[6] This incomplete minaret, erroneously ascribed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to Quṭb ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī was really the work of his father, 'Alā-ud dīn Khaljī. He had it constructed in 1311/711 and gave it up the following year on falling seriously ill. In his *Qirān-us-sa'dain* Amīr Khusrav has briefly described the minaret. (*Vide* Saiyid Aḥmad *Āṡār-us-ṣanādīd*, p. 22, and Cunningham—A.S.I Reports I, p. 206.)

it would have been matchless in the world. Sulṭān Muḥammad [1] intended to complete this and deputed master architects to estimate the cost of its completion. Their estimate amounted to thirty-five lacs. Therefore, he gave it up, considering the amount as exorbitant. One of his special officers informed me that he had not given it up on account of this, but because he considered its completion ominous as Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn had been killed before completing it.

Two big tanks outside Dehlī

Outside Dehlī is a big reservoir called after Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn Lalmish. The inhabitants of Dehlī take their supply of drinking water from it, and it lies near the ʻĪdgāh (*muṣallā*) [2] of Dehlī. It is fed by rain water and is about two miles long and a mile broad. On its western side facing the ʻĪdgāh are built platforms of stone, one higher than another. Under each platform are stairs which help one to get down to the water. Beside each platform is a dome of stone containing seats for amusement and pleasure seekers. In the middle of the tank there is a big dome of two storeys built of sculptured stone. When water rises high in the tank the dome can be reached only by boats, but when the water decreases people walk up to it. Inside the dome is a mosque where one finds fakirs most of the time. These fakirs have renounced the world relying upon God. When the water on the sides of the tank gets dried up sugarcane, cucumber, sweet calabash, melons and water-melons are grown in it. The melons are small but extremely sweet

Between Dehlī and the *dār-ul-khilāfa* is the *ḥauẓ-i-khāṣṣ* [3] which is larger than Sulṭan Shams-ud-dīn's tank. On its sides are about forty domes. Around it live the musicians (*ahl-uṭ-ṭarab*), and their place is known as Ṭarabābād [4] They have there a market which is one of the largest in the world, a congregational mosque and many other mosques. I was told that the female singers living there recited the congregational prayers (*tarāvīḥ*) [5] in those mosques during the month of *Ramaẓān* [6] and the imams conducted their prayers, and the number of women attending the prayers was large, and the same was true of the male singers. I saw some musicians participating in the festivities of Amīr Saif-ud-dīn Ghaddā

[1] That is, Sulṭān Muhammad *bin* Tughluq (1325–51 A C.).

[2] See p 125 *infra*, footnote 2

[3] *I.e* the king's special or private tank

[4] Literally, the house of music and enjoyment For another Ṭarabābād see p 171, *infra*

[5] *Tarāvih* is the plural of *tarvīḥ* (literally a single rest) and signifies the *namāz* of twenty genuflexions (*rak'at*) performed in congregation in the first part of the night during the month of *Ramaẓān* after the ordinary *'ishā* prayer. This *namāz* is so called because the performer rests after each *tarvih* which consists of four genuflexions

The *Ahl-i-hadīs*—a sect in the Sunnī fold of Islām—perform eight genuflexions only; and these not in congregation but individually.

[6] *Ramaẓān* is the 9th month of the Islamic calendar. It is the famous month of fasts which close with an *'īd* called *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr.*

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From right to left: K͟hwâja Mu'in-ud-dîn Chishtî,
K͟hwâja Quṭb-ud-dîn Bak͟htiyâr Kâki and
K͟hwâja Farîd-ud-dîn Shakarganj (*vide* p. 21 *supra*).

(From the relics of the Quṭb *dargāh*.)

bin Muhanna's marriage. Every one of them had a prayer-mat (*muṣallā*) under his knee. As soon as they heard the call to prayer they stood up, made their ablutions and prayed.

Some of the sepulchres at Dehlī

One of the sepulchres is the tomb[1] of the pious Shaikh Quṭb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (*k'akī*). Its benedictions are well-known, and it commands great respect. The reason why the shaikh came to be known as 'Kākī' (*k'ākī*) is that whenever debtors complained of their destitution and poverty, or poor fathers unable to provide a dowry for their unmarried daughters came to him, he used to give them each a gold or silver cake, as a result of which he became known as 'Kākī'.[2] May God have mercy on him!

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[1] His grave at Mahraulī near the Quṭb Mīnār is unbricked and unroofed, being merely covered by a thin large sheet of cloth It is of huge dimensions, uncommonly long and broad, but not high and has weathered the storms and winds of more than 700 years. It was so made by his disciples probably to present a striking contrast to the magnificent and massive royal tombs which are always constructed with brick and mortar and stones.

The said grave has been a popular shrine through the ages and occupies the central position amidst large and historic buildings erected in the course of succeeding centuries including the Ẓafar palace (*Ẓafar Maḥal*) raised finally by the last Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh II commonly known by his pen-name 'Ẓafar.' He is said to have inaugurated an annual fair of the Hindus and Musalmans called '*Phūl wālon kī sair*' in the precincts of the said shrine. It was a kind of social gathering on a large scale of both the communities reminiscent of the communal harmony preached and established by the saint of Mahraulī. It was held, besides the '*Urs*, every year in the month of August or September until the year of communal fury—1947. It was restored through the efforts and the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi.

See (p. 29) the photo of Khwāja Quṭb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī which along with that of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī and that of Khwāja Farīd-ud-dīn Shakarganj I secured from the relics at the Dargāh Sharīf.

[2] In his account of the Quṭb Mīnār, Sir Wolseley Haig observes, 'the famous column was founded in 1231-32 in honour of the saint, Khwāja Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī of Ush, near Baghdād, who after residing for some time at Ghaznī and Multān, settled at Delhi and lived at Kilokhrī highly honoured by Iltutmish until his death on December 7, 1235'. (C. H., III, p. 55; also E.I., II, p. 1168).

Firishta (pp. 378–83) tells us that Khwāja Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had met Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī in Khurāsān, where he became his disciple. He then went to Baghdād whence he came to India on learning of the arrival of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn at Dehlī.

Khwāja Quṭb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī reached Multān at a time when it was menaced by the Mongol invaders. Nāṣir-ud-dīn Qubācha, then governor of Multān, enjoyed the full co-operation of the saint who helped the former in vanquishing the Mongols. The saint was then desired to stay at Multān, but he proceeded to Dehlī where he planted his residence. There, in his residence Sultān Iltutmish is said to have visited him frequently. He also offered him the office of the Shaikh-ul-Islām, which the saint declined.

'His title *kākī* is, according to the local tradition and contrary to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's version, founded on his being fed in an ecstatic state with bread from heaven. In memory of this, these cakes were baked right up to the time of Firishta, and given to

Another is the tomb of the learned jurist Nūr-ud-dīn Kurlānī. Yet another is that of the jurist 'Alā-ud-dīn Kirmānī, an inhabitant of Kirmān. This tomb enjoys obvious benedictions and is effulgent with divine light; and it is situated towards the west of the 'Īdgāh (*muṣallā*). And in its vicinity there are many tombs[1] of other pious men. May God benefit us through them!

Some of the 'ulamā and pious men of Dehlī

One of them is the virtuous and learned Maḥmud-ul-Kubbā. He is one of the leading men of probity and honour. People believe that he has supernatural command of riches, since he has apparently no property and yet he feeds the comers and goers and gives them gold and silver as well as garments. He has performed many a miracle, as a result of which he has become famous. I saw him several times, and was blessed by him.

Another is the virtuous and learned Shaikh 'Alā-ud-dīn Nīlī; his surname is derived apparently from the river Nile of Egypt, but God knows better. He is one of the disciples of the learned and pious Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn[2] Badāūnī. He delivers a sermon to the people every Friday, and many of them repent in his presence and perform the tonsure; and some even go into raptures and faint.

An anecdote: one day I saw him while he was delivering a sermon. The *qārī*[3] recited the Quranic verse. '*O Men! fear God. Verily the earthquake on the day of resurrection will be a great thing—a day on which you will see every nursing mother forget her baby and every pregnant woman miscarry; people will look drunk, although they will not have drunk. So severe, in fact, will be the chastisement to be inflicted by God.*'[4]

the poor. Nowadays they are prepared for wealthy visitors of the holy shrine in return for their gifts. They are small, thick and round cakes made of fine flour, sugar and aniseed.' (Mžik, p. 66.)

Firishta (p. 389) ascribes the origin of the title *kākī* to the fact that the saint would accept no presents from the people and would give away his all to the needy, in spite of the fact that his wife and children sometimes had nothing to eat. The wife used to borrow from a neighbouring grocer. When the grocer refused to give her further loans, the saint advised her to set her hands into a certain niche in the house, whence she obtained a supply of ready-made cakes. The same is related by Prince Dārā Shikoh (S.A., p 162).

Mžik (p. 66) tells us that the word *kākī* means a cake and wonders whether this word is of Aryan derivation and connected with the Scandinavian 'kaka', English cake.

But *kākī* is an adjective from *kāk*— a Persian word meaning dry bread—and was borrowed by the Arabs from Persian

[1] None of these tombs are now recognizable

[2] See p 51 *infra*

[3] *I.e.* master reciter of the Qur'ān.

[4] The Qur'ān: Part XVII, *Sūra* XXII; verse 1.

The jurist 'Alā-ud-dīn reiterated this verse. Thereupon a fakir sent forth a bitter cry from a corner of the mosque. The *shaikh* repeated the verse. The fakir cried out again and fell dead. I was among those who prayed over his corpse and attended his funeral.

Another is the virtuous and learned Shaikh Ṣadr-ud-dīn Kuhrāmī (*kuhrānī*), who used to fast every day and pray all night. He had renounced the world and spurned it. He was clad only in a woollen cloak. The sulṭān[1] and the grandees of the State used to visit him; and sometimes he avoided an interview with them. The sulṭān wanted to give him the administrative charge[2] of a village with the revenue of which he might feed the fakirs and travellers. But he declined it. One day the king visited him and brought him ten thousand dinars which he did not accept. It is said that he does not break his fast except after three consecutive days. When he was spoken to concerning this, he is reported to have said, 'I do not break my fast until I am obliged so that even the dead body[3] becomes permissible for me.'

Another is the imām—the pious, the learned, the virtuous, the godly and god-fearing and the unique and matchless—Kamāl-ud-dīn 'Abdullāh al-Ghārī, so called because he lived in a cave (*ghār*) outside Dehlī in the vicinity of the hospice of Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn Badāūnī. I visited him in this cave three times.

A miracle[4] of his

I had a slave who fled from me. I found him with a Turk and went to wrest him from his hands. The *shaikh*[5] said to me, 'Verily this slave does not suit you. Do not take him.' The Turk being inclined to make a settlement, I settled with him for a hundred dinars which I took from him and left the slave for him. After six months the slave murdered his master and was brought to the sulṭān. The sulṭān ordered that he should be handed over to his master's children, who killed him.

When I witnessed this miracle[6] performed by the *shaikh*, I became his devotee; and I followed him closely. I renounced the world and gave away all I possessed to the poor and indigent; and I remained[7] for some time in the *shaikh's* service. The *shaikh* used to fast for ten and twenty days at a stretch, and used to pray most of the night. I remained with him until the sulṭān sent for me, when once again I was involved in worldly life. May God the exalted accord me a peaceful end! I shall describe it later, God willing, as well as the circumstances which led to my resuming it.

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1 *I.e.* Muhammad *bin* Tughluq.

2 See p. 71 *infra*.

3 *I.e.* of a lawful (*halāl*) creature.

4 & 6 See p. 238, footnote 4 *infra*.

5 *I.e.* Shaikh Kamāl-ud-dīn 'Abdullāh al-Ghārī.

7 See p. 148 *infra*.

CHAPTER IV

THE SULTANS OF DEHLĪ

Conquest of Dehlī and its successive rulers

Kamāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad *bin* Burhān of G͟hazna, entitled Ṣadr-i-jahān,—the chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*) of Hind and Sind, a profound scholar, a jurist and an imām—told me that Dehlī was conquered from the hands of the infidels in 584 A.H.[1]

I read this date in an inscription on the arch of the great congregational mosque there. The Ṣadr-i-jahān also told me that it was conquered by Amīr Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak, then *sipahsālār*, which means the commander-in-chief. He was one of the slaves of the great Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn Muḥammad *bin* Sām of G͟hor, king of G͟hazna and K͟hurāsān; and he had got the mastery over the dominions of Ibrāhīm *bin* Sulṭān G͟hāzī Maḥmūd *bin* Sabuktigīn, the initiator of the conquest of India.

The aforesaid Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn had sent Amīr Quṭb-ud-dīn with a large army; and the latter was able by divine assistance to conquer the city of Lahore (*Lāhaur*), where he took up his residence He became very prominent, and slanderous reports concerning him were brought to the sulṭān, whose associates told him that Quṭb-ud-dīn wanted to assert his independence in India and that he had rebelled and disobeyed.

This news reached Quṭb-ud-dīn who hastened and arrived at G͟hazna in the night and attended the sulṭān, while his calumniators knew nothing about this In the morning the sulṭān mounted his throne; and he made Aibak sit under it in such a manner that he could not be seen. The special officers and courtiers who had slandered him arrived; and, when they had taken their respective seats, the sulṭān enquired of them about Aibak. They said that he had rebelled and disobeyed and further they said, 'It has been proved to us that he advances his claims to sovereignty.' The sulṭān struck the throne with his foot and clapped his hands calling Aibak by name. Aibak responded and came out. The calumniators were perplexed and were frightened into kissing the earth. The sulṭān said, 'I pardon this crime of yours; take care not to speak anymore against Aibak!' The sulṭān commanded Aibak back to India; and he returned and conquered the city of Dehlī and other cities besides. Since then Islām has been established in India up till now. Quṭb-ud-dīn remained there till his death.

Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn Lalmish [2]

He was the first to rule the empire as an absolute king with his head-quarters established at Dehlī. Before his capturing the sceptre he was

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[1] 584/1188 should be 589/1193 or 587/1191 as given in an inscription on the Qutb Mosque at Dehlī. Cf C P K.D., p 22.

[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives 'Lalmish' instead of Iltutmish. And he overlooks the short reign of ..rām Shāh, the adopted son and successor of Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak.—Lalmish remains unconfirmed.

a slave (*mamlūk*) of Amīr Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak, his general (*ṣāḥib-ul-'askar*) [1] and lieutenant (*nāib*). When Quṭb-ud-dīn died, he appropriated the throne, and he made the people take the oath of allegiance to himself. The jurists headed by the chief justice, Wajīh-ud-dīn al-Kāshānī, came to him and sat before him; the chief justice sat by his side as usual. The sulṭān understood what they wanted to speak to him about. He lifted a side of the carpet on which he was sitting and took out for them the charter of his manumission. It was read by the chief justice and the jurists, and all of them took the oath of allegiance to him. So he became an absolute monarch and ruled for twenty years.[2] He was just, virtuous and accomplished.

Among his memorable deeds was the fact that he exerted himself in redressing grievances and in rendering justice to the oppressed. He ordered that every one who was oppressed should wear a dyed garment,[3] while all the inhabitants of India wear white clothes. Whenever the sulṭān held a court of justice and whenever he marched on horseback, as soon as his eyes fell on a person wearing a dyed garment he forthwith looked into his case and obtained justice from the person who had oppressed him.

But he was not content with this. He said to himself, 'Some persons might be oppressed in the course of the night and the oppressed might desire immediate redress of their grievances.' So he set up two marble statues of lions on two towers at the gate of his palace, and round their necks were two iron chains with a huge bell. The oppressed person would shake the bell in the night and the sulṭān hearing the sound would instantly look into his case and administer justice.

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[1] *Ṣāḥib-ul-'askar* means 'commander of troops'.

[2] Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish ruled nearly twenty-six years (1210–1236). See Raverty: T.N., I, p. 625.

[3] Mžik observes that the Persians used, for this purpose, a garment of red paper, and translates a verse of Ḥāfiẓ as follows:—

> 'I will shed bloody tears on my *beggar's paper garment*, because justice will not relieve me from the (pain) of my oppression.' (*Rendered by me from Mžik's German.*)

I have, further, come across verses in Urdū as well as in Persian which tend to confirm the usage of paper garment. Ghālib, the well-known poet of Dehlī (1807–68 A.C.) says:

نقش فریادی ہے کس کی شوخی تحریر کا   کاغذی ہے پیرہن ہر پیکر تصویر کا

—In Īrān an oppressed person wears a *paper garment* and appears as such before the king in order to seek redress. (*'Ūd-i-Hindī*, 1913, p. 153.) And Kamāl-ud-dīn Ismā'īl, a poet of Īrān, who flourished in the thirteenth century A.C. says:

کاغذی جامهٔ بپوشید و بدرگه آمد   زادهٔ خاطر من تا بدهی داد مرا

> —The offspring of my heart (my verses) put on a *paper garment* and appeared in the court in the hope that you might administer justice.

Khāqānī, the famous poet of Persia in the twelfth century, and Bābā Fighānī of Shirāz of the sixteenth century A.C., have similarly composed verses using the term کاغذی پیرهن i.e. *paper garment*.

When Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn died he left three sons, namely Rukn-ud-dīn—his immediate successor—Mu'izz-ud-dīn and Nāṣir-ud-dīn and a daughter named Raẓīya. She and Mu'izz-ud-dīn were born of the same mother. Rukn-ud-dīn ascended the throne after Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn as mentioned above.

Sulṭān Rukn-ud-dīn bin Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn

When after his father's death Rukn-ud-dīn was acknowledged king, he inaugurated his reign by persecuting his brother Mu'izz-ud-dīn, whom he killed.[1] Raẓīya who was his sister disapproved of this; so he wanted to kill her. One Friday, after Rukn-ud-dīn had gone to attend the prayer, Raẓīya ascended the roof of the *daulatkhāna*, the old palace, which lay in the vicinity of the great congregational mosque; and she had then put on the garment of the oppressed. She presented herself to the army (*an-nās*)[2] and addressed them from the roof saying, 'My brother killed his brother and he now wants to kill me.' Saying this she reminded them of her father's time and of his good deeds and benevolence to the people. This led to a revolt and they proceeded against Sulṭān Rukn-ud-dīn at the time when he was in the mosque. He was arrested and taken to her. She said that the murderer should be killed; and he was killed in retaliation for his brother's death. Their brother Nāṣir-ud-dīn was a stripling. The army (*an-nās*)[3] agreed to appoint Raẓīya as ruler.

Sulṭāna Raẓīya

When Rukn-ud-dīn was killed, the armies (*'asākar*)[4] agreed unanimously to appoint his sister Raẓīya as ruler. They appointed her ruler and she ruled as an absolute monarch for four years. She mounted horse like men armed with bow and quiver; and she would not cover her face. Then, she was accused of connections with an Abyssinian slave of hers. The army (*an-nās*) agreed to depose her and have her marry. She was consequently deposed and married to one of her relations. And her brother Nāṣir-ud-dīn became ruler.

Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn[5] *bin Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn*

Raẓīya being deposed, her youngest brother Nāṣir-ud-dīn became ruler, and he ruled as an absolute monarch for some time. Later, Raẓīya and her

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[1] Mu'izz-ud-dīn was certainly not murdered by Sulṭān Rukn-ud-dīn. Later, he became king under the title of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām.

[2] & [3] The word *an-nās* (literally 'mankind') signifies the army, and not the people in general. This is proved by the word *'asākar* meaning 'armies' used in the same connection below. (See also p. 104 *infra*.)

[4] *'Asākar* is the plural of *'askar*, the Arabic form of the Persian word 'lashkar' meaning army.

[5] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes no mention of the reigns of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām (1240–1242 A.C.) and 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd (1242–1246 A.C.). Both were weak monarchs. Under them the Mongols resumed their invasions, capturing Lahore in 1241. Nāṣir-ud-dīn Maḥmūd, the youngest of the sons of Iltutmish, reigned for twenty years (1246–1266 A.C.).

husband revolted against him. They marched at the head of their slaves and a following of political malcontents, and prepared to fight Nāṣir-ud-dīn. The latter, attended by his slave and lieutenant, and later his successor, Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban, marched against them. A battle took place. Raẓīya's troops suffered a defeat and she fled. Overpowered by hunger and strained by fatigue she repaired to a peasant whom she found tilling the soil. She asked him for something to eat. He gave her a piece of bread which she ate and fell asleep; and she was dressed like a man. But, while she was asleep the peasant's eyes fell upon a gown (*qabā'*) [1] studded with jewels which she was wearing under her clothes. He realized that she was a woman. So he killed her, plundered her and drove away her horse, and then buried her in his field. Then he went to the market to dispose of one of her garments. But the people of the market became suspicious of him and took him to the *shiḥna*, [2] that is, *ḥākim*. There he was beaten into confessing his murder and pointed out where he had buried her. Her body was then disinterred, washed, shrouded and buried there. A dome was built over her grave which is now visited, and people obtain blessings from it. It lies on the bank of the great river Jumna (*Jūn*) at a distance of one parasang (*farsakh*) [3] from the city. [4]

After Raẓīya, Nāṣir-ud-dīn became an absolute monarch, and ruled for twenty years. He was a virtuous king. He used to write in his own hand copies of the Qur'ān, which were disposed of, and lived on the proceeds thereof. Qāẓī Kamāl-ud-dīn showed me a copy of the Qur'ān in the sulṭān's artistic and elegant writing. Subsequently he was killed by his lieutenant (*nāib*) Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban, who became king. Regarding this Balban, there is an interesting story which I am going to relate.

Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban

After killing [5] his master Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, Balban ruled as an absolute monarch for twenty years. Before his accession he had been the sulṭān's *nāib* for another twenty years. He was one of the best sultans—

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[1] Male attire—'a close long gown worn by men' (Steingass).

[2] *I.e.* magistrate.

[3] Farsakh is a league about 18,000 feet in length (Johnson).

[4] Fanshawe (*Delhi Past and Present*, p. 66) says that Sulṭāna Raẓīya was buried beside the Jumna and that her grave was included in the area comprised by Fīrozābād, a city later founded by Fīroz Shāh. But the queen's tomb now lies about three miles from the Jumna in the Bulbulī Khāna lane at the point where the Sīta Rām bazaar ends.

I visited it recently and found it in a very filthy condition amidst unclean surroundings. Although a sign board of the Archaeological Survey Department which was hung up against the wall pointed out the historicity of the place and although a local book—*Bāīs Khwāja ki Chowkhaṭ*—written and published by Khwāja Ḥasan Niẓāmī emphasized the sanctity of the shrine of Sulṭāna Raẓīya as does also the *Reḥla* itself, the people who lived around seemed to have forgotten all about it. As a result, the enclosure containing a couple of graves—the larger of which is said to be that of the queen—has been allowed to remain unswept.

[5] That Balban killed his royal master lacks confirmation.

equitable, forbearing and talented. One of his good deeds was the building of a house called the house of safety (*dār-ul-amn*). The debtor who entered it had his debt paid by the sulṭān, and whoever sought refuge in it for fear was safe. And whoever entered it [1] after having killed somebody, the sulṭān interceded on his behalf to conciliate the heirs of the deceased. And if a criminal sought shelter in it his pursuers were accorded satisfaction. It was in this house that he was buried. I visited his tomb.

Interesting story about him

It is said that one of the fakirs of Bukhāra saw Balban there; and he was puny, contemptible and ignoble. He called him in contempt '*turkak*!'[2] Balban responded smartly saying, 'Here I am, my lord!' The fakir was pleased by this answer. He asked Balban to buy a pomegranate for him, pointing to those which were being sold in the market. Balban said, 'Yes!' and taking out the few coins he had on him he purchased the pomegranate for the fakir. On taking it the latter said, 'We give you the sovereignty of India'. Balban kissed his own hand and said, 'I have accepted it and I am pleased'. This became settled in his mind.

It so happened that Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish (*Lalmish*) sent a merchant to Samarqand, Bukhāra and Tirmidh to buy him some slaves. He bought a hundred slaves, among whom was Balban. When along with others he was introduced to the sulṭān, he was pleased with all except Balban because of his ignobleness which we have mentioned. The sulṭān said, 'I do not accept this slave'. Balban submitted, 'Your Majesty! for whom have you purchased these slaves?' The sulṭān laughed and said, 'I have purchased them for myself.' 'Pray', rejoined Balban, 'purchase me for the sake of God to whom belongs might and majesty'. The sulṭān said, 'Yes'; and accepted him and enrolled him with his stock of slaves. Still, he was treated with contempt and placed among the water-carriers.

Some of the master astrologers now began to say to Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, 'One of your slaves will seize the kingdom from the hands of your son and will overpower him.' And they ceaselessly said this to him. But he would not mind this on account of his piety and righteousness till the astrologers spoke to his chief queen who had borne him children. She reproduced it to her husband and so impressed it on his mind that he sent for the astrologers and asked them saying, 'If you see the slave who would seize the kingdom from my son, would you recognize him?' They said, 'Yes! we have a sign by which we will recognize him.' The sulṭān ordered a parade of his slaves (*mamālīk*) and sat up to watch it. Every

[1] This is the *dār-ul-amn* mentioned by Sultān Fīroz Shāh in the *Futūḥāt-i-Fīroz Shāhī*: '.....the *dār-ul-amn* is the bed and resting place of great men (*i.e.* Sultān Balban and his son, the Khān-i-shahīd). I had new sandal-wood doors made for it, and over the tombs of these distinguished men I had curtains and hangings suspended' (*Futūḥāt-i-Fīroz Shāhī*).

[2] *I.e.* O puny lad!

class of slaves was paraded in succession; and the astrologers looking at each said, 'We have not seen him yet.' When it was past midday the water-carriers said to one another, 'We are hungry; let us collect money and send someone to the market to purchase our food.' So they collected money; and entrusting it to Balban sent him out, as there was no one in the whole lot more despicable than him. In that market Balban did not find what they wanted; so he proceeded to another market and was delayed. Meanwhile, the water-carriers' turn of parade came; but Balban had not turned up as yet. They put his water-skin and vessel on the shoulders of a young boy and presented him instead of Balban. When Balban's name was called the boy went before the astrologers; and the review was over while the astrologers could not find the face which they were seeking. Balban came after the review was over because Allāh had willed that His decree be executed.

Later on, Balban's ability was established and he was made head of the water-carriers; and subsequently he came to be on the army roll and was later installed as an amīr. Then before his accession to the throne, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn married[1] Balban's daughter. When he became ruler he made Balban his *nāib*. Balban acted as his *nāib* for twenty years. Then he killed[2] Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn and seized the realm and ruled for another twenty years as mentioned before.

Sulṭān Balban had two sons—one was Khān the martyr (*shahīd*),[3] who was the heir-apparent and had been appointed governor (*wālī*) of Sind by his father. He used to reside at Multān but was killed in a battle with the Tartars. He left two sons—Kaiqubād[4] and Kaikhusrav. As for the other son of Sulṭān Balban, his name was Nāṣir-ud-dīn; and he was the governor (*wālī*) of Lakhnautī[5] and Bengal[6] on behalf of his father. When Khān the martyr was martyred, Sulṭān Balban made Kaikhusrav his heir-apparent, turning aside from his own son Nāṣir-ud-dīn. Nāṣir-ud-dīn himself had a son named Mu'izz-ud-dīn, then living at the capital, Dehlī, with his grandfather. It was he who after his grandfather's death became master of the throne amid extraordinary circumstances, which we shall mention, his father being yet alive as we have stated.

[1] There is no reason to attribute to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa the erroneous statement made in A.A. (p. 59) that 'Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn gave him (Balban) his daughter in marriage'. A similar mistake made by others has been pointed out by Raverty in Edward Thomas (p. 125) as well as in Elliot (II, p. 349). It was Balban who gave his daughter in marriage to Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. See Raverty: T. N., II, p. 685.

[2] See p. 35, footnote 5.

[3] *I.e.* the martyr Prince Muḥammad.

[4] This is a mistake. Kaiqubād, who later became Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād, was the son of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Bughrā Khān of Lakhnautī and not that of Khān-i-shahīd.

[5] It should be noted that the Arabic text has 'Lakhnautī *and* Banjāla'; evidently Ibn Baṭṭūṭa means to say 'Lakhnautī *in* Bengal'.

[6] In Bengal Nāṣir-ud-dīn Bughrā Khān and five of his successors reigned for more than half a century (1282–1337 A.C.); (Edward Thomas—*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 148).

Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn bin Nāṣir-ud-dīn bin Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban

When Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban died one night, his son Nāṣir-ud-dīn[1] was away at Lakhnautī. He had nominated his grandson Kaikhusrav, son of the martyred son, as his successor as has been mentioned. But Malik-ul-umarā,[2] Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban's *nāib*, was an enemy of Kaikhusrav.

He played a successful trick upon him. He forged a document bearing the signatures of all the great amirs to the effect that they would swear allegiance to Mu'izz-ud-dīn, grandson of Sultān Balban. He went to Kaikhusrav to give him advice and told him that the amirs had sworn allegiance to his cousin, and that his person was in danger; and he advised him, on his enquiring what he should do, to flee for his life to Sind. Kaikhusrav said, 'How can I flee, all the gates being closed?' Malik-ul-umarā rejoined, 'The keys are with me; I am opening for you'. He thanked him for the same and kissed his hand. Then he was advised to ride his horse. As he got on horseback together with his special officers and slaves, Malik-ul-umarā opened for him the gate and sent him out and closed it after he had left.

Then Malik-ul-umarā came to Mu'izz-ud-dīn and swore allegiance to him. Mu'izz-ud-dīn asked in surprise, 'How can it be so? It is my cousin who is the heir-apparent.' Then Malik-ul-umarā explained how he had played a trick upon him and had expelled him. Thereupon, Mu'izz-ud-dīn thanked him and took him to the royal palace and sent for the amirs and grandees who swore allegiance to him the same night.

On the morrow all the people made obeisance; and the kingdom was established for him. His father was still alive and lived in Bengal and Lakhnautī.[4] When the news reached him he said, 'I am the heir to the kingdom; how could my son get it and establish himself in that while I am alive?' He mobilized troops proceeding towards the capital, Dehlī, and his son also equipped his army to defend Dehlī. They met near the city of Kaṛa (*Kara*) on the bank of the Ganges where the Hindus make their pilgrimage. Nāṣir-ud-dīn encamped on the bank which touches Kaṛa, while his son Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn encamped on the other side and the river lay between them. They decided to fight. But God wanted to save the blood of the Musalmans. He put in the heart of Nāṣir-ud-dīn kind feelings towards his son; and he said, 'If my son ascends the throne it is an honour to me; I should rather wish for his accession.' And at the same time Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn was inspired with sentiments of submission to his father. Detaching himself from his army, each got into a boat; and they met in the middle of the river.

Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn kissed his father's foot and begged his pardon. Then his father said to him, 'I am bestowing upon you my kingdom and I

[1] *I.e.* Nāṣir-ud-dīn Bughrā Khān.
[2] Malik-ul-umarā—chief of the amirs—was the title. His name was Nāṣir-ud-dīn.
[3] See p. 236 *infra*.

entrust you with it'; and he submitted to his son and intended to return to his own dominion. His son said, 'You must come along with me to my country'; so he accompanied him to Dehlī and entered the palace. His father seated him on the throne and stood before him. The interview that took place thus between them on the river is known as *liqā-us-sa'dain* [1] on account of the bloodshed having been spared and the reciprocal offering of the throne between the father and the son and the restraint on their part from opening the war. Poets have celebrated this event on a large scale. Then Nāṣir-ud-dīn returned to his dominion; and he died after some years leaving behind children—one being Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Bahādūr [2] who was captured by Sulṭān Tughluq and released, after his death, by his son Muḥammad. After this, the kingdom was stable under Mu'izz-ud-dīn for four years,[3] the period being like festivals. I met some of those who had seen those days; and they described to me the bounties of the reign as well as the cheapness of prices and the generosity and benevolence of Mu'izz-ud-dīn. It was he [4] who had built a minaret in the northern court of the congregational mosque at Dehlī which had no parallel in the world.

An Indian narrated to me that Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād used to drink and womanize in excess. As a result, he was afflicted with a disease the treatment of which baffled the doctors; and one side of his body was paralysed. His *nāib*, Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīroz Shāh Khaljī revolted against him.

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[1] *I.e.* the meeting of the two planets. Perhaps Ibn Baṭṭūṭa meant the *Qirān-us-S'adain* (Conjunction of the two Auspicious Planets)—the famous book of Amīr Khusrav.

How Amīr Khusrav composed it he himself explains: '. . . . when I had thus offered my excuses to the king he addressed me saying, "It is my desire that you should undertake the trouble of writing in verse an account of the interview between the two kings, namely my honoured father and myself."' The poet agreed. He secluded himself from all society for three months which he spent in thinking seriously over the subject and in drawing out the scheme. In the course of the next six months he composed 3,944 verses. The book comprising these was called *Qirān-us-S'adain* and it was finished in *Ramaẓān* 688 A.H. (September, 1289 A.C.).

[2] See pp. 94, 95 *infra*.

[3] The total period of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād's reign was three years—from 1287/686 to 1290/689.

(Amīr Khusrav—*Qirān-us-Sa'dain* and *Baqīya Naqīya*; *Elliot*, III, pp. 125, 536.)

[4] This is an incorrect statement arising out of the confusion caused by the identity of names—Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād and Mu'izz-ud-dīn Sām (otherwise known as Muḥammad Ghorī) under whose orders the said 'mīnār' was founded.

CHAPTER V

THE SULTANS OF DEHLĪ (CONTINUED)

Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn

When one of the sides of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn was afflicted with paralysis, as we have mentioned, his deputy (*nāib*) Jalāl-ud-dīn revolted against him. He went to the outskirts of the city and halted there on a hillock by the side of a dome called *jaishānī* dome. Mu'izz-ud-dīn despatched the amirs to fight him, but whosoever he sent would swear allegiance to Jalāl-ud-dīn and join his camp. Then Jalāl-ud-dīn entered the city and besieged Mu'izz-ud-dīn for three days in his palace.

An eye-witness told me that Sulṭān Mu izz-ud-dīn suffered from hunger in those days and that he could not find anything to eat; and one of the saiyids (*shurafā*)[1] from among his neighbours sent him something to meet his requirements. Then his palace was entered upon and he was killed.

After him Jalāl-ud-din succeeded. He was a forbearing and accomplished man; and it was his forbearance which led to his murder, as we shall narrate. The kingdom became stable under him for several years; and he built a palace which was named after him—the palace which Sulṭān Muḥammad presented to his brother-in-law, Amīr Ghaddā *bin* Muhanna, when he gave him his sister in marriage as will be described shortly.

Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn had a son named Rukn-ud-dīn, and a nephew named 'Alā-ud-dīn whom he married to his daughter and appointed governor (*wālī*) of Kaṛa (*Kara*) and Mānikpūr (*Mānikbūr*) with their dependencies. This is one of the most prosperous parts of India with an abundant produce of wheat, rice and sugar. Fine cloth is made there; and thence it is exported to Dehlī, from Dehlī to Kaṛa there being a distance of eighteen days' journey. 'Alā-ud-dīn's wife used to hurt him, and he continuously complained against her to his uncle Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn until the relations between the two became strained on account of her.

'Alā-ud-dīn was ingenious, brave, victorious and successful; and love of kingship was ingrained in him. But he possessed no wealth except what he could get with his sword by way of booty from the infidels. Once he went to fight in the country of Deogīr (*Duwayqīr*), also known as the region of *Kataka*,[2] which we shall mention shortly. It is the capital of the country of Mālwa (*Māluwah*) and Maharashtra (*Marhata*), its sovereign (*sulṭān*) being the greatest of the infidel kings. In the course of this

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[1] *Shurafā* (plural of *sharīf*) signifies descendants of Prophet Muḥammad from his daughter Fāṭima and Ḥaẓrat 'Alī (*vide* Steingass). This is confirmed by corresponding references in contemporary literature *Vide* A.G., I, p. 272. and M.Is., p. 234.

[2] See p. 169 *infra*.

expedition 'Alā-ud-dīn's horse struck against a stone and he heard a tinkling noise. He ordered the digging of the earth there, and discovered beneath a great treasure, which he distributed among his comrades. When he arrived at Deogīr, its raja (*sulṭān*) submitted to him and surrendered the city to him without fighting and made him enormous presents. Then he returned to the city of Kaṛa and did not send any part of the booty to his uncle. The people incited against him his uncle who sent for him, but he declined to go. Thereupon, Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn said, 'I will go to him and bring him as he is to me like a son.' So he mobilized his army and proceeded through the halting stations till he reached the borders of the city of Kaṛa—the place where Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn had pitched his camp while on his way to meet his father Nāṣir-ud-dīn. Then he journeyed by water to meet his nephew, who also in his turn embarked on another boat with a design to kill him and told his companions, 'You should kill him as soon as I embrace him.' When the two met in the middle of the river, the nephew embraced his uncle and his companions killed him accordingly; then he took possession of his kingdom and army.

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Muḥammad Shāh al-Khaljī

When he had killed his uncle, 'Alā-ud-dīn established himself as king and many of his uncle's troops rallied to him. Some of them, however, returned to Dehlī and gathered round Rukn-ud-dīn, who marched out to repulse him; subsequently all of them deserted to Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn. Rukn-ud-dīn fled to Sind; and 'Alā-ud-dīn entered the capital and ruled firmly for twenty years.

He was one of the best sultans; and the Indians[1] praise him highly. He used to look personally into the affairs of his subjects and to enquire about the prices; and every day he would send for the *muḥtasib* called *ra'īs* for the purpose of this enquiry. It is said that once he enquired of him the cause of the dearness of meat. He was told that it was due to the excess in the taxes levied on the oxen.[2] He ordered its abolition, sent for the merchants and gave them money saying, 'Buy oxen and sheep herewith and then sell them and pay the proceeds to the treasury (*bait-ul-māl*), and you will receive a commission on the sale.'[3] They did so. And in the same way the sulṭān dealt with drapery imported from Daulatābād.

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[1] The term اهل الهند (literally Indians) in the Arabic text (Def. et Sang., III, p. 184) stands in contradistinction to the term الهنود (Hindus) used elsewhere, and indicates both—the Hindus and the Muslims—as is borne out by other instances (Def. et Sang., III, pp. 165, 188) where Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes the customs observed jointly by both the communities. It follows *that according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was popular with the Hindus as well as with the Muslims.* This is confirmed elsewhere. (See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. xiii.) See also F.S., verses 11419–11432.

[2] Evidently, all cattle are meant.

[3] Certainly 'Alā-ud-dīn made this a system to prevent 'black-marketing' and inflation, and established a kind of civil supply department. Thus he was centuries in advance of his times.

And when the prices of corn soared high, he threw open the royal granaries and sold the grain so that the prices should go down. It is said that once the prices of grain soared high; so the sultān ordered the sale of corn at a fixed price, but the people refused to sell at that price. The sultān forbade the sale of grain other than that from the royal granaries; and he sold the grain to the people for six months. As a result, the profiteers were hard hit; and they feared lest their stocks of grain be damaged by weevils and solicited permission for sale. They were permitted to sell it at a price lower than that at which they had in the first instance refused to sell it.

He would not ride for the Friday prayer, and neither for the 'Īd prayer, nor for other purposes, the reason being that he had a nephew named Sulaimān Shāh, whom he used to love and favour. One day as he was riding to hunt—Sulaimān being with him—it occurred to Sulaimān to kill his uncle in the same way as the latter had murdered his uncle Jalāl-ud-dīn. Consequently, when the sultān encamped to breakfast he shot him with an arrow and knocked him down. Thereupon a slave of his covered him with a shield; and when Sulaimān came to finish with him, the slaves reported him to be dead. He believed them; and mounting his horse he entered the private apartments of the palace. Meanwhile, the sultān recovered consciousness and got on horseback. The forces rallied to him, and his nephew fled. But he was captured and brought to the sultān who killed him; and he did not ride on horseback since.[1]

His sons were Khizr Khān, Shādī Khān, Abū Bakr Khān, Mubārak Khān—who became king and was known as Qutb-ud-dīn—and Shihāb-ud-dīn. Qutb-ud-dīn was despised and was not lucky [2] with him. While the sultān gave to all of Qutb-ud-dīn's brothers the insignia, such as banners and trumpets, he gave nothing to Qutb-ud-dīn. One day he said to him, 'I must give you the same as I have given to your brothers.' Qutb-ud-dīn replied, 'It is God who will give me.' The father was alarmed by this answer and feared him.

Later, the sultān was seized with an illness which led to his death. His wife, the mother of his son Khizr Khān named Māhhaq—*māh* in their language meaning moon—had a brother, Sanjar by name. She took a pledge from her brother that he would do his best to raise her son Khizr Khān to the throne. Malik Nāib, the chief of the sultān's amirs, who was otherwise known as *Alfī* [3]—since the sultān had bought him for one thousand tankas—an amount equal to two thousand and five hundred *maghribī* dinars—came to know of this. He disclosed this conspiracy to the sultān who said to his special courtiers, 'When Sanjar comes to me I shall give him a robe; when he begins to wear it you must seize his sleeves and throw him down on the ground and slaughter him.' When Sanjar entered, they did with him the same and killed him.

[1] *I.e.* he gave up going out.

[2] *I.e.* the son received no attention from the father.

[3] *I.e.* worth a thousand.

At that time Khiẓr Khān was away at a place called Sandpat,[1] a day's journey from Dehlī. There he had gone on a pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) to the martyrs buried there in keeping with a vow he had made to walk that distance to pray for his father's recovery. When he learnt that his father had killed his uncle, he was extremely sad and tore his shirt-collar as is customary with the Indians to do whenever one who is dear to them dies. When his father heard of this behaviour of his, he disapproved of it; and when Khiẓr Khān waited on him the sulṭān was cross with him and rebuked him. He then ordered and Khiẓr Khān was put in chains hand and foot; and he made him over to the said Malik Nāib. He further ordered that he should be taken to the fortress of Gwalior (*Kālyūr*) which is also called Kuyāliyar. It is a fortress isolated and inaccessible, in the midst of the Hindū population, at a distance of ten days' journey from Dehlī; and there I have lived for some time.[2] On being taken to this fortress Khiẓr Khān was entrusted to the kotwāl (*kutwāl*)—that is the commandant of the fortress—and to the *mufrad*,[3] that is the zimamis.[4] And Malik Nāib said to them, 'Do not treat Khiẓr Khān well on account of his being the king's son, but regard him as the greatest enemy of the sulṭān and keep him in custody like an enemy.'

When the sulṭān's illness grew worse he said to Malik Nāib, 'Send somebody to bring along my son Khiẓr Khān, so that I may declare him the heir-apparent.' Malik Nāib said, 'Very well'; but he delayed the matter. And whenever the sulṭān enquired about him he replied, 'He is just coming.' And he continued to do so till the sulṭān died. May God have mercy on him!

His son Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn

After the death of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, Malik Nāib seated his youngest son Shihāb-ud-dīn on the throne. The people swore allegiance to him, but Malik Nāib dominated him. He blinded Abū Bakr and Shādī Khān and sent them to Gwalior (*Kālyūr*) to be imprisoned there and ordered that Khiẓr Khān, their brother, who was still a prisoner in that fortress, should also be blinded; and he put Quṭb-ud-dīn in prison but did not blind him.

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn had two favourite slaves, one named Bashīr and the other Mubashshir. The chief queen, the widow of 'Alā-ud-dīn and daughter of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn,[5] sent for them and reminded them of the great benefits they had received from their royal master and said, 'You know how this young man Nāib Malik[6] has treated my sons

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[1] Sandpat or Sandbat stands for Sonipat. Sonipat or Sonpat is one of the five '*pats*'—Pānīpat, Sonipat, Hindpat or Indrāpat, Tilpat and Bāghpat. All these trace their origin from the time of the Mahabharata, and except Bāghpat, lie on the western bank of the Jumna.

[2] See p. 163 *infra*.

[3] & [4] For an explanation of the terms '*mufrad*' and '*zimāmī*, see pp. 169 and 170, footnotes 3 and 4, *infra*.

[5] *I.e.* Jālāl-ud-dīn Khaljī.

[6] Previously called Malik Nāib (*Def. et Sang.*, III, pp. 189-190).

and he wants now to kill Quṭb-ud-dīn.' They replied, 'You will see what we are going to do.'

They used to sleep near Nāib Malik and were permitted to come to him armed. That night they came to him whilst he was in a wooden house covered with cloth and called *khurmaqah* [1] in which he used to sleep on the roof of the palace during the rainy season. And it so happened that he took the sword from the hand of one of the slaves, turned it this way and that and then returned it to the slave, who struck him instantly with it and his companion dealt the next blow They cut off his head, took it to Quṭb-ud-dīn's prison and throwing it before him released him. Quṭb-ud-dīn went to his brother Shihāb-ud-dīn and attended on him some days as if he was his *nāib*. Then he decided to depose him; and he did so.

Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn bin Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn

After deposing his brother Shihāb-ud-dīn, Quṭb-ud-dīn cut off a finger of his and sent him to Gwalior (*Kālyūr*) where he was imprisoned with his brothers. And Quṭb-ud-dīn's rule being firmly established he went subsequently from the capital, Dehlī, to Daulatābād which lay at a distance of forty days' journey. The road between Dehlī and Daulatābād is bordered with willow trees and others in such a manner that a man going along it imagines he is walking through a garden; and at every mile there are three postal stations (*dāwa*), that is, *barīd*, the organization of which has been mentioned before. At every station (*dāwa*) is to be found all that a traveller needs. It looks, therefore, as if he is walking through a market of forty days' journey. The road is the same all along down to the region of Tiling [2] and Ma'bar [3]—a distance of six months' journey on foot.[4]

At every station there is a palace for the sulṭān and a hospice for the travellers. As a result, the poor traveller (*faqīr*) does not need to carry provisions along that way. When Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn set out on this trip, some amirs conspired to revolt against him and to raise to the throne the son of his imprisoned brother, Khiẓr Khān, who was about ten years old and who was then with the sulṭān. When the sulṭān came to know of this, he took hold of his aforesaid nephew and seizing him by the feet dashed his brains out against a stone. And he sent an amīr named Malik Shāh to Gwalior (*Kālyūr*), where the father and uncles of that boy lived, and ordered him to kill them all. Qāẓī Zain-ud-dīn Mubārak, judge of this fortress, told me, "One morning Malik Shāh came to us when I was with Khiẓr Khān in his prison. When Khiẓr Khān heard of Malik Shāh's arrival, he got frightened and his colour changed; and as the amīr entered, he said to him, 'Why have you come?' He replied, 'For some purpose desired

[1] *I.e.* *khurramgāh* which means a pleasure-retreat or *khargāh*—a tent or a moveable hut formed by flexible poles and covered with felt-cloth (Steingass).

[2] *I.e.* Telingāna.

[3] *Ma'bar*, which literally means a ford, was the name given by the Arabs to the Coromandel coast. (*Vide The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 91-92.)

[4] *I.e.* from Dehlī.

by His Majesty'. 'Is my life safe ?' said Khiẓr Khāṅ. 'Yes', said Malik Shāh in reply. Then he withdrew and sent for the kotwāl (*kutwāl*), namely the commandant of the fortress and for the soldiers (*mufrad*) on the special list, namely the *zimāmī* who were three hundred strong; and he sent for me and the notaries (*'udūl*) and then produced the royal order which was read out. Then they came to the deposed Shihāb-ud-dīn and beheaded him, while he remained brave to the last not yielding to fear; and then they decapitated Abū Bakr Khāṅ and Shādī Khāṅ. When they came to cut off Khiẓr Khāṅ's head, he cried and was stunned. His mother was with him, but they closed the door on her and killed him. Then they threw all the corpses into a pit, without either washing them or covering them with a shroud. After some years they were taken out and buried in the sepulchre of their ancestors. Khiẓr Khāṅ's mother lived for some time and I saw her in Mecca in the year 28.[1]

This fortress of Gwalior (*Kālyūr*) lies at the top of a high mountain and looks as if it is cut out from the rock; in its vicinity there is no other mountain. It contains a water cistern and about twenty wells around which are walls leading to the fortress with mangonels and ballistas set up. The fortress is reached by a road which is so wide that an elephant and a horse can easily pass through it. At the gate of the fortress is the figure of an elephant sculptured in stone and surmounted with the statue of a mahout. When one looks at it from a distance one has no doubt that it is a veritable elephant Below the fortress is a beautiful city built entirely of white hewn stone, the mosques and the houses being similarly constructed. No wood has been used there except in the doors. The same applies to the royal palace (*dār-ul-mulk*) there, as well as to the domes and the saloons (*majālis*). Most of the people in this city are infidels. And there live in it six hundred horsemen from the royal army who have to fight always, as this place is surrounded by the infidels.

After Quṭb-ud-dīn had killed his brothers and got himself firmly established on the throne and no one was left to fight or revolt against him, God the almighty aroused against him his special favourite, the chief and most powerful of his amirs, Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusrav Khāṅ. This man attacked him unawares, killed him and became absolute master of his kingdom; but it was not for long. God aroused against him as well some one who killed him after having dethroned him. This man was Sulṭān Tughluq, as will be related hereafter in detail, if God the almighty be willing.

Sulṭān Khusrav Khāṅ Nāṣir-ud-dīn

Khusrav Khāṅ was one of the chief amirs of Quṭb-ud-dīn. He was brave and fine-looking, and had conquered the region of Chanderī and that of Ma'bar which are among the most fertile regions of India; and between these and Dehlī there is a distance of six months' journey.

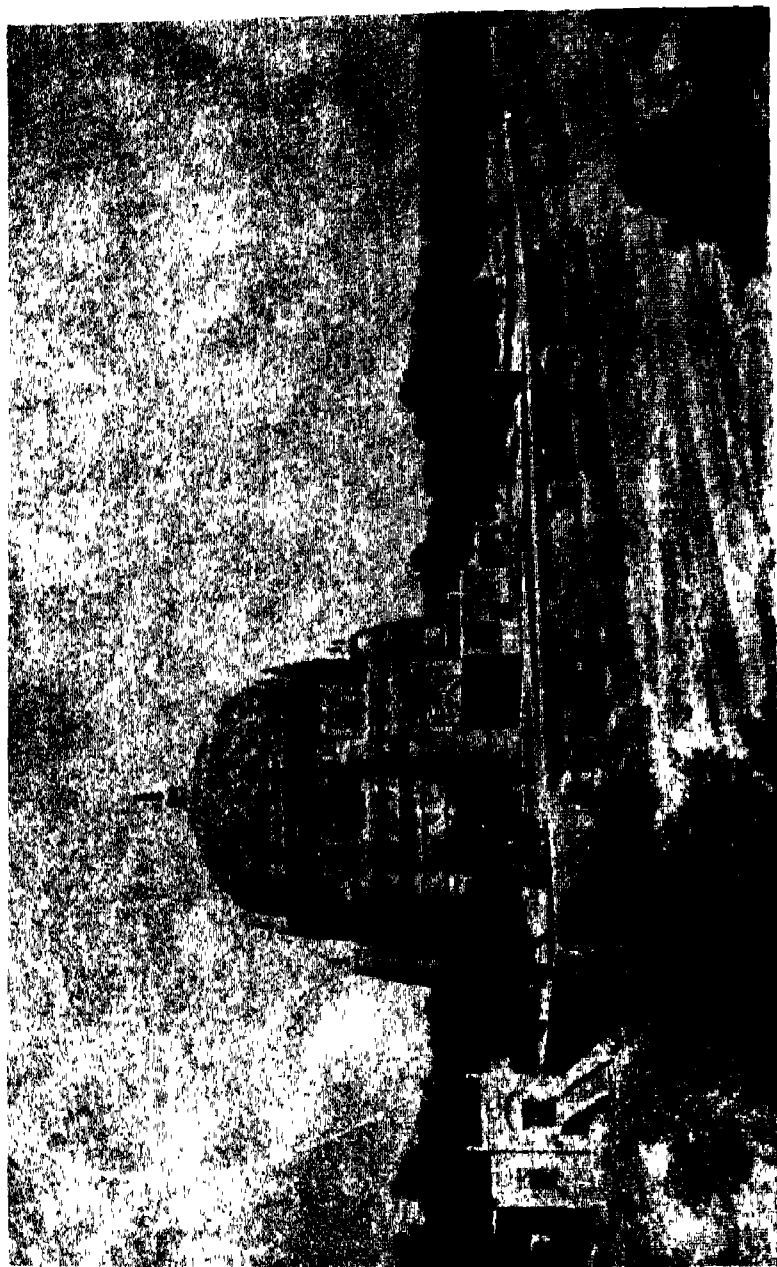
[1] *I.e.* 728/1327.

Quṭb-ud-dīn liked him very much and treated him with special favour; and this led to his murder at the hands of Khusrav Khān. Qāẓī Khān Ṣadr-i-jahān, one of the chief amirs and keeper of the palace-keys (*kalīd-dār*), was the tutor of Quṭb-ud-dīn. He used to remain every night at the royal gate with guards numbering one thousand who used to keep watch every fourth night in turn. They stood in two lines between the doors of the palace (*qaṣr*), the arms of each being before him, so that a person entering the palace had to pass through their ranks When the night ended the day-guards came to replace them. And for the guards there were officers and clerks who went on their rounds amidst them and noted which of them were present and which absent.

Qāẓī Khān, the sulṭān's tutor, loathed Khusrav Khān's actions and disliked his preference for the infidel Hindus and his inclination towards them; and Khusrav Khān had originated from them. Qāẓī Khān ceaselessly reported the matter to the sulṭān, but the latter would not listen to him and would say, 'Let him do what he likes.' This he did because God had pre-ordained his murder at the hands of Khusrav Khān.

One day Khusrav Khān said to the sulṭān, 'A group of Hindus desire to embrace Islām.' The custom in India was that when a Hindū wished to embrace Islām he was taken to the sulṭān who clothed him in fine garments and awarded him a gold collar and bracelets according to his position. The sulṭān replied, 'Bring them to me.' 'They', said he, 'are ashamed to come to see you in broad daylight on account of their relations and co-religionists.' The sulṭān told him to bring them at night. Khusrav Khān assembled a party of brave and powerful Hindus, amongst them being his brother Khān Khānān.[1] It was the beginning of the summer season, and the sulṭān used to sleep on the roof of his palace, no one being with him then except a few pages (*fityān*). When they came clad in arms and passing through the four gates successively reached the fifth where Qāẓī Khān had been posted, he disapproved of their conduct and suspected an evil design. Consequently, he forbade them to enter and said, 'I must get personally from His Majesty permission for their entry; then they may enter.' When he denied them permission, they fell on him and killed him. And an uproar arose at the gate; and the sulṭān asked what it was. Khusrav Khān said, 'It is the Hindus who have come to embrace Islām, but have been held back by Qāẓī Khān.' The uproar increased, and the sulṭān was alarmed. He stood up intending to enter the palace but the door was closed and the pages were by his side. The sulṭān knocked at the door, but Khusrav Khān seized him in his arms from behind. The sulṭān being more powerful threw him down; and in came the Hindus. Khusrav Khān said to them, 'Here he is on me; kill him.' They killed him and cut his head off and hurled it from the palace roof down into the courtyard. Khusrav Khān

[1] His name is not known. Khān Khānān meaning 'chief of chiefs' was a title conferred on him by the sulṭān.

To face page 47.

THE TOMB OF SHAIKH RUKN-UD-DĪN COMMONLY KNOWN AS RUKN-I-'ĀLAM AT MULTĀN.
From his residence at Multān he came to be called Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn Multānī

instantly sent for the amirs and maliks, who were quite unaware of what had happened. Every time a party entered, they saw Khusrav Khān seated on the throne and paid homage to him. In the morning he proclaimed his accession, wrote and addressed orders to all the provinces and sent to every amīr a robe of honour. All submitted to him and acknowledged him except Tughluq Shāh, father of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, who then was an amīr at Dīpālpūr (*Dībālbūr*) in the province of Sind. When Khusrav Khān's robe reached him, he threw it on the ground and sat upon it. Thereupon Khusrav Khān sent against him his brother Khān Khānān whom Tughluq defeated; and matters took such a turn that Tughluq killed Khusrav Khān, as we shall describe in the history of Tughluq.

When Khusrav Khān became king he showed preference for the Hindus and did all sorts of repugnant things, one being that he forbade the slaughter of cows according to the custom of the infidel Hindus, because they do not permit its slaughter and punish the killer of a cow by sewing him up in its hide and burning him. They hold the cow in great esteem and drink its urine for blessing and recovery whenever they are sick. They also plaster their houses and their walls with cow-dung. Such conduct as this on the part of Khusrav Khān antagonised the Muslims and drew them away from him in favour of Tughluq. His rule did not last long and his reign was cut short as will be shown presently.

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh

The pious, learned, and devout prelate Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn—son of the virtuous Shaikh Shams-ud-dīn Abū 'Abdullāh, son of the holy, learned, and devout prelate Bahā-ud-dīn Zakarīya Qurashī of Multān—told me in his hospice at Multān that Sultān Tughluq had originated from the Turks who were known by the name of *Qarauna* [1] and who lived in the mountains lying between Sind and the country of the Turks. He was in a humble condition; so he came to Sind in the service of some merchant, whom he served as a groom (*gulwānīya*),[2] that is to say the keeper of horses (*rā'īl-khail*)—'jilaubān'.[3] This took place in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn when the governor of Sind was his brother Ulugh Khān.[4] Tughluq entered his service and was attached to his person; and Ulugh Khān enlisted him in the *biādeh*,[5] that is to say infantry. Afterwards, his talent came to be known and he was enrolled in the cavalry. Then he became one of the junior officers (*umarāu-uṣ-ṣighār*); and Ulugh Khān made him master of

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[1] For '*Qarauna*', see *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. 49.

[2] *Gulwānīya* is the corrupt form of the Hindī word '*guālā*' (गुआला) or *guālīya* (गुआलिया) which means a cowherd. Fallon, S. W. (1879).

[3] This is a Persian word meaning an 'animal driver'.

[4] The Arabic text of the French edition has *Ūlū* which should be *Ulugh* according to some MSS. *Ulugh* means powerful or great (see *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. 22).

[5] *I.e.* piādeh.

horses (*amīr-ul-khail*).[1] Then he rose to be one of the great amirs (*umarā-ul-kibār*) and was named Malik-ul-Ghāzī.

I saw an inscription on the sanctum sanctorum of the principal mosque at Multān which had been constructed by Tughluq—'I have fought twenty-nine battles with the Tartars and have defeated them. Hence I have been named Malik-ul-Ghāzī.' When Quṭb-ud-dīn ascended the throne, he made him governor of the city of Dīpālpūr and its dependencies and he made his son, now emperor of India (*sulṭān-ul-Hind*), the master of royal horses (*amīr-ul-khail*); and his name was Jauna.[2] On ascending the throne Jauna assumed the name of Muḥammad Shāh. When Quṭb-ud-dīn was killed and Khusrav Khāṅ ascended the throne, he retained Jauna in his post of *amīr-ul-khail*. When Tughluq made up his mind to rebel, he had a following of three hundred men who could be relied upon in war. He wrote to Kishlū Khāṅ who was then at Multān—between Multān and Dīpālpūr there being a distance of three days' journey—soliciting his active co-operation and reminding him of Quṭb-ud-dīn's favours and inciting him to avenge his death. Kishlū Khāṅ's son was at Dehlī; so, he wrote to Tughluq saying, 'If my son were with me I would have surely helped you in attaining your object.' Tughluq wrote to his son Muḥammad[3] Shāh telling him of his intentions and ordering him to flee to him and bring along with him Kishlū Khāṅ's son. Tughluq's son therefore played a trick on Khusrav Khāṅ—a trick which came off successful as he had intended. He said that the horses had grown fat and plump and that they needed a course of training (*yarāq*), that is, a fat-reducing exercise. Khusrav Khāṅ permitted this; so Jauna used to ride everyday with his men and would remain out one or two and even three or four hours, till one day he was absent up to midday—which was the time for the lunch. The sulṭān ordered the horsemen to ride out in search of him but no trace of him could be found. Jauna joined his father taking with him Kishlū Khāṅ's son. Then Tughluq openly declared his hostility. He collected troops; and along with him marched Kishlū Khāṅ with his following. The sulṭān sent his brother Khān Khānāṅ to fight them both, but they inflicted a crushing defeat upon him; and his army joined the ranks of the victors. Khān Khānāṅ returned to his brother, his officers having been killed and his treasures and belongings being seized.

Tughluq marched to the capital, Dehlī; and Khusrav Khāṅ along with his army came out to meet him. He encamped outside Dehlī at a place known as *Āṣiyābād*, that is, the windmill; and he ordered the treasuries to be thrown open. And he gave away the money neither by weighing nor by counting, but in purses. The battle opened between him and Tughluq. The Hindus put up a stubborn fight and the troops of Tughluq were defeated.

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[1] The term '*amīr-ul-khail*' (امیر الخیل) might also be translated as 'master equerry'. It was an important rank in the army mentioned by Baranī.

[2] For 'Jauna', see *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 21.

[3] *I.e.* Jauna or Jauna Khāṅ.

His camp was plundered and he remained stranded with his original three hundred old followers. He said to them, 'Where can you flee? Wherever we are caught we shall be killed.' Meanwhile, Khusrav Khān's army gave itself over to plunder and was scattered. None but a few remained with him. Thereupon Tughluq and his followers marched up to his stand. The presence of the sulṭān is recognized there[1] by the parasol[2] (*chatr*) held over his head. It goes by the name of *qubba*[3] and *ṭāir*[4] in Egypt, where it is hoisted during festivals; but in India and in China the sulṭān leaves it not, whether he is out journeying or staying at home.

When Tughluq and his adherents attacked Khusrav Khāṅ, a most severe battle was fought between them and the Hindus. The sulṭān's army was defeated. No one remained with him; and he fled and dismounted his horse and threw away his clothes and arms. And he remained with only a shirt on and let his hair drop over his shoulders as the Indian fakirs do. Then he entered a garden near by.

The people crowded round Tughluq, who took the road to the city. The kotwāl (*kutwāl*) brought him the keys, and he entered the palace and took abode in a part of it. Then he said to Kishlū Khān, 'You should become the king.' Kishlū Khāṅ said in reply, 'But you should become the king.' And they both disputed. Kishlū Khāṅ concluded by saying, 'If you refuse, let your son become king.' Tughluq did not like the idea; and he instantly agreed and ascended the throne; and the upper classes as well as the common people swore allegiance to him.

After three days Khusrav Khāṅ, still hidden in the garden, was overcome by hunger. He came out and wandered about. He met the gardener and asked him for some food which he did not possess. So Khusrav Khāṅ gave him his ring and said, 'Go and pawn it for something to eat.' When he went with the ring to the market, the people grew suspicious of him and took him to the prefect of police, that is, *ḥākim*.[5] The prefect brought him to Sulṭān Tughluq, whom he told about the man who had given him the ring. Tughluq sent his son Muḥammad to bring Khusrav Khāṅ along. Muḥammad seized him and brought him riding a pack-horse (*tattū*). When he appeared before Tughluq he said to him, 'I am hungry; give me food.' Tughluq ordered some drink and food and later some barley-drink (*fuqqā'*) and then betel-leaf to be given to him. After having eaten, he stood up saying 'O Tughluq! treat me like a king and do not disgrace me.' Tughluq said, 'That treatment will be accorded to you'; and he ordered his decapitation. So he was beheaded at the same place where he had killed Quṭb-ud-dīn. His head and body were thrown from the palace roof as he had done with the head of Quṭb-ud-dīn. Then Tughluq ordered that his

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[1] *I.e.* in India.

[2] The parasol was then considered a symbol of greatness and was in vogue in the different countries of Asia. See Iṣāmī—*Fūtūḥ-us-salāṭīn* (Agra), verses 10438–10449.

[3] *I.e.* cupola.

[4] *I.e.* bird

[5] *I.e.* magistrate

dead body should be washed and shrouded; and it was buried in his mausoleum.[1] Tughluq ruled firmly for four years; he was a just and accomplished ruler.

Projected but ineffective rebellion of his son

When Tughluq was firmly established in the capital, he sent his son Muḥammad to conquer the region of Telingāna (*Tiling*), which lay at a distance of three months' journey from the city of Dehlī. And he sent with him a huge army which included great amirs like Malik Tamūr, Malik Tikīn, Malik Kāfūr, the lord privy seal (*muhrdār*), and Malik Bairam and others. When he reached the country of Telingāna (*Tiling*), he intended to rebel. Now, he had a jurist-poet companion named 'Ubaid; he ordered him to spread the rumour of Sulṭān Tughluq's death among the troops (*an-nās*). On hearing this, he calculated that they would hasten to swear allegiance to him. But when this was reported to them, the amirs did not believe it; and every one beat his drum and revolted. No one remained with Muḥammad and the amirs intended to kill him; but Malik Tamūr prevented them from doing so and came in between. Muḥammad fled to his father with ten horsemen whom he called *yārān-i-muwāfiq*.[2] His father gave him money and troops and ordered him to go back to Telingāna. He returned accordingly. His father knew what he had intended; and he killed the jurist 'Ubaid. As for Malik Kāfūr, the lord privy seal (*muhrdār*), he ordered that a tent-post sharpened at one end should be fixed into the ground and driven into his neck, while he was held head downwards, till it came out of his other side; he was, then, left in that position. The remaining amirs fled to Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn *bin* Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn *bin* Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban and remained with him.[3]

Tughluq's march to the province of Lakhnautī and the successive occurrences up to his death

The fugitive amirs remained with Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn. Later, Shams-ud-dīn died leaving the throne to his son Shihāb-ud-dīn who succeeded his father. Subsequently his youngest brother Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādūr Būra—*Būra* in Hindī means 'black'[4]—vanquished him, seized the throne and killed his brother Qatlū Khān as well as[5] his other brothers. Of these Shihāb-ud-dīn and Nāṣir-ud-dīn fled to Tughluq, who marched along with both of them to fight their brother leaving behind his son, Muḥammad, as viceregent of his empire. He marched with great speed

[1] *I.e.* the mausoleum which Khusrav Khān had constructed.

[2] *I.e.* sincere friends.

[3] *I.e.* in Bengal. For details of hollowness of the charge of rebellion see *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 55–60.

[4] *Būra* is the Arabicised form of the Hindī word Bhūrā (भूरा) which means grey or blackish.

[5] *I.e.* most of.

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'The beloved of God.
The sacred picture of Hazrat Sultān Nizām Auliyā; may God be pleased with him ' Dehli.'

(From the relics of his sanctuary.)

* *I.e.* In the name of God, most gracious, most merciful.
(According to the *abjad* arrangement.)

to the province (*bilād*) of Lakhnautī, captured it and took its ruler Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Bahādūr prisoner and brought him captive to his capital.

In the city of Dehlī there lived the saint Niẓām-ud-dīn[1] of Budāūn whom Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Tughluq, visited invariably showing

[1] The saint of Ghiyāṣpūr—an ancient village in the suburbs of modern Delhi opposite Humāyun's tomb—Muḥammad Niẓām-ud-dīn, Sulṭān-ul-auliyā (prince of saints) has given his name to it, the place of his residence and eternal rest; and Ghiyāṣpūr is now known as *Niẓām-ud-dīn kī bastī*. A descendant of the Prophet of Arabia through his only daughter Fāṭima who was married to Ḥaẓrat 'Alī, the Sulṭān-ul-auliyā Niẓām-ud-dīn—a ṣūfī of the Chishti order—was born at Budāūn on Wednesday 19th October, 1238 A.C. (27th Ṣafar 636 A.H.). His father Khwāja Saiyid Aḥmad was a man of great parts and saintly habits who won recognition at the court of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak of Dehlī. The latter offered him the post of chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*) which he declined. But he was compelled later to fill the said office, which he held for a short period and then resigned retiring to a solitary and secluded life.

Khwāja Saiyid Aḥmad died in 1243/641 leaving him an orphan of five years. He was then sent to school under the care of his mother, a lady of great piety and learning. In the course of the next thirteen years he acquired mastery over almost all the arts and sciences then known to the Muslim world—theology, *ḥadīṣ*, grammar, logic, philosophy, physics, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, philology, literature and *qir'at*; and on account of his great powers of speech, debate and argumentation he became an invincible debater. He loved, however, sainthood (*mashīkhat*) and took to preaching and practising the philosophy of Islām. He preached:—'a Muslim must abstain from doing harm of any kind to anybody; he must also abstain from every sin and should protect his eyes, tongue and hands from an undesirable act; he should direct his eyes and tongue towards the truth and keep glorifying Allāh steering clear of every doubt that might develop in his mind ... The heart is a mirror which is in itself clean; but sins cover it with dust which can only be removed by repeating the names of Allāh and His Prophet, Muḥammad ... The way to spiritualism is just this—avoid sins. If you want to purify your heart, remember Allāh in seclusion along with His Prophet. By doing this you will feel a thrill of inspiration passing through the mind which, in fact, is being purified ... An approach to Allāh requires two things: (i) purge (*i.e.* purging the mind of all sins), and (ii) decoration (*i.e.* decorating one's self with the ornament of divine worship); ... and again, two things: (i) prayers, and (ii) listening to devotional music of mysticism. . A man possesses two things, the animal instinct and the soul. If a man gives vent to his animal instinct, *i.e.* makes mischief or picks up quarrel with you, you should pacify him with the influence of your soul, *i.e.* gentleness and magnanimity!'

One day he addressed a huge gathering thus: 'Listen and think over it! The ultimate object for which man was created is to love God. There are two kinds of love—love of inner reality and love of the externals. Love of inner reality is a divine gift; Allāh bestows it upon whomsoever He likes. It cannot be acquired by dint of training or toil. But love of the externals can be developed by perseverance and concentration of mind, and even this much is not an unworthy achievement .... It is incumbent on man to understand himself first. He should close his eyes and dispel the darkness surrounding him on all sides and then think what he was in the beginning—a mere drop of impurity that assumed many forms and passed through various stages until it developed senses and reason. But this is not to be regarded as the final stage. Instead, he should try to soar higher and achieve spiritual perfection through purity of soul, refinement and devotion. If he fails in this, he fails in everything. Time once lost is lost for ever.'

great consideration to his servants and soliciting his blessings. The saint was subject to spells of ecstasy during which he was in a trance. The

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The Sultān-ul-auliyā gave his followers and disciples pieces of good advice which might guide them in every walk of life; and one of these was 'Do as you would like to be done by; and do not do as you would not like to be done by.'

Like his father, Saiyid Ahmad, Muhammad Nizām-ud-dīn, Sultān-ul-auliyā attracted the notice of the contemporary rulers, and he lived through the reigns of as many as seven kings—Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād, Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusrav Khān and Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. Some liked him, for instance Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, who offered him the time-honoured office of *imāmat*. But he declined the offer saying, '*Namāz* is the only valuable asset I possess, and the king wants to take even that away by making me his imām.' The king did not insist and refrained from disturbing the saint's quietude.

It was after this incident that Muhammad Nizām-ud-dīn moved from Budāūn to Ghiyāspūr whither he came in the company of his revered mother, Bībī Zulaikhā and his sister, Bībī Jannat. Unfortunately, thus, he came much nearer the orbit of state politics, and the king who had spared him at Budāūn could not help inviting him to a debate which was organized at the court, and he being the fittest candidate for the post of chief justice (*qāzi-ul-quzāt*) the sultān aimed at selecting him. And the offer was made, but the saint did not accept it.

Now, he was nineteen years of age and felt the urge for spiritual enlightenment and became anxious to draw inspiration from a higher source, *i.e.* Bābā Farīd-ud-dīn Shakarganj of Ajodhan. He went to Ajodhan (1257/655) and kissed the feet of Bābā Farīd and became his disciple. Bābā Farīd inspired him with all the knowledge that he possessed; and then observed, 'Outwardly it would seem that I have made Nizām-ud-dīn my disciple, but in reality he is the chief disciple of God and the *khalīfa* of the Prophet.'

On his return from Ajodhan to Ghiyāspūr (1258/656), Muhammad Nizām-ud-dīn obtained a large following of believers and disciples; and he began to keep a large kitchen to feed them. But he had apparently no means of income—a fact which was reported to Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī who sent some presents expressing a desire to grant the saint some *jāgīr*. Muhammad Nizām-ud-dīn consulted his disciples about accepting the royal offer and was pleased to hear them say in reply, 'Nizām *bābā*! we have been freely moving in your company up to this time, but if you condescend to accepting jagirs we will cease even to drink water from your cups.' Muhammad Nizām-ud-dīn forthwith rejected the offer and explained away his attitude *vis-à-vis* worldly riches saying, 'A filled stomach keeps the soul subdued; whereas, when the stomach is empty the soul has free play'; and he enjoined on his followers endurance, forbearance and contentment.

But Muhammad Nizām-ud-dīn was the recipient of private gifts which he gave away. It is said that a needy traveller who had once been a rich merchant came to him and complained that he had been robbed of all his goods during the journey and supplicated help. The saint asked him to come next morning and promised to give him whatever came to him in the first hour of the day. The merchant turned up at the appointed hour, and the first one hour's gifts and presents which Nizām-ud-dīn the Sultān-ul-auliyā gave to him amounted to 12,000 tankas.

Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was devoted to the Sultān-ul-auliyā; and he is said to have invited him once to the royal court. The Sultān-ul-auliyā refused politely to accept the invitation, affirming that the king's duty was to serve his people, while Muhammad Nizām-ud-dīn himself was serving mankind in his own way. So he argued, he should be left alone and spared the attendance at the court and permitted to lead his life of devotion and mysticism. The sultān did not insist on the saint's attendance and was pleased to send some costly presents which the saint declined

prince said to the saint's servants, 'When the *shaikh* is in his ecstasy inform me about it.' When the saint next fell into an ecstasy they informed the prince who came to him. As soon as the saint saw him he said, 'We accord you the sceptre.' Then the saint died during the sulṭān's

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He did not even approve of the mausoleum which the sulṭān proposed to build for him—a building which is said to have been erected in part and was subsequently converted by prince Khiẓr Khāṅ into a mosque outside which the Sulṭān-ul-auliyā lies buried.

Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, the son and successor of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, did not like the Sultān-ul-auliyā and picked up a quarrel with him. He asked him to say prayers in the State mosque which he had built; but the saint refused to do so because there existed already a mosque in the city which, he believed, had prior claim. The sultān was angry and prohibited the amirs and maliks from taking any kind of presents to the saint. But the Sultān-ul-auliyā took up the challenge and ordered that the outlay for the distribution of food at his kitchen should be doubled thenceforth. He instructed his servant to keep a certain amulet, which he prepared for the purpose, in the shelf whence he got free supply of provisions. On hearing of this the sultān became extremely indignant and ordered a complete economic boycott of the saint; no food-stuffs could be sold to him. But the Sulṭān-ul-auliyā invalidated this economic boycott also and the sultān was worsted Feeling piqued, the king went to the extent of asking the saint to quit the city of Dehlī. The saint made no reply but cursed the sultān who was afflicted, before long, with an attack of colic pain which was cured only when the sultān had repented; but he resumed his haughtiness as soon as he had recovered. He desired the Sulṭān-ul-auliyā to see him the first night of every lunar month, which the saint refused to do. Months passed; and the Sultān-ul-auliyā being found absent and even defiant, the sulṭān meditated issuing new orders. And some of his devotees, apprehending mischief, advised the saint to go to the court as had been desired. 'I will not bow to the king', replied the Sultān-ul-auliyā courageously; and he continued, '. . . I am convinced that he can do me no harm. Allāh has granted me peace of mind. I dreamt that a bullock had attacked me, and that I caught his two horns and felled him to the ground. I hope the king will not get time to molest me.' Almost simultaneously as the saint uttered this, about midnight, the sultān was attacked in his palace by the party of Khusrav Khān and was killed

Similarly Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq fell out with the Sultān-ul-auliyā and is believed to have suffered consequently. (For details see *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp 28, 70-71, 24)

Before the close of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq's reign the Sulṭān-ul-auliyā passed away on Friday, the 18th of the month of *Rabī'-us-sānī*, 725 A H. (3rd April, 1324 A C.). For his photo which I have secured recently from the relics at the Dargāh Sharīf (see p 51)

(i) Sy A., pp 367–567,
(ii) J.F., pp. 284–290.
(iii) N B., pp 333-425.
(iv) G A., pp 26 28

In his *Safīnat-ul-auliyā* (p 167) Prince Dārā Shikoh has paid rich tribute to the Sulṭān-ul-auliyā whom he calls 'Sultān-ul-mashāikh' and says that he visited the saint's shrine several times The prince observes that four out of the thousands of Sultān-ul-auliyā's disciples have attained immortal fame, namely Amīr Khusrav, Shaikh Nasīr-ud-dīn *Chirāgh Dehlī*, Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn *gharīb* and Shaikh Hasan Dehlavī. The utterances of the Sultān-ul-auliyā have been embodied in the form of two books—the *Fawā'id-ul-fu'ād* and the *Rāhat-ul* [illegible] p. 952).

absence, and his son [1] Muḥammad carried the coffin on his shoulders. The father heard of this and disapproved of it and threatened him. Sundry acts on his part—his purchase of a large number of slaves, his lavish gifts and his captivating the hearts of the people—had already inspired Tughluq with suspicion. Hence his anger against him increased. It was reported to him, further, that the astrologers thought that he would not enter the city of Dehlī after his aforesaid journey; and he poured out menaces against them On his return journey as he neared the capital he ordered his son that he should build him a palace—which people call *kūshk*—in the plain [2] thereabout called Afghānpūr (*Afghānbūr*). Accordingly, the son built it within three days. It was constructed for the most part of wood rising above the ground and resting on wooden columns; and it was consolidated geometrically under the charge of Malikzāda Aḥmad *bin* Aiyāz, later known as Khwāja Jahān, the principal vezir of Sulṭān Muḥammad Aḥmad *bin* Aiyāz [3] was then the superintendent of buildings (*shaḥnat-ul-'imārat*). It was so contrived that when the elephants should step on a part of it the *kūshk* would collapse and tumble down. The sulṭān stopped in this palace and fed his guests (*an-nās*).[4] After the dinner they dispersed. His son, then, asked the sulṭān to allow him to have

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[1] *I.e.* Sulṭān Muḥammad.

[2] For the Arabic phrase—علی واد هنا لك يسمّى افغان بور—in the text the French translation is *près d'une rivière qui coule en cet endroit et que l'on nomme Afghân Poûr* (near a river which runs in that place and is called Afghānpūr).' (Def. et Sang., III, p 212). Now Afghānpūr is known as 'a village about five and a half miles to the south-east of Tughluqābād which appears in the Indian atlas as Aghwānpūr' (C H I , III, p. 134). And almost all contemporary and non-contemporary chroniclers notably Baranī, 'Iṣāmī and Budāūnī describe it as a place and not as a river. (*Vide* J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 330.) And the word '*wādī* (وادی) or *wādin* (واد) in Arabic does not always mean a river. It also means a 'plain or a desert' or any 'low-lying region' (Richardson, p. 1624).

[3] New light is thrown on the history of Aḥmad Aiyāz by his book, the *Chihlrosa* (N.B., p. 269) which tells us that his original name was Har Deo, that he was a relation of Raja Ram Deo of Deogīr and that he had come to Dehlī after 'Alā-ud-dīn's invasion and conquest of Deogīr (1294/693). He had learnt Persian at an early age, and later acquired some knowledge of Turkish also. He visited the shrine of Muḥammad Niẓām-ud-dīn the Sultān-ul-auliya, embraced Islām, became his disciple and was named *Aḥmad Aiyāz*—which name is used by Baranī (B.I., pp. 481, 520, 523, 539, 540, 545, 546, 547); by 'Afīf (B.I., pp. 50, 69, 78); by Yaḥya (B.I., p. 98); by Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad (B.I., I., pp. 205, 226, 227); by Budāūnī (B.I., I, pp. 237, 243); by Ḥājjī-ud-Dabīr (London, III, pp. 878, 895) and by Firishta (Lucknow, pp. 133, 145). But the *Rehla* has 'Aḥmad son of (*bin*) Aiyāz' and so has the *Futuh-us-salāṭīn* (Agra) in two of its verses, 7948 and 8952, though the latter again has *Aḥmad Aiyāz*, instead, in the headings. Perhaps, his father who subsequently repaired to Dehlī from Deogīr at the instance of the saint Niẓām-ud-dīn the Sulṭān-ul-auliyā—for whom he had great regard—also embraced Islām as his son had done and was named Aiyāz (cf. Iṣāmī, verse 8093) or Malik Aiyāz (cf. Yaḥyā, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 98) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's reference to his origin from Asia Minor (*rūmī-ul-aṣl*) and the orthography *Aiyās* lacks confirmation See p. 23 *supra*.

[4] The word *an-nās*, literally meaning people, here signifies the guests of the sulṭān.

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The Tomb of Aḥmad *bin* Aiyāz Khwāja Jahāṅ, in the sanctuary of the saint of Ghiyāṡpūr.

the elephants ride past him caparisoned. The permission was accorded. Shaikh Rukn-ud-din informed me that he was then with the sulṭān with whom was also his favourite son Maḥmūd. Muḥammad, the son of the sulṭān, came and said to the shaikh, 'Maulānā! It is time for the '*aṣr* prayer; come down and pray.' The *shaikh* said, 'I came down; and the elephants were brought from a certain direction as had been arranged. When they stepped over, the *kūshk* fell on the sulṭān and his son Maḥmūd.' The *shaikh* said. 'I heard the uproar and came back without saying the prayer. I saw that the *kūshk* had fallen, and the sulṭān's son was ordering pickaxes and shovels to be brought to dig out the sulṭān, but he made signs for them to delay and the implements were not brought till after the sunset.'

When the sulṭān was dug out he was seen bending over his son to save him from death. Some presumed that he was taken out dead; some apprehended that he was taken out alive and was finished. He was carried in the course of the night to the tomb which he had built outside the city named after himself Tughluqābād. And there he was buried.[1] We have already[2] mentioned his motive for building this city. There lay the treasures of Tughluq and his palaces; and there stood the biggest palace whose bricks were plated with gold. At sunrise they shone with such brightness and lustre that one could not gaze at it; and he had deposited vast wealth in it It is said that he had constructed a tank into which he had poured molten gold to form a solid mass, and that his son Muḥammad Shāh spent it all after his accession.

In recognition of the aforesaid geometrical ingenuity shown by the vezir Khwāja Jahāṅ in the construction of the *kūshk*, which had fallen on Tughluq, his position became great in the eyes of Muḥammad Shāh, and great was the favour he showed him No one approached him in the esteem in which the sulṭān held him, nor did any one of the veziers and others hold a rank equal to his in the eyes of the sulṭān.[3]

[1] The charge of parricide against Sulṭān Muhammad has been authentically disproved (*vide The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 68-75)

[2] See p. 25 supra.

[3] The sultān is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Aḥmad Aiyāz (*Chihlroza*, N.B., p 318, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, I (Lucknow), p. 145)

As for the close affinity and cordiality between Sulṭān Muhammad and Aḥmad Aiyāz the reason is not to be sought in any kind of conspiracy for the crown, but in their union, from the outset, on a high spiritual plane transcending the limits of all worldly ambition—in the sulṭān's ceaseless and insatiable search for *truth* which had landed him into atheism, with the subsequent reconversion to Islām (*vide The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 171-172), and in the zeal of a new convert like *Aḥmad Aiyāz* who had also passed through a similar phase of spiritual quest. Further the union between the two was strengthened by their sharing a liberal view of Islām in all its aspects—and therefore common enemies in the powerful 'ulamā—and a common source of spiritual drink from which both drank hard to their hearts' content at the initiation of the great Sulṭān-ul-auliyā.

CHAPTER VI

SULṬĀN ABUL MUJĀHID MUḤAMMAD SHĀH

Sulṭān Abul Mujāhid Muḥammad Shāh son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh, emperor of Hind and Sind whose court we visited

When Sulṭān Tughluq died his son Muḥammad became master of the realm without any rival or opponent. We have already mentioned that his name was Jauna. When he became king he assumed the name of 'Muḥammad' and the surname of Abul Mujāhid.'[1] All that I have described regarding the sultans of India was what has been told to me by, or what I have learnt in entirety or for the most part from, Shaikh Kamāl-ud-dīn *bin* al-Burhān of Ghazna, the chief justice (*qāẓi-ul-quẓāt*). But the events regarding this king I have, for the most part, witnessed during my sojourn in his realm.

His character-sketch

Of all the people this king loves most to make presents and also to shed blood. His door is never free from an indigent person who is to be enriched and from a living person who is to be killed. Stories of his generosity and bravery as well as of his cruelty and severity towards the offenders have obtained great currency among the people. Despite this, he is the humblest of men and most devoted to the administration of justice and to the pursuit of truth. The mottos and emblems of Islām are preserved by him, and he lays great stress on the performance of prayer,[2] the neglect of which is punished by him. He is one of those kings whose good luck is unique and whose felicity is extraordinary; but his dominating quality is his generosity. We shall relate marvellous stories of his generosity, the like of which have never been heard concerning any preceding ruler. I call Allāh as well as His angels and prophets to witness that all that I shall relate regarding his extraordinary munificence is certainly true. God alone suffices as my witness. I know that some of what I relate will not be imaginable to many people,[3] and they will consider it as normally impossible. But when it is a question of an event which I have seen with my own eyes, the truth of which I knew and in which I played no mean part, I can do nothing else but tell the truth. Besides the veracity of most of these facts is confirmed by their reiteration in eastern countries.

[1] *I.e.* leading or stout warrior.

[2] *I.e.* *namāz* particularly in congregation. For the obligatory five prayers of the day, see p. 128 *infra*.

[3] See Appendix I, p. 264.

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Sulṭān Abul Mujāhid Muḥammad Shāh (Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta).

'A copy of the (most) remarkable likeness of the greatest emperor, G͟hāzī Sulṭān Muḥammad *bin* Tug͟hluq at Dehli, the capital.

May his soul be blessed! written 940 Hijra' (A.C. 1533).

Vide R.F.M., p. 197 and the footnote 1.

To face page 57.

THE HAZĀR SUTŪN PALACE AT JAHĀNPANĀH
(after excavations)
frequently mentioned in the *Rehla*.

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THE MASHWAR
(after excavations)
commonly known as Bijāi Mandal *Vide* R F.M., p 241.

Gates of the royal palace in relation to the council-hall and the scheme thereof

The sulṭān's palace at Dehlī is called *dār-sarā* and has a large number of gates. At the *first* gate a troop of men are posted, and there sit the blowers of clarions, trumpets and horns. When an amīr or a great man comes, the clarions are sounded announcing 'so-and-so has come; so-and-so has come'; and the same procedure is followed at the second and third gates. Outside the *first* gate are platforms on which sit the executioners, whose business is to execute human beings. As a rule, when the royal order is issued for the execution of any person he is executed at the gate [1] of the palace where his corpse remains for three days.[2] And between the first and second gates there is a big vestibule on either side of which are built platforms on which sit the trumpeters from amongst the gate-keepers.

At the *second* gate sit the gate-keepers who are appointed for the purpose. And between the second and third gates is a big platform on which sits the chief palace officer (*naqīb-un-nuqabā*) who holds in his hand a gold club and wears a gold cap studded with jewels and surmounted with peacock[3] feathers. And the palace officers stand before him, each wearing a gold cap, girding his loin with a sash and holding in his hand a whip with a gold or silver handle. And this second gate leads to a big and extensive hall wherein sit the people.

As for the *third* gate, round about it are platforms on which the gate secretaries (*kuttāb-ul-bāb*) sit. One of their duties is not to let any person enter, unless by royal appointment; and for every man entering it the number of his companions and attendants in his escort is fixed. Whenever anybody comes to this gate, the gate secretaries write down that so-and-so came in the first hour or the second hour of the day or at any later hour till the close of the day; and these records the sulṭān peruses after the retiring prayer of *'ishā*. They also note all that happens at the gate; and some of the maliks' sons are appointed to present these reports to the sulṭān. It is also one of their customs that if any official absents himself for three consecutive days or more from the royal palace with or without excuse, he is not allowed to re-enter without the sulṭān's permission. If his absence be due to any illness or similar cause, he brings along with him, on his coming back, a fit present for the sulṭān. The same is the practice with those who arrive after long journeys.[4] The jurist (*faqīh*) presents a copy of the Qur'ān or a book or something like it, and the fakir presents a prayer-mat or a rosary or a tooth-brush or the like. The amirs and those enjoying equal dignity present horses, camels and arms. And this third gate leads to a vast and a spacious council-hall (*mashwar*)[5] called *hazār usṭūn*[6]

[1] See p. 85 *infra*.
[2] See p. 104 *infra*, footnote 2.
[3] The use of peacock feathers in the head-dress and elsewhere is characteristically a Hindū custom; and the usage referred to here as well as under Fīroz Shāh III ('Afīf p. 317) provides an instance of Hindū-Muslim cultural synthesis.
[4] *I.e.* foreign visitors and travellers, *vide* p. 4 *supra*.
[5] This was a part of the *hazār sutūn* palace. See photo, p. 57. See also p. 128 *infra*.
[6] See photo, p 57, see also pp. 118, 128 and 135 *infra*.

that is, one thousand pillars. The pillars are of polished wood; and on these rests a wooden roof, covered with strikingly beautiful paintings and mosaic. Under this roof sit the people and in this council-hall the sulṭān sits for public audience (*julūs-ul-'ām*).

Order observed in the public audience [1]

Generally the public audience[2] is held in the afternoon, though sometimes the sulṭān holds it in the forenoon. He sits on a throne over a dais draped in white cloth. Behind his back is a big cushion; and there are cushions to his right as well as to his left. His posture[3] is like that of a man sitting in prayers; and the same is the manner of sitting observed by all the Indians.[4]

After the sulṭān takes his seat the vezir stands facing him and the secretaries stand behind the vezir; and behind the secretaries stand the chamberlains together with the head chamberlain (*kabīr-ul-ḥujjāb*), namely Fīroz Malik, the sulṭān's cousin and deputy, who is the closest chamberlain to the sulṭān. Then follow the special chamberlain (*khāṣṣ ḥājib*) and his deputy (*nāib khāṣṣ ḥājib*) and the house superintendent (*wakīl-ud-dār*) and his deputy; and then the high chamberlain (*sharaf-ul-ḥujjāb*) and chief chamberlain (*saiyid-ul-ḥujjāb*) respectively together with the whole of their staffs. The chamberlains are followed by the naqībs numbering about one hundred. As the sulṭān takes his seat the chamberlain and palace officers call out '*Bismillāh*', at the height of their voice. Then stands behind the sulṭān the great Malik Qabūla holding in his hand a fly-flap with which he drives away the flies; and a hundred armed soldiers stand on either side of the sulṭān holding shields, swords and bows.

Along the whole length of the council-hall to the right as well as to the left stand the chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*) followed by the head orator (*khaṭīb-ul-khuṭabā*), then the other judges (*quẓāt*), then the great jurists (*fuqahā*), the great saiyids (*shurafā*), the saints (*mashāikh*), the sulṭān's brothers and brothers-in-law, the great amirs, the distinguished visitors (*a'izza*) *i.e.* the foreigners (*ghurabā*) and the commanders (*quwwād*)[5] of the army in order. Then are brought sixty horses fully equipped with saddles, bridles and royal trappings. Some of these horses bear the insignia of the *khilāfat*[6]—that is, the bridles and girths of black silk woven with gold, while others are ornamented with white silk embroidered with gold. These horses are not used except by the sulṭān. They are made to stand half on the right and half on the left of the sulṭān within his view. Then are brought fifty elephants caparisoned with silk cloth and gold cloth, their tusks being cased in iron to fit them to kill criminals.

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[1] *I.e. darbār-i-'ām.*

[2] See p. 86 *infra*, footnote 5.

[3] For this posture of the sulṭān see the picture on page 58.

[4] This is a pointer from an eye-witness to the growing *Indo-Islamic* cultural synthesis.

[5] *Quwwād* is the plural of *qā'id* which means a 'commander'.

[6] *I.e* the Abbasid caliphate of which the symbol was black.

THE SITTING POSTURE OF THE SULṬĀN, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

On the head of every elephant sits a mahout holding in his hand an iron goad with which he directs and controls the animal as he likes. Each elephant carries on his back what looks like a huge box which can hold more or less twenty warriors according to the size of the elephant and its proportions; and in the corners of that box are fixed four flags. These elephants are trained to salute the sulṭān by bending their heads. When they bow the chamberlains call out '*Bismillāh*' loudly.

The elephants are made to stand half to the left and half to the right behind the men who are standing; and every man from among those previously appointed and specified to take their stand to the right or to the left bows as soon as he reaches the chamberlains' place. The chamberlains call out '*Bismillāh*' and the chorus of their sound is just as high as the reputation of the visitor. As soon as he has done obeisance he repairs to his proper place, to the right or to the left, and never trespasses it. When one from among the infidel Hindus comes to pay his homage the chamberlains and palace officers call out '*Hadākallāh*'.[1] And the sulṭān's slaves with shields and swords in their hands stand behind all the people. No one can make his way through their midst; the only way open to the visitors is through the chamberlains standing in front of the sulṭān.

Admission of foreigners and their presents at the royal court

When a person calls at the royal palace with a present the chamberlains wait on the sulṭān according to their rank:—first of all comes the *amīr ḥājib* followed by his deputy, then the *khāṣṣ ḥājib* followed by his deputy, then the court secretary (*wakīl-ud-dār*)[2] followed by his deputy, then the *saiyid-ul-ḥujjāb* and *sharaf-ul-ḥujjāb*. They bow at three places and then announce to the sulṭan the person at the door. If he orders them to admit the visitor, they place the present which he has brought, on the hands of men who display it before the audience in such a manner that the sulṭān may see it. Then the sulṭān calls the person making the present, who bows three times before reaching him and then bows near the chamberlains' place. If he be a great man, he takes his stand in the row of the *amīr ḥājib*; otherwise he stands behind him; and the sulṭān addresses him personally with great kindness and extends him a warm welcome. With a man commanding respect he shakes hands and even embraces him and wants to see some of his presents which are produced. If they be in the nature of arms or clothes, the sulṭān turns them up with his hand and expresses his appreciation with a view to winning the heart of and pleasing the person who has made the present. Then he grants him a robe as well as cash for his shampoo[3] according to the prevalent custom; and the amount of the grant varies according to the merits of the person making the present.

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[1] *Hadākallāh* (may God guide you!) is as much a term of respect as '*Bismillāh*'. The difference is only conventional and can be traced back to the earliest days of Islām.

[2] *I.e.* *wakildar*. See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 229.

[3] Cf. *sar-shusti* (p. 120 *infra*). It signified a symbolic gift.

Making of presents to the sulṭān by his officials

When the officials take their presents and hoards of provincial revenues to the sulṭān they make gold and silver utensils in the form of bowls, ewers and other things. They also make solid pieces of gold and silver in the shape of bricks, which they call *khisht*. The valets (*farrāsh*) who are the sulṭān's slaves stand in rows, each holding in his hands an article from among the presents. Then the elephants are brought, if there be any in the present. Then are brought saddled and bridled horses, afterwards the mules, and last of all are brought the camels laden with goods. One day I saw the vezir Khwāja Jahāṅ making his presents when the sulṭān arrived from Daulatābād. The vezir met him in the vicinity of the city of Bayāna, and the presents were made in the same order. I noticed that amongst other things the present included a tray full of rubies, another full of emeralds and another still full of marvellous pearls. And Ḥājī Kāūn—the paternal cousin of Sulṭān Abū S'aīd, king of 'Irāq—was present there. Sulṭān Muḥammad gave him some of it, which will be described[1] shortly, God willing (*inshā'-Allāh t-'aālā*)[2]

Royal procession on the occasion of the two Ids[3]

The night preceding the 'Īd the sulṭān sends robes to the amirs, the courtiers, the notable personages, and the *a'izza* as well as to the secretaries, chamberlains, palace officers (*nuqabā*),[4] military chiefs, slaves and news correspondents without exception. On the 'Īd morning all the elephants are adorned with silk, gold and jewels, and there are sixteen of them whom no one rides as they are reserved for the sulṭān's use only. Over each of them a silk parasol studded with jewels and with a handle of pure gold is raised, and on the back of each is placed a seat, covered with silk and studded with jewels. Out of these sixteen the sulṭān rides one, in front of which the saddle cover[5] studded with the most precious jewels is carried. In front of the royal elephant march the servants and slaves, each wearing a gold cap and a gold belt studded in some cases with jewels. And the naqibs also march before him; and they are about three hundred in number each wearing a gold fur cap and a gold sash round his waist and carrying a baton with a gold handle in his hand. The chief justice, Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ Kamāl-ud-dīn of Ghazna, the chief justice Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ Nāṣir-ud-dīn of Khwārizm, and other judges and distinguished personalities of Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Syria, Egypt and the *west*[6] are in attendance, each riding an elephant. And all foreigners in India are called

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[1] See pp. 71-72 *infra*.

[2] Frequently used by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, this Quranic phrase is symbolic of complete reliance upon the Almighty God on the part of a believer for success in any undertaking and is still popular among the Muslims throughout the world.

[3] *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr* and *'Īd-ul-Aḍḥā*. For *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr*, see p. 124 *infra*.

[4] *Nuqabā* is the plural of *naqīb*.

[5] The term *ghāshia* has been explained in the *Rehla* as saddle-cover. Literally it means a cover.

[6] *I.e.* north-west Africa.

khurāsānī.[1] The muezzins too mount on elephants and they call out '*Allāh-o-akbar*'.[2]

In this way the sulṭān comes out of the palace gate while the troops stand outside waiting for him, every amīr at the head of his special detachment holding his trumpets and flags. The sulṭān advances; and the infantry which we have mentioned precede him. And the infantry are preceded by the judges and the muezzins, who recite the name of *Allāh* the exalted. Behind the sulṭān are carried his insignia namely, the royal flags, drums, trumpets, bugles, and hautboys; and then follow all his entourage After these comes Mubārak Khāṅ, the sulṭān's brother, with his insignia and troops, then comes the sulṭān's brother's[3] son, Bahrām Khāṅ, with his insignia and troops; then comes Malik Fīroz, the sulṭān's paternal cousin; then the vezir, then Malik Mujīr, son of Dhū-rijā, and Malik-ul-kabīr Qabūla respectively—each followed by his own insignia and troops.

This Malik Qabūla enjoys great esteem with the emperor and holds a high position and possesses great wealth. His chief secretary (*ṣāḥib-ud-dīwān*)[4]—Ṣiqat-ul-mulk[5] 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Alī, an inhabitant of Egypt and commonly known as Ibn Sharābishī—told me that his annual expenditure and the expenditure and allowances of his staff came to thirty-six lacs (tankas). After him comes Malik Nukbīa with his insignia and troops; and then come Malik Bughra, Malik Mukhliṣ and Malik Quṭb-ul-mulk successively with their insignia and troops. These great amīrs, who never part company with the sulṭān, ride in his company on the day of 'Īd with their respective insignia Other amirs ride without insignia. All the riders as well as their horses on that occasion are clad in armour; and many of these riders are the sulṭān's slaves. As soon as the sulṭān reaches the gate of the mosque he halts and orders the judges, the great amirs and the important *a'izza* to enter. Then he alights; and the imām conducts the prayer and delivers the sermon. If it be the '*Īd-ul-Azḥā*,[6] the sulṭān brings

[1] *I.e* men of Khurāsān. See p 14 *supra*, footnote 4.

[2] *I e. Allāh-o-akbar* (God is great)—another Quranic phrase, inspiring awe and reverence for the Almighty God, extremely popular with the Muslims everywhere and used on all occasions, public or private.

[3] This should be read as 'father's son.' See p. xi *supra*.

[4] '*Dīwān*' is an Arabic word which stands for an administrative department; and 'ṣāḥib-ud-dīwān' would mean the head of the department. Here the department being unknown, the term '*ṣāḥib-ud-dīwān*' has been rendered as chief secretary. The French scholars (Def. et Sang., III, p 230) translate '*dīwān*' as an 'officer who holds the registers'.

[5] *I.e.* trustee of the State.

[6] '*Id-ul-Azḥā* (a festival of sacrifice), otherwise known as '*Id-i-qurbān* or *Bakrīd* signifying the killing of animal passion and the rejection of evil in thought, word and deed on the part of the believer is celebrated throughout the Muslim world on the 10th of *Dhil-hijja*; and the animal sacrifice which is symbolically performed on that day is identical with one of the rites of the *ḥajj*. The preliminary rites are observed in the month of *Shawwāl*, and the chief rites on the 8th, 9th and 10th of *Dhil-ḥijja*. On the 9th the pilgrims stop in the valley of Mina, six miles north of Mecca, where Abraham had a great vision Says the holy Qur'ān ". . . . . When the son reached the age of serious

the camel which he slaughters with a lance (*rumḥ*) which they call *neza*, after having covered his clothes with a silk sheet to keep off the blood; and then he mounts an elephant and returns to his palace.

'Īd durbar—the high throne and the huge censer

On the day of 'Īd the whole palace is hung with tapestry and magnificently decorated. All along the council-hall is set up an awning which is a kind of a big tent supported by numerous thick posts; and around it are many other tents. Artificial trees made of silk of varying colours and covered with blossoms and flowers are arranged in three rows in the council-hall. Between every two trees is placed a gold chair with a covered seat; and in the fore-part of the council-hall is placed the high throne, the whole of which is of pure gold and the legs are studded with jewels. It is twenty-three spans long and half of that measurement wide, and it consists of separate pieces, which are fitted together when desired. Several men jointly lift a piece on account of the heaviness of the gold; and over the throne they place a cushion; and over the sulṭān's head a parasol studded with jewels is raised. As soon as he ascends the throne, the chamberlains and the palace officers call out '*Bismillāh*' with a loud voice. Then the people advance to salute him; first the judges, then the orators, then the 'ulamā, then the saiyids, then the saints (*mashāikh*), then the sulṭān's brothers, his relations and brothers-in-law, then the *a'izza*, then the vezirs, then the military chiefs, then the senior slaves of advanced age and then the commanders of the troops. Each presents his greetings one after the other without any confusion or pressure. It is a custom on the day of 'Īd for every one who

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work with him he said 'O my son! I see in vision that I offer thee in sacrifice; now, see what is thy view'. The son said, 'O my father! do as thou art commanded. Thou wilt find me, if Allāh so wills, one practising patience and constancy.' So, when they both submitted their wills (to Allāh)—and he (father) laid him (son) prostrate on his forehead for sacrifice—We called out to him, 'O Abraham! thou hast already fulfilled the vision. Thus indeed do We reward those who do right. For this was obviously a trial; and We ransomed him with a Momentous Sacrifice (*Dhibh Aẓīm*). And We left (this blessing) for him among generations (to come) in later times." (Qur'ān, *Sūra* 37, vs. 103–107.)

It is in commemoration of this event that sacrifice is celebrated every year as a rite of the hajj at Mecca on the 10th of *Dhil-ḥijja*; and a rehearsal of this takes place on the same day in the forenoon in every well-to-do Muslim house. This is the *Īd-uẓ-Ẓuḥā*—'*zuḥā*' being the Arabic word for forenoon; and congregational prayers are then offered almost in the same way as on the occasion of the *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr* (*vide* p. 124 *infra*). Subsequently animal sacrifice is performed by the believer personally as far as possible.

It should be noted that the sacrifice of animals on the said day of 'Īd is symbolical. Says the holy Qur'ān : 'It is not their meat nor their blood that reaches God : it is your piety that reaches Him. He has thus made them (animals) subject to you that ye may glorify God for His guidance and proclaim the good news to all who do right.' It follows that God requires no flesh and no blood whatsoever. What He requires is our will to sacrifice ourselves—our lives and property and of those nearest and dearest to us in His cause and according to His will when occasion arises. Such a sacrifice unique in history, 'was performed at Kerbala in A.C. 680 (A.H. 61)'. (A. Yusuf 'Alī, *Translation and Commentary of the Holy Qur'ān*, p. 1206.)

possesses a village bestowed on him to bring some gold dinars wrapped up in a piece of cloth on which his name is written; this is put in a gold plate there. Enormous wealth is thus collected, and the sulṭān gives it away to whomsoever he likes.

The greetings being over, dinner is served to all according to their ranks; and on that day a huge censer is set up. It is like a tower in shape and is made of pure gold and consists of separate parts which can be fitted together when desired. To lift each piece requires a joint effort on the part of a number of men. The interior of the censer has three sections into which enter the scent-burners who burn the fragrant wood—*qamārī*[1] and *qāqulī*,[2] ambergris and benjamin—so that the perfume given off fills the whole chamber. The young waiters (*fityān*) hold in their hands gold and silver flasks filled with rose-water and blossom-water with which they spray the people profusely. This throne and the censer are taken out only on the occasion of the two Ids. On the succeeding days the sulṭān sits on another gold throne, and an awning (*bārgāh*) is set up at some distance from it with three doors; the sulṭān takes his seat inside it. At the first door stands 'Imād-uḷ-mulk Sartez, at the second Malik Nukbia and at the third Yusuf Bughra. And to the right and left stand the chiefs of the armed slaves, and the people take their stand according to their respective ranks. Malik Ṭaghī, the prefect of the palace[3] (*shiḥnat-i-bārgāh*), holds in his hand a gold staff, while his deputy holds a silver one, both using them to put the bystanders (*an-nās*[4]) in their right places and to straighten the rows. The vezir and the secretaries stand behind the deputy, and so do the chamberlains and the palace officers.

Then enter the musicians, the first batch being the daughters of the infidel rajas—Hindus—captured in war that year. They sing and dance, and the sulṭān gives them away to the amirs and *a'izza*. Then come the other daughters of the infidels who sing and dance; and the sulṭān gives them away to his brothers, his relations, his brothers-in-law and the maliks' sons.

This court is usually held in the afternoon; and on the following day also it is held at the same time and in the same order when female singers are brought in. They sing and dance and the sulṭān gives them away to the chief slaves. And on the third day the sulṭān gets his relatives married, and gifts are made to them. And on the fourth day the male slaves are manumitted; on the fifth day the female slaves are manumitted and on the sixth day he makes the male slaves marry the female slaves. On the seventh day he gives away alms on a very large scale.

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[1] & [2] *I.e.* kinds of fragrant wood.

[3] The term *palace* is used by me here in place of 'awning' to denote the position and office which Malik Ṭaghī then held. It should be noted that this office was provisional like the *bārgāh* itself.

For Malik Ṭaghī who later revolted against the emperor and tired him to death, see *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 199–91.

[4] The word *an-nās* here signifies 'bystanders'. See also p. 34, footnotes 2 & 3 *supra*.

Royal procession on his return from journey

When the emperor (*sulṭān*) returns from his journeys the elephants are decked out; and each of the sixteen royal elephants bears a parasol which in some cases is brocaded with gold and in others studded with jewels; and before him is carried the *ghāshia*,[1] that is the saddle-cover bejewelled with the most precious stones. And wooden pavilions of several stories are constructed and are covered with silk. In each of these stories sit the girl singers clad in the finest robes and adorned with the finest ornaments; and some of these girls are dancers. In the centre of each pavilion is a big reservoir made of leather filled with sherbet perfumed with rose-water which all persons—be they travellers, natives or foreigners—drink. And every one who drinks from it is given a betel-leaf and spices. The space between the pavilions is covered with silk cloth over which passes the sulṭān's elephant. And the walls by the streets right from the city gate down to the royal palace are draped in silk. And in front of the sulṭān march the infantry from among his slaves—and they are in thousands—and behind him follow the regiments and armies. I witnessed the scene on some occasions of the sulṭān's arrival at the capital Some three or four small ballistas were placed on the elephants from which dinars and dirhams were thrown to the people (*an-nās*)[2] around; and they picked them up from the time of his entrance into the city to that of his arrival at the palace.

Arrangement of the private dinners

In the royal palace there are two kinds of dinners—private dinner and public dinner; private is that which the sulṭān attends. It is his habit to eat along with those who are present and those whom he calls for the purpose, such as the special amirs—the head chamberlain (*amīr ḥājib*), the sulṭān's paternal cousin[3], 'Imād-ul-mulk Sartez and the master of ceremonies (*amīr-i-majlis*)—and those out of the *a'izza*[4] and great amirs whom he wants to honour and revere. Occasionally, when he is inclined to honour any one from among those present, he takes a plate, puts a bread on it and gives it to him. The latter receives it; and placing the plate on his left hand he bows with his right hand touching the ground. Sometimes the sulṭān sends something from that meal to one absent from it, and the latter too, bows[5] like the one present and sits down to eat it along with those that be in his company. I attended this special dinner several times; and I noticed that the persons[6] present at this dinner were about twenty in number.

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[1] See p. 60 *supra*.

[2] *An-nās* is used here in its ordinary sense, namely 'people' or 'populace'

[3] It should be noted that Ibn Baṭṭūta has previously described Malik Fīroz as *kabīr-ul-ḥujjāb* (see page 58 *supra* and Def. et Sang., III. p. 221), while here he describes him as *amīr ḥājib*. It appears that our Traveller is not clear about the cadre of hajibs and is confused between *kabīr-ul-hujjāb* and *amīr ḥājib*.

[4] *I.e.* foreigners.

[5] *I.e.* in the direction of the emperor wherever he be.

[6] One feels curious to know who these persons were. From what Ibn Baṭṭūta has said in his account of the similar dinners held at Yemen (Def et Sang., II, p. 142),

Arrangement of the public dinners

But the public dinners are brought from the kitchen led by the palace officers, who call out '*Bismillāh*' [1]; and they are headed by the chief palace officer. He holds in his hand a gold mace and is accompanied by his deputy who carries a silver mace. As soon as they enter the *fourth* [2] gate and those in the council-hall hear the call, all stand up; and none remains seated, the sulṭān alone excepted. When the dishes are served on the floor, the palace officers stand up in rows, their chief standing right in their front. He makes a discourse in which he praises the sulṭān and eulogizes him; then he bows to him and so do his subordinate naqibs and in the same manner bow all those present in the council-hall whether big or small. Their custom is that anyone who hears the utterance of the chief palace officer (*naqīb-un-nuqabā*) stops instantly, if walking; and remains in his place if he happens to be standing and none can move or budge from his place until the said discourse is over. Then his deputy too makes a similar discourse and he bows; and so do the palace officers and all the people a second time.

Then all the people [3] take their seats; and the gate secretaries draft a report informing the emperor (*sulṭān*) that the food has been brought, even though he be aware of it. The report is handed over to a boy from among the maliks' sons appointed for this purpose; and he takes the message to the sulṭān who, on reading it, appoints whomsoever he likes from among the great 'amirs to supervise the seating and feeding of the people.

Their dinners consist of bread, roasted meat, round pieces of bread split and filled with sweet paste, rice, chicken and *samosa* which we have previously described giving the details of its preparation.[4] Their custom is that the judges, orators, jurists, saiyids and dervishes [5] (*mashāikh*) sit at the head of the dinner-carpet (*simāṭ*) [6]; and then come the sulṭān's relatives, the great amirs and the rest of the people. But none sits except at his appointed place; and thus there is absolutely no confusion amongst them.

All having taken their respective seats, the cup-bearers (*shurbdāriya*) who give the drink come holding in their hands gold and silver and copper and glass vessels filled with refined sugar dissolved in water, which they drink before the dinner. As they drink it, the chamberlains call out '*Bismillāh*';

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it appears that these included the sulṭān, the chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*), the greater from among the saiyids (*shurafā*), the judges (*fuqahā*) and the guests. (Cf. *Masālik-ul-abṣār* of Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad 'Abbās, Lahore, p. 33.)

[1] A Quranic phrase which the Muslims still use frequently on setting hands to anything. See page 59, *supra* and pages 66 and 125 *infra*.

[2] For the other three gates see p. 57 *supra*.

[3] From Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the public dinners at Yemen (Def..et Sang., II, p. 142), the procedure of which was similar to those at Dehlī, it appears that the people attending the public dinners at Dehlī were the saiyids (*shurafā*), jurists (*fuqahā*), judges (*quẓāt*), saints (*mashāikh*) and army officers.

[4] See p. 15 *supra*.

[5] *I.e.* saints.

[6] See p. 9 *supra*.

then they start eating. Every one has before him a set of all the various dishes constituting the dinner which he eats exclusively; and no one shares his plate with another. When they finish eating, the drink[1] is served in pewter tankards; and as soon as the people take it the chamberlains call out '*Bismillāh*'. Then are brought trays full of betel-leaves and spices; and every one is served with a pinch of pounded spices as well as with fifteen betel-leaves put together and tied with a red silk thread; and immediately as the people take the betel-leaves the chamberlains call out '*Bismillāh*'. At that time the whole gathering stands up, and the amīr supervising the feast bows and they bow too; then they retire.[2] Their dinners are held twice a day—one in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon.[3]

[1] The original text has *fuqqā'* (فقّاع) which has been translated as 'a kind of beer' by the French scholars (Def. et Sang., III, p. 242). *Fuqqā'* (فقّاع) means a certain beverage or *sherbet* (شربت). In the words of Lane (p. 2428), 'it is a sort of beer made from barley; but there are several sorts thereof, perhaps peculiar to post-classical times, so-called because of the froth that rises over its head.' Evidently the *fuqqā'* (فقّاع) used at the royal dinners of Dehlī was not an intoxicant like beer. It was a barley-water preparation designed to help digestion and assimilation, and was free from any intoxicating effect. The effect of starch which barley contains on the metabolism of protein—their dishes largely consisting of varieties of meat—probably induced them to end their dinners with this particular beverage. It was effervescent—whence the name *fuqqā'* (فقّاع). But it had nothing to do with fermentation, and was something like aerated waters or fruit salines which are effervescent but have nothing to do with fermentation necessary for an intoxicant.

[2] At the court of Sulṭān Nūr-ud-dīn of Yemen, which he had visited prior to his arrival in Dehlī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had noticed similar arrangements about the private and public dinners. He is struck by the points of similarity between the two in regard to arrangement and procedure, and wonders whether the sultans of India had borrowed these from Yemen or *vice versa*.

From the language of the *Rehla* (Def. et Sang., II, p. 142), it is clear that the arrangements about the private and public dinners at Dehlī as seen by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had not been first introduced by Sulṭān Muḥammad; these had already obtained in the past and Sulṭān Muḥammad had received them as a legacy from Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban and 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.

[3] In those days, it appears, the dinners were held twice daily—one about 10 o'clock in the morning and the other about 5 o'clock in the evening, the hours slightly varying with the seasons. The last dinner served to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq at the Afghānpūr pavilion (*kushk*) bears out this timing (*vide* p. 54 *supra*).

CHAPTER VII

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH (CONTINUED)

Some information about his munificence and generosity

I shall relate only those instances of the sulṭān's munificence and generosity which I have personally witnessed, attested and experienced. Allāh the exalted knows the truth of what I say and He alone is sufficient to bear me out; and besides, all that I am going to relate is already spread about and reiterated. The countries contiguous to India like Yemen, Khurāsān and Fārs are filled with anecdotes about him which they believe to be really true—specially those about his generosity to the foreigners in so far as he prefers them to the Indians, honours them, confers on them great favours and makes them rich presents and appoints them to high offices and awards them great benefits. One of these is that he calls them by the name of *a'izza*[1] and prohibits their being called '*ghurabā*'.[2] He says that when a person is called '*gharīb*',[3] his heart breaks and his mind is distracted.

I will now describe, God willing, a few of the instances of his generosity and magnificent gifts.

His gift to Shihāb-ud-dīn al-Kāzarūnī[4] *the merchant and his story*

This Shihāb-ud-dīn[5] was a friend of Malik-ut-tujjār[6] al-Kāzarūnī, surnamed Parvez, whom the sulṭān had given the city of Cambay as an *iqṭā'*;[7] and he had promised him the charge of a vezirate. Thereupon Malik-ut-tujjār sent for his friend Shihāb-ud-dīn who came having prepared for the sulṭān a present consisting of an enclosure of tents (*serācheh*) made of a detached piece of cloth embroidered with gold, a pandal (*ṣīvān*) proportionate to the same, a tent with all its accessories and a tent for taking rest—all made of ornamented cloth—besides a large number of mules. When Shihāb-ud-dīn arrived with these presents and met his friend Malik-ut-tujjār, he found him preparing to leave for the capital with all the revenue collected from the territories under his charge together with a present for the sulṭān.

The vezir Khwāja Jahān having been apprized of the sulṭān's promise to raise Malik-ut-tujjār to the vezirate became jealous of

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[1] *A'izza* is the plural of *'azīz* (venerable). See page 4 *supra*.

[2] *I.e.* strangers or foreigners.

[3] *Gharīb* is the singular of *ghurabā*.

[4] Kāzarūn' is a town in Īrān in the province of Fārs b
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reached it after a journey of two days from Shīrāz on his way to Kūfa.

[5] *I.e.* Shihāb-ud-dīn al-Kāzarūnī.

[6] *I.e.* head merchant.

[7] For *iqṭā'*, see Moreland—*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 217.

him and was worried because of this. Previously, Cambay and Gujarāt (*Juzrāt*) were administered by the vezir and the inhabitants of these were personally attached to him and were exclusively devoted to him and were ready to serve him; most of them were infidels and some were rebels who would fortify themselves in the mountains. The vezir incited them to attack Malik-ut-tujjār when he started for the capital. Accordingly, when the latter went out with his treasures and goods in company with Shihāb-ud-dīn who carried his presents and encamped one day in the forenoon as was their wont and the troops in their escort dispersed and many of them fell asleep, suddenly the infidels fell upon them in large numbers. They killed Malik-ut-tujjār and snatched away all his treasures and goods as well as the presents of Shihāb-ud-dīn who personally escaped. The news officers wrote about it to the sulṭān, who ordered Shihāb-ud-dīn to be given thirty thousand dinars out of the revenue of Nahrwāla and to return to his country. But when the amount was presented to him he refused to accept it saying, 'I meant only to see the sulṭān, and to kiss the ground before him.' This was written to the sulṭān who was impressed by the answer and ordered him to proceed to the capital in all honour.

The day of his introduction to the sulṭān coincided with that of our introduction; the sulṭān gave robes of honour to us all and ordered us to be lodged and he gave enormous gifts to Shihāb-ud-dīn. Subsequently the sulṭān ordered a payment in my favour of six thousand tankas as we shall describe[1] shortly. The same day he enquired the whereabouts of Shihāb-ud-dīn. Bahā-ud-dīn al-Falakī said to him, *yā! khūnd 'ālam! na mī dānam*—'Your Majesty! I do not know'; then he added, *shanīdam zaḥmat dārad*—'I hear he is indisposed'. The sulṭān said to him in reply, *birau hamīṅ zamāṅ dar khazāna yak lak tanka-i-zar begīrī wa peshe ōō bebarī tā dil-i-ōō khush shawad*—'Go instantly to the treasury. Take one lac of gold tankas and present the same to him, so that his heart be cheered up.' Bahā-ud-dīn acted accordingly, and he gave him the said amount of money.

The sulṭān ordered that Shihāb-ud-dīn should purchase with that sum whatever Indian goods he liked and that no one else should purchase anything as long as he continued to make purchases. And he placed at his disposal three fully-rigged boats, with the wages of the sailors and sufficient provisions. Shihāb-ud-dīn sailed and landed on the island of Hormuz[2] where he built a magnificent house which I saw subsequently. I also met Shihāb-ud-dīn in Shīrāz at a time when he had lost all that he had possessed; he was then soliciting some help from Abū Isḥāq, the sulṭān of Shīrāz.

Such is the end of fortunes acquired in India. Rarely is a man able to carry from this country the riches he has obtained; when, at all, one manages to carry them to a foreign country God afflicts him with some

[1] Cf. p. 140 *infra*, footnote 7.

[2] *Hormuz*—an island at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived here (1331 A.C.) on his way from Oman to Bahrein.

misfortune which destroys his possessions, as happened in the case of the said Shihāb-ud-dīn.[1] He was deprived of all his possessions in the civil war that broke out between the ruler of Hormuz and his two nephews and he left stripped of all his riches.

His gift to the grand shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn

The sulṭān had sent a present to Caliph Abul 'Abbās in Egypt soliciting a letter of investiture,[2] recognizing him as ruler over the realm of Hind and Sind. This he did as a result of his profound regard for the caliphate. Caliph Abul 'Abbās sent the desired letter of investiture through Rukn-ud-dīn, the grand shaikh (*shaikhu-sh-shūyūkh*)[3] of Egypt. When the latter arrived, the sulṭān showed him great honour and made him rich gifts; he rose for him, whenever he came to see him, and respected him highly. At last, he sent him back to his country with many rich gifts which included among other things hoofs for the horses' feet as well as nails—all these being of pure gold. And he said to him, 'When you disembark, you should put these on your horse's hoofs.'

Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn left for Cambay (*Kinbāya*) whence he intended to sail for Yemen. Meanwhile, however, broke out the revolt of Qāẓī Jalāl-ud-dīn leading to the seizure by him of Ibn-ul-Kaulamī's property. The *qāẓī* seized also the possessions of the grand shaikh, who joined by Ibn-ul-Kaulamī, fled to the sulṭān. On seeing him the sulṭān remarked humorously, *āmadī kih zar barī bā digarē ṣanam khurī zar na barī wa sar nihī*—'You came in order to carry away gold in the hope of enjoying it with your sweethearts, but you shall not carry away gold; rather you will lay your head here'. This was said by the sulṭān jokingly. Then he added, 'Do not worry; I am marching against the rebels, and I shall give you several times more than what they have taken from you.' After my departure from India I learnt that the sulṭān had fulfilled the promise[4] he had made and had made good whatever Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn had lost; and with that wealth he reached Egypt.

His gift to Nāṣir-ud-dīn the preacher of Tirmidh

This jurist-preacher had come to wait on the sulṭān and remained one year enjoying his favours. Then he desired to return to his native country and was permitted to do so although the sulṭān had not yet heard his discourse and sermon. So, before Nāṣir-ud-dīn's return, whilst the sulṭān was designing an expedition to M'abar he desired to hear him. Therefore he ordered a pulpit of white sandalwood called *muqāṣarī*[5] to be prepared with gold sheets and nails on, and on its top was fitted a big ruby. Besides, he

[1] This indicates that the carrying away of wealth from India was discouraged by circumstances and explains why India then was fabulously rich and prosperous. Cf. *Masālik-ul-abṣār*, Lahore, p. 11. [2] and [3] See Appendix A, p. 243.

[4] See Appendix P, pp. 279, 280.

[5] Wood imported from an island of similar name and lying between Java and Borneo, (A.A., p. 113).

granted Nāṣir-ud-dīn a gilded robe of the black 'Abbāsī colour[1] embellished with precious stones together with a turban to match the robe. The pulpit was set up for him in the interior of the tent-enclosure called *afrāj*. The sulṭān sat on the throne, his principal courtiers standing to his right and left; and the judges, jurists and amirs took their respective seats. Nāṣir-ud-dīn delivered an eloquent sermon. He admonished; he exhorted. Although there was nothing exceptional in that, yet he was helped by his fortune. When he descended the pulpit the sulṭān rose, went towards him and embraced him, and caused him to mount an elephant. He ordered all those who were present—I being one of them—to walk before him till he reached the tent-enclosure, which had been set up for him opposite that of the sulṭān. It was made entirely of silk of different colours and its parts, namely the parasol and the tent, were also of silk. So he sat down, and we sat by his side. In a corner of the tent-enclosure were placed the gold utensils, which the sulṭān had given him. There was such a big oven that inside it a man could sit; then there were two cauldrons and plates—the exact number of which I do not remember—several pitchers, a flask, a jug (*tīmsandeh*),[2] a four-legged table and a stand for books—all these being of pure gold. 'Imād-ud-dīn of Simnān[3] picked up to see more closely two of the tent pegs, one being of copper and the other of pewter. But it looked as if they were of gold and silver, although they were of the metals we have mentioned.

On his arrival the sulṭān had given Nāṣir-ud-dīn money amounting to a hundred thousand tankas (*dīnār darāhim*) with two hundred slaves, some of whom he manumitted while others he took away.

His gift to 'Abdul 'Azīz Ardweli

This 'Abdul 'Azīz was a jurist, well-versed in *ḥadīṣ*[4] and had studied at Damascus under Taqī-ud-dīn *bin* Taimīya, Burhān-ud-dīn son of al-Barkeḥ, Jamāl-ud-dīn al-Mizzī, Shams-ud-dīn adh-Dhahabī and others. Then he came to the sulṭān who welcomed and honoured him and conferred on him benefits. One day he incidentally related to the sulṭān a few of the Prophet's sayings recognizing the merits of 'Abbās and his son—may God be pleased with them!—and he also cited something in praise of the caliphs who were descendants of those two. The sulṭān, who was devoted to the Abbasids, was impressed by the recital. He kissed the jurist's feet and ordered a gold tray to be brought containing two thousand tankas, which he poured with his own hand over the jurist saying, 'This as well as the tray is for you.' We have already related this story.[5]

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[1] *I.e.* the black colour which was the chosen emblem of the 'Abbāsī dynasty.

[2] This word has remained inscrutable so far. I think it originates from two Persian words—*tīmds* meaning 'handle' and *duand* meaning 'vessel'.

[3] The *Mu'jam-ul-buldān* mentions Simnān as a town in Irān as well as one in 'Irāq.

[4] *I.e.* a branch of learning consisting of the Prophet's sayings.

[5] Part I, p. 157, Egyptian edition. Ms. 2287 F. 58. See Appendix C, p. 246.

His gift to Shams-ud-dīn Andkānī

The jurist Shams-ud-dīn Andkānī [1] was a philosopher and a gifted poet who praised the sulṭān in a Persian ode consisting of twenty-seven verses. For each of those verses he was awarded a sum of one thousand dinars. This exceeded considerably the award of the preceding sultans who are known to have given a thousand dirhams [2] for each verse, an amount worth one-tenth of the grant made by the present sulṭān.

His gift to 'Aẓud-ud-dīn Shawankārī

'Aẓud-ud-dīn was an accomplished and learned jurist and prelate, who was much respected and renowned and celebrated in his own country. The sulṭān heard about him and his virtues. He sent him in his own country of Shawankāra [3] a sum of ten thousand tankas (*dinār* [4] *darāhim*), although he had not seen him at all and the latter had not come to him.

His gift to Qāẓī Majd-ud-dīn

Similarly, when the reports about the learned and virtuous Qāẓī Majd-ud-dīn of Shīrāz—a man of great parts and fame whom we have described in the first part of our journey [5] and to whom we shall refer again later on—reached the sulṭān, he sent through Shaikhzāda of Damascus a sum of ten thousand dinars to be paid to him at Shīrāz.

His gift to Burhān-ud-dīn of Ṣāgharj [6]

Burhān-ud-dīn was one of the leading preachers and a man of great liberality. He would spend his all for the sake of others, so much so that he would often incur debts on their account. When reports about him reached the sulṭān, he sent him a sum of forty thousand dinars and desired him to come to the capital. Burhān-ud-dīn accepted the money with which he paid his debt, but refused to go to the sulṭān. He went away instead to Cathay (*Khaṭā*) saying, 'I am not going to wait on a sulṭān before whom the 'ulamā have to stand.'

Story of Ḥājī Kāūn and the sulṭān's gift to him

Ḥājī Kāūn was a cousin of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, king of 'Irāq, while his brother Mūsā was a king in some part of 'Irāq. Ḥājī Kāūn waited on Sulṭān Muḥammad who honoured him and gave him rich gifts.

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[1] Andkān—the name of two villages in the district of Ferghāna and in Khurāsān.

[2] One dīnār (*i.e.* silver dīnār) was equal to a silver ṭanka of India (which corresponds to the modern rupee) and equivalent to 10 dirhams. So the value of a dirham would come to one anna and seven pies approximately in modern currency. But according to a later statement of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 210), which is much clearer, the silver dīnār of India was equivalent to eight dirhams; hence a dirham was equivalent to a two-anna piece of the present day. See also p. xlix *supra*.

[3] *Shawank* was a town in the Persian province of Fārs.

[4] *I.e. dirhamī dīnār* which signifies a silver *ṭanka*.

[5] Def. et Sang., II, p. 50; Egyptian edition, Part I, p. 161.

[6] *Ṣāgharj* was a large town in Sogdiana, about five miles from Samarqand.

One day I saw him at a time when the vezir Khwāja Jahān had sent to the sultān a present including three trays—the first filled with rubies, the second with emeralds, and the third with pearls. Hāji Kāūn being present, the sultān gave him a considerable portion out of these; later he again gave him enormous wealth. Hājī Kāūn left for 'Irāq; and on his arrival there he found that his brother had died and had been succeeded by one Sulaimān Khān. Hājī Kāūn demanded his brother's inheritance and claimed the kingdom. The troops swore allegiance to him and he marched to Fārs, and he encamped in the city of Shawankāra where lived Imām 'Azud-ud-dīn whom we have just mentioned.

When Hājī Kāūn had encamped outside the city, its leading inhabitants delayed an hour in going to meet him. Then they came and he asked them, 'What prevented you from hastening to meet me and swear allegiance to me.' They made excuses which he would not accept. He said to his soldiers, '*Qalaj tikhār* (*chaqār*)', that is 'unsheath the swords'. They unsheathed their swords and cut off the heads of all those leaders, who were many.

On hearing of this the amirs who lived in the vicinity of this city grew indignant. They wrote about the outrage thus committed on the inhabitants of Shawankāra to Shams-ud-dīn of Simnān, who was one of the great amirs and jurists. They solicited his help in a fight with Hājī Kāūn. Shams-ud-dīn advanced with his troops. And the people of the country gathered round him demanding vengeance for Hājī Kāūn's murder of the leaders. At night they fell upon his camp and defeated him; and Hājī Kāūn being still in his palace in the city, they surrounded it. He concealed himself in the lavatory, but they traced him out, cut off his head and sent it to Sulaimān Khān; they distributed his limbs throughout the country to appease the wrath of the inhabitants.

Arrival of Ibn-ul-khalīfa at the court and his story

Amīr Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad—son of 'Abdul Qāhir son of Yusuf son of 'Abdul 'Azīz son of Caliph al-Mustansir Billāh the 'Abbasid of Baghdād—had visited Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Tarmashīrīn, king of Transoxiana. The latter had honoured him and entrusted to his care the hospice in which lay the tomb of Qusam son of 'Abbās. May God be pleased with them! He lived there some years. Later, when he heard of the sultān's[1] love for the Abbasids and of his devotion to their cause, he desired to proceed to him. He sent to him two envoys, one of them being his old friend Muhammad *bin* Abū-ah-sharafī al-Harbāvī and the other Muhammad of Hamadān, the sūfī; both waited on the sultān.

Now, Nāsir-ud-dīn of Tirmidh, who has been mentioned before, had met Ghiyās-ud-dīn at Baghdād and the inhabitants of Baghdād had attested the authenticity of the said Ghiyas-ud-dīn's[2] genealogy to him. Nāsir-ud-dīn subsequently reported this to Sultān Muhammad. When Ghiyās-ud-dīn's

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[1] *I.e.* Muhammad *bin* Tughluq's. [2] *I.e.* Ghiyās-ud-dīn the Abbasid of Baghdād.

envoys came to the sulṭān he gave them five thousand dinars and sent through them thirty thousand more for Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn to provide for his journey to India. And he wrote him a letter in his own hand, in which he expressed great respect for him and solicited his visit. On receiving this letter Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn set out.

When he reached the province of Sind and the news officers reported his arrival, the sulṭān sent officers to receive the visitor according to the custom. When Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn had reached Sarsutī, the sulṭān further deputed Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ [1] Kamāl-ud-dīn of Ghazna the *qāẓī-ul-quẓāt* [2] together with many jurists to welcome him; subsequently he sent the amirs to welcome him. On his arriving in the neighbourhood of the capital and encamping at Mas'ūdābād, the sulṭān proceeded in person to accord him a reception. When the two met, Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn dismounted from his horse and the sulṭān also dismounted for his sake. He bowed to the sulṭān, who bowed in return to him.

Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn had brought with him presents which included garments. Out of these the sulṭān took one and putting it on his shoulder bowed in the same way as the people (*an-nās*) [3] are used to bow to him. Then horses were brought, and one of them the sulṭān holding with his own hand presented to him enjoining him to mount; and the sulṭān held the stirrup until he mounted. Then the sulṭān himself mounted and accompanied him; the same parasol covered them both. Then, taking a betel-leaf the sulṭān personally gave it to him. This was the greatest respect that could be shown, since the sulṭān does not behave so to anyone. Then he said to him, 'Had I not already promised allegiance to Caliph Abu'l 'Abbās, I would have sworn it to you.' 'I too', rejoined Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn, 'have sworn allegiance to the same caliph.' Then he added quoting a saying of the Prophet—*he who reclaims a piece of dead land becomes its owner*. 'You', he continued, 'have revived us'. The sulṭān gave a most courteous reply and favoured him. When they reached the tent-enclosure which had been set up for the sulṭān's use he lodged him in it and a new one was set up for the sulṭān. Both passed the night outside the capital.

On the morrow they entered the capital; and the sulṭān lodged him in the city known both as Sīrī and *dār-ul-khilāfa* in the palace which had been built by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and his son Quṭb-ud-dīn. He further ordered all the amirs to accompany Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn to the palace which had been furnished with all the necessaries including gold and silver utensils and, over and above these, with a bath-tub of gold to bathe in. And he sent him four hundred thousand dinars for his 'head-wash' [4] according to the custom. Moreover, he sent him pages, servants and slave girls and granted him out of his own daily expenditure three hundred dinars.

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[1] Literally, *chief of the world*. It was a title.

[2] Literally, *qāẓī of the qazis*. It was a post corresponding to that of chief justice.

[3] *I.e.* the class of people trained in court etiquette. This is the special sense in which the term *an-nās* has been used here.

[4] *I.e.* shampoo. See p. 69 *supra*, footnote 3.

Besides, he used to send him meals out of his special royal dishes. And he assigned to him the whole city of Sīrī by way of *iqṭā'*, with all its houses, and their appendages of royal gardens and soil; he gave him also a hundred villages and authority over the eastern dependencies of Dehlī.[1] He presented him, to boot with thirty mules equipped with gold saddles—mules whose fodder was to be supplied from the royal stores. He advised him not to descend from his horse on his coming to the royal palace, except when he reached a certain place which none but the sulṭān could cross on horseback. And he issued a general order that all, whether big or small, should bow to him just as they bowed to the sulṭān. When Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn would come to him the sulṭān would come down from his throne; if seated on a chair, on seeing him come he would stand and each would attend to the other; and he would sit on the same carpet with the sulṭān. When Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn stood, the sulṭān rose for his sake, and each would bow to the other. And when Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn would leave for the exterior of the court they used to spread a carpet for him to sit upon as long as he pleased. Then he would return to his own residence. This was enacted twice a day.

Anecdote regarding the sulṭān's respect for him

During Ibn-ul-khalīfa's stay at Dehlī when the vezir came from Bengal, the sulṭān ordered the principal amirs to go out to receive him. Then he went to accord him a personal welcome and showed him exceedingly great honour. Pavilions were constructed in the city in the same way as they are constructed at the time of the sulṭān's arrival. Ibn-ul-khalīfa also went to meet the vezir; so did the jurists, the judges, and the grandees. When the sulṭān returned to his palace he said to the vezir, 'Go to Makhdūmzāda's house'—and the sulṭān used to address him[2] in this way, which means 'the son of *makhdūm*'.[3] So, the vezir went to him and presented him with two thousand gold tankas together with many garments. The amir Qabūla and other principal amirs were present there, and I too was there to witness the scene.

[1] That the honoured guest was immediately admitted into the rank of dignitaries enabling him to enjoy the benefit of revenues was the height of court courtesy. This did not mean that the grantee was called upon to work as an *iqṭādār* or that he became owner of the *iqṭā'* assigned to him. In fact, the grant made to him was a kind of 'large Assignment' which Moreland has described in his *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 27-28, and which unlike 'small Assignment' entailed practically no duties. As such, the sulṭān was justified in welcoming subsequently a visitor from Ghaznī in the same city of Sīrī and in ordering the construction of a new house for the latter there—a fact to which Ibn-ul-khalīfa took exception. The sulṭān was so courteous that far from exposing the mistake which Ibn-ul-khalīfa was committing in failing to understand the nature of the assignment, he took the onus of the said mistake on himself and acted as if he himself were guilty by humiliating himself beyond measure in order to placate his angry guest (*vide* p. 75 *infra*). A similar instance of court courtesy is furnished later by the emperor's offer of the city of Dehlī to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and his companions (*vide* p. 127 *infra*).

[2] *I.e.* Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn, Ibn-ul-khalīfa.

[3] *I.e.* master.

A similar anecdote

The king (*malik*) of Ghazna named Bahrām paid a visit to the sulṭān. There was an old enmity between king Bahrām and Ibn-ul-khalīfa. The sulṭān ordered that king Bahrām should be lodged in a house of the city of Sīrī which he had assigned to Ibn-ul-khalīfa. He further ordered that a house be built there for king Bahrām. When Ibn-ul-khalīfa heard of this, he was inflamed with anger. He went to the sulṭān's palace and sat there on the carpet on which he used to sit and sent for the vezir and said to him, 'Convey my greetings to His Majesty and tell him that all that he gave me is in my house; I have not used anything: rather things have increased and multiplied with me, and I will no longer stay with him'. Then he got up and withdrew. The vezir enquired of some of his staff the cause of this, and they explained to him that this was due to the issue of the royal order for the construction of a house in the city of Sīrī for the king of Ghazna. The vezir then went to the sulṭān and reported the incident to him. The sulṭān instantly rode with an escort of ten of his men to Ibn-ul-khalīfa's house. There he announced himself and dismounted his horse outside the palace[1] where the ordinary people used to dismount. Then he saw Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn and apologized to him; Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn accepted his apology. Yet the sulṭān said, 'By God I shall not believe that you are pleased with me, until you place your foot on my neck.' 'This', he replied, 'I will never do, even if I were to be killed.' The sulṭān added, 'I conjure you by my head you will have to do it.' Then he placed his head on the ground, and the great Malik Qabūla lifting Ibn-ul-khalīfa's foot with his hand placed it on the sulṭan's neck.[2] This done, the sulṭān stood up and said, 'Now I know you are pleased with me, and my heart is at rest.' This is an extraordinary story, the like of which has never been heard with regard to any other king.

I was with Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Ibn-ul-khalīfa once on the day of 'Īd when the great Malik (*malik-ul-kabīr*) Qabūla brought him three large robes on behalf of the sulṭān; and they had fixed to those robes pearls as large as big hazel-nuts instead of silk knots for the purpose of closing up the robes. The great Malik stood at his gate waiting for him to come out; then he clothed him with the said robes. And the amount of wealth which this man had received from the sulṭān can neither be computed nor determined; yet he was the most miserly of all the creations of God the exalted. And his stinginess has given rise to amazing stories, which the people (*khalq*) find fascinating to hear. He seemed to have become as notorious for his stinginess as the sulṭān was famous for his generosity. We shall relate some of the stories about his stinginess.

Anecdotes regarding Ibn-ul-khalīfa's stinginess

There was a friendship between me and him and I used to visit his house very frequently; and on leaving India I left with him a son of mine

[1] *I.e.* the royal palace at Sīrī then occupied by Ibn-ul-khalīfa.

[2] See p. 74 *supra*, footnote 1.

whom I had named Aḥmad. I do not know what God has done to them.[1] One day I said to Ibn-ul-khalīfa, 'Why do you eat alone and why do you not share your food with your friends?' 'I', replied he, 'cannot bear to see that all of them—and they are so many—should eat my meal'. He used, therefore, to eat his meal alone and to give some food to his companion Muḥammad *bin* Abū-sh-Sharafī for whomsoever the latter liked; the rest he enjoyed by himself.

I used to visit his house and found the vestibule dark, without even a single light. And I saw him often collecting small pieces of firewood inside his garden with which he had piled up stores; I talked to him about this. 'One stands in need of these,' was his reply. He used to employ his companions, his slaves and his pages for the garden and in laying it out, and used to say, 'I do not like these men to partake of my meals without rendering any service'.

Once I ran into debt, which was demanded of me. He said to me subsequently, 'By God, I thought of paying off your debt, but my soul was not generous enough to do so, nor did it help me towards it.'

Anecdote

One day he told me, 'I came out of Baghdād in company with three other friends, one of whom was my companion Muḥammad *bin* Abū-sh-Sharafī. We were on foot and had no provisions. We stopped at a village spring. And one of us found a dirham in the water. We said: what shall we do with this dirham? At last we decided to buy bread with it. So, we sent one of us to buy it. But the baker in that village refused to sell the loaf alone. He would sell the loaf for one carat and the chaff for an equal price, so our companion bought the loaf and the chaff. We threw away the chaff as there was no animal with us to eat it, but we divided pieces of the loaf among ourselves. Today you see to what a height of prosperity has my luck brought me.' 'You should thank God', said I, 'for the blessings He has conferred on you. Show favour to the poor and the needy and help them for charity's sake'. 'I cannot do that', was his reply. In fact, I never saw him give anything whatever out of charity, and he did no good turn at all. May God save us from such avarice!

Anecdote

On my return from India I was sitting one day in Baghdād at the gate of the Mustanṣaria college, which had been built by Ibn-ul-khalīfa's grandfather, *amīr-ul-mominīn*[2] al-Mustanṣir—may God be pleased with him! I saw a young man in a pitiful state run after a man outside the college premises. One of the students told me, 'This young man whom you see is the son of Amīr Muḥammad,[3] grandson of Caliph al-Mustanṣir, the man

[1] That is, Ibn-ul-khalīfa and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's son.

[2] This was a title of the *khalīfa*. See p. 7 *supra*, footnote 2.

[3] *I.e.* Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ibn-ul-khalīfa.

who is in India.' I called him and said, 'I am coming from India; I will acquaint you with the news about your father'. He said, 'I have heard about him recently', and he resumed the pursuit of the said man. I enquired about that man and was told that he was superintendent (*nāẓir*) of the trust, and that that young man was the prayer-leader (*imām*) at a mosque for which he was paid at the rate of one dirham per day. He was demanding of him his daily wages. I was surprised on hearing this; and I swear by God that if Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Ibn-ul-khalīfa had only sent his son one pearl out of the pearls of his robes conferred upon him by the sulṭān, the son would have become rich. May God save us from such a condition!

His gift to Amīr Saif-ud-dīn Ghaddā bin Hibat-ullāh bin Muhanna the amīr of the Arabs of Syria

When this amīr came to the sulṭān he welcomed him and lodged him in Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn's palace in the interior of the city of Dehlī called *kushk-i-l'āl*, that is, the red palace. It is a large palace containing a very huge courtyard and vestibule ending with a gate surmounted with a cupola which commands a full view of the said courtyard as well as of the second courtyard which leads to the palace. Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn used to sit in that cupola and watch polo being played in the second courtyard (*mashwar*).[1] I entered this palace on Saif-ud-dīn's arrival and found it stocked with furniture, beds, carpets, etc. But all was in a dilapidated condition and was no longer of any use.

It is their custom in India that the king's palace is deserted on his death and all its contents remain untouched, and his successor builds a new palace for himself. When I entered this palace I walked around its sides and climbed up to its highest point. It came to me as an admonition moving me to tears. There was in my company Jalāl-ud-dīn, the westerner, a native of Granada who was a jurist, a physician, and a man of letters, and who was born at Bougie (*Bījāya*).[2] He had come with his father to India, where he had settled and had children. When we visited this palace he recited to me the following verse—

'As to the rulers of this earth, let us ask the earth
Mighty rulers as they were, they have become bones'.[3]

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[1] The term '*mashwar*', which has been generally translated as council-hall or hall of audience (Def. et Sang., III, p. 271) here signifies a courtyard.

[2] *Bījāya* was a town on the coast of Algeria named after its founders Bijāya, a Berber tribe who inhabited it from early times, says Ibn Khaldūn. In 453/1062 it was built into his capital by an-Nāṣir Ḥammādī. Bijāya has been called Bougie by the French. The Romans called it Saldae. It was conquered by the Arabs in 708/1308

[3] In this verse و سلاطينهم سَلِ الطِّينَ عنهم - فالرؤُوسُ العِظام صارت عظاما there are two puns—(1) on the words سلاطين و سل الطين, i.e. *salāṭīn* (rulers) and *saliṭṭīn* (ask the dust); and (2) on the words عظام and عظاما, i.e. '*iẓām* (mighty) and '*iẓāmā* (bones).

The word '*khafīf*' used in the original text in connection with this verse indicate the metre of the verse.

In this palace Saif-ud-dīn's wedding feast was held, as we shall describe. And the sulṭān was particularly fond of the Arabs whom he preferred to all others, and he acknowledged their merits.

When this amīr came, the sulṭān gave him rich gifts and bestowed great favours upon him. Once on receiving the present of Ā'ẓam Malik Bāyazīdī from the province (*bilād*) of Mānikpūr, the sulṭān gave eleven horses of noble descent out of it to Saif-ud-dīn. And a second time he gave him ten horses with their gilded saddles and bridles. Then he married him to his sister Fīroz Khūnda.

Amīr Saif-ud-dīn's marriage with the sulṭān's sister

When the sulṭān ordered the celebration of his sister's marriage with Amīr Ghaddā, he appointed Malik Fatḥ Ullāh known as *shū nawīs*[1] to arrange the marriage feast and supervise its expenses. And he appointed me to remain in personal attendance on Amīr Ghaddā and spend with him the days of the wedding celebrations. Malik Fatḥ Ullāh brought the pandals which he set up in the two courtyards of the aforesaid red palace. In each courtyard a huge pavilion was raised, and its floor was covered with beautiful carpets. Shams-ud-dīn of Tabrīz, the head musician (*amīr-ul-muṭribīn*), came accompanied by male and female singers and dancers—all these females being the sulṭān's slaves. Then the cooks, bakers, fryers, confectioners, cup-bearers, and betel-leaf holders were brought and animals and birds were slaughtered, and the people were fed for fifteen days. The great amīrs and notables were in attendance day and night. Two nights before the night of consummation of marriage, ladies from the sulṭān's palace came at night to this palace, and they decorated and carpeted it tastefully. Then they made Amīr Saif-ud-dīn come. He was an Arab stranger with no relations. They surrounded him and installed him on a seat which was meant for him. The sulṭān had ordered that his own step-mother, that is the mother of his brother Mubārak Khān, should act as the amīr's mother, and that another lady should act as his sister, and still another should act as his paternal aunt and another as his maternal aunt, so that he may regard himself as being in the bosom of his family.

After the ladies had installed the amīr on his seat some applied henna to his hands and feet, while the rest stood behind his head singing and dancing. Then they withdrew into the wedding palace and Amīr Ghaddā remained with his principal companions, the sulṭān having appointed a batch of amīrs as members of Amīr Ghaddā's party and another batch as forming the bridal party.

It is an Indian custom for the bridal party to stand at the gate of the house whence the bridegroom takes the bride to his own house; as he goes there in company to fetch the bride, they cannot enter unless they

[1] *Shū*, a Persian word, means 'husband'; hence *shū nawīs*—an official in charge of the marriage deeds.

overpower the bride's party. In case they are unable to do so they have to pay thousands of dinars to the bride's party.

After the *maghrib* prayer they brought to Amīr Ghaddā a silk robe of blue colour embroidered with gold and studded with precious stones together with a cap to match. The precious stones were so many that the colour of the cloth was hidden from view. I never saw a more beautiful robe than this. I had seen those which the sulṭān had bestowed on his other brothers-in-law, for instance on Ibn Malik-ul-mulūk, 'Imād-ud-dīn of Simnān, Ibn Malik-ul-'ulamā, Ibn Shaikh-ul-Islām and Ibn Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ of Bukhārā. None of theirs could, however, match this one.

Subsequently, Amīr Saif-ud-dīn Ghaddā rode in company with his comrades and slaves, each holding in his hand a stick prepared previously. A sort of crown [1] of jessamine, musk rose, and *reibūl* was prepared; it fell in scallops over the head and breast of the wearer. It was brought to the amīr to place it over his head, but he refused to wear it. He was an Arab of the desert and knew nothing about the customs of kings and townsmen. I persuaded him and pressed him to put it on his head. Then he came to the *bāb-uṣ-ṣarf*, which was also known as *bāb-ul-ḥaram*,[2] where stood the bride's party. Amīr Ghaddā fell on them with all his party in the true Arab fashion and prostrated all those who had opposed them. They overwhelmed them, and the bride's party could make no stand up to them. The sulṭān heard this and was impressed by his behaviour.

Amīr Ghaddā entered the courtyard where the bride was seated on a high pulpit adorned with brocade and studded with pearls. The whole courtyard was packed with women, and the female musicians had brought various kinds of musical instruments. All were on their feet out of respect and regard for the bridegroom. He entered on horseback and went close up to the pulpit, where he dismounted; and near its first step he made a bow. The bride then rose up and stood till the bridegroom had mounted the pulpit. Then she gave him the betel-leaf with her own hand; the bridegroom took it and sat down below the step on which she was standing. Then gold dinars were scattered over the heads of those of his comrades who were present, and were picked up by the women. At that time the female singers chanted songs; drums were beaten, and bugles and flutes blown outside the gate. Then the amīr rose; and catching hold of his bride's hand he descended the pulpit and she followed him. He then got on horseback, trod over the carpets and mats, and dinars were thrown over him and his comrades. The bride then sat in the palanquin which the slaves carried on their shoulders up to the amīr's palace. Ladies on horseback preceded her, while other ladies went on foot. As the procession passed by the house of a chief or a great man he came out and showered on the crowd dinars and dirhams according to his means. This continued till their arrival at the amīr's palace.

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[1] This is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's attempt to describe the Indian '*sēhra*'. For '*sēhra*', see p. xlv *supra*.

[2] *I.e.* gate of the harem.

On the morrow the bride sent vestments, dinars and dirhams to all the comrades of her bridegroom, and the sulṭān gave each of them a horse, saddled and bridled, as well as purses containing a sum ranging from two hundred dinars to one thousand dinars.

Malik Fatḥ Ullāh presented the ladies with various kinds of silk garments and purses, and similarly he gave presents to the musicians. It is customary in India that no one except the bridegroom gives anything to the musicians.

Then all the people were fed that day and the marriage festival came to a close. The sulṭān made Amīr Ghaddā a grant[1] of the territories of Mālwa, Gujarāt (*Juzrāt*), Cambay and Nahrwālā and appointed the aforesaid Fatḥ Ullāh as his agent there. He showed exceedingly great honour to his brother-in-law, but the latter was an uncouth and stupid Arab who could not appreciate the value of this. The uncouthness of the people of the desert got the better of him and brought him to grief twenty nights after his wedding.

Amīr Ghaddā's imprisonment

Twenty days after his marriage he happened to come to the royal palace which he desired to enter, but the head usher (*amīr-i-pardahdāria*)—and they are the special door-keepers—denied him admission. But he did not heed his prohibition and intended to make his way by force. Thereupon the usher caught hold of his *dabbūqa*, that is, the curls, and pulled him back. And the amīr struck him with a stick that lay near until he bled. And the man, who was assaulted, was one of the great amīrs; his father went by the title of 'Qāẓī of Ghazna' He was a descendant of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Subuktigin; and the emperor (*sulṭān*) used to address the Qāẓī of Ghazna as 'father' and this his son[2] as 'brother'. He went up to the sulṭān with his blood-stained clothes and told him about what Amīr Ghaddā had done. The sulṭān reflected a while and then said, 'The *qāẓī* will decide the case between you' It was a crime for which the sulṭān would forgive no one irrespective of person. It would inevitably lead to capital punishment. I think consideration was shown to Amīr Ghaddā on account of his being a foreigner.

Qāẓī Kamāl-ud-dīn was then in the council-hall. The sulṭān ordered Malik Tatar to take both the parties to him. Tatar was a *ḥājj*[3] and had lived for some time in the neighbourhood of Mecca and spoke Arabic well. He took them both to the *qāẓī* and said to the amīr, 'Did you strike this man? Say, no'. His object was to suggest to him a defensive argument, but Saif-ud-dīn was an ignorant and muddle-headed man. He replied, 'Yes, I did strike him'. Then came the father of the assaulted man and wanted

[1] This grant was a kind of 'large Assignment' which entailed practically no duties. (*Vide* p. 74 *supra*.)

[2] *I.e.* the wounded man.

[3] *I.e.* one who has performed the ḥajj pilgrimage at Mecca.

to settle the matter amicably between the parties, but Saif-ud-dīn did not consent.

The *qāẓī* ordered Amīr Ghaddā's imprisonment for the night. By God, his wife sent him no bedding to sleep on, nor did she enquire after him for fear of the sulṭān; and his comrades being afraid disposed of their goods. I desired to see him in the prison; but I met an amīr who on knowing of my intended visit said, 'Have you forgotten?' And he reminded me of the incident which had befallen me as a result of my visit to Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn *bin* Shaikh-ul-Jām and of how the sulṭān had on that ground intended to kill me, as will be related later.[1] I withdrew, therefore, and did not see the amīr. He was released, however, on the following day at noon.[2] Thenceforth the sulṭān neglected him and gave up the idea of assigning to him the territories for which he had given orders previously, and he intended to exile him.

The sulṭān had another brother-in-law called Mughīṣ son of Malik-ul-mulūk, and the sulṭān's sister used to complain against him to her brother till she died. Her slave girls reminded the sulṭān that she had died on account of his oppression and his genealogy gave cause for doubt. Then, the sulṭān wrote personally that 'the bastard, that is Mughīṣ be exiled, and so be exiled the *mūshkkhwār*', that is 'the rat-eater'—by which expression he meant Amīr Ghaddā, because the Arabs of the desert eat the lizard which is similar to the rats and he ordered the expulsion of both. The palace officers came to Amīr Ghaddā to drag him out. He desired to enter his house and bid his wife adieu, but the palace officers poured in in rapid succession to search him out, and he emerged weeping.

About this time I went to the royal palace, where I spent the night. One of the amirs asked me why I spent the night there. I replied, 'I have come with a view to pleading for Amīr Saif-ud-dīn that he may be recalled and not exiled'. He said, 'It is impossible'. 'By God', said I, 'I will not quit the royal palace though I should have to spend a hundred nights there until he be recalled.' When the sulṭān came to know of this he ordered Amīr Ghaddā's recall and commanded him to remain in the service of the Amīr Malik Qabūla of Lahore (*Lāhaur*). He remained in his service four years, and he used to ride on horseback with him and to accompany him in his journeys until he learnt manners and became cultured. Then the sulṭān restored him to his original position and assigned to him the administrative charge (*iqtā'*) of some territory and placed him in command of the troops and raised his position.

Celebration by the sultān of the marriage of the vezir's daughters with the two sons of Khudāwandzāda Qiwām-ud-dīn who had arrived at the capital with us

When Khudāwandzāda came, the sulṭān conferred on him magnificent grants, lavished on him great gifts and honoured him exceedingly.

[1] See p. 147 *infra*.

[2] Literally about *ẓuhr*, *i.e.* after the sun has passed the meridian. For *ẓuhr*, see p. 128 *infra*.

Then he married his two sons to the two daughters of the vezir, Khwāja Jahān. At that time the vezir was away. So the sultān came at night to his house and attended the nuptials (*nikāḥ*) as if he acted as the vezir's deputy. He kept standing[1] until the chief justice (*qāẓi-ul-quẓāt*) had mentioned the amount of the dower (*sidāq*)[2] while the qazis, amirs and shaikhs were sitting. Then taking with his own hands the clothes and money-bags the sultān placed them in front of the *qāẓī* and the two sons of Khudāwandzāda. Thereupon the amirs stood up, as they did not like to see the sultān do all that himself in their presence; but he ordered them to take their seats. Then he appointed one of the chief amirs as his substitute and withdrew.

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[1] *I.e.* the sultān stood till the end of the service.

[2] Commonly known as 'mahr' it is a marriage portion which the bridegroom must pay or promise to pay to the bride before the consummation of marriage The 'mahr' is of two kinds: (1) *mahri mu'ajjal*—the amount payable by instalments or in case of divorce—(2) *mahri mu'ajjal*—the amount paid in full at the time of *nikāḥ* or on demand any time after the marriage. In any case the amount and kind of 'mahr' agreed upon by the parties concerned must be mentioned publicly or recorded by the *qāẓī* before the *nikāḥ* can be performed Until this had been done in the case of the above marriage the emperor continued standing—a custom still observed by the father or guardian of the bride. In the case of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's own marriages the 'mahr' was almost always of the second kind. That is, the amount of the 'mahr' was paid by him or on his behalf before the *nikāḥ* was performed. See p. 211 *infra* and also xxvi *supra*.

CHAPTER VIII

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH (CONTINUED)

Sulṭān's modesty and justice

One of the eminent Hindus filed a suit against the emperor to the effect that he had killed his brother without any cause, and had him summoned before the *qāẓī*. The emperor walked on foot completely unarmed to the *qāẓī's* court where he saluted and bowed. Previous to his departure he had issued orders to the *qāẓī* instructing him that he must not stand or budge out of regard for him when he appeared in his court. Accordingly the emperor attended the court and stood before the *qāẓī*, who gave his verdict against him ordering him to compensate his opponent for the blood of his brother. The emperor gave him satisfaction.

A similar anecdote

Once a Muslim filed a suit against the sulṭān, making certain monetary claims. The case was taken to and tried by the *qāẓī*, who gave his judgment against the sulṭān requiring him to pay the plaintiff the desired sum of money, which he paid.

A similar anecdote

A boy from among the sons of the maliks brought a suit against the sulṭān, complaining that the sulṭān had struck him without cause and had him summoned before the *qāẓī*. The *qāẓī* pronounced a sentence against the sulṭān ordering him to indemnify the plaintiff by payment of cash if accepted; otherwise he must let the plaintiff beat him in return. That day I saw that the sulṭān came back to his court, sent for the boy and gave him a cane saying, 'I call upon you by my head, you must strike me just as I struck you.' The boy took hold of the stick and struck the emperor twenty-one strokes so that his cap (*kulāh*) flew off.

His zeal for the holding of prayers

The sulṭān was strict regarding the holding of prayers. His standing orders were to the effect that prayers must be recited in congregation, and severe punishment was meted out to the defaulters. In the course of a single day he once killed nine persons for neglecting that; one of them was a musician. He used to send round men appointed for the purpose to the markets, and whoever [1] was found there at the time of the holding of prayers was punished. Matters came to such a pitch that even the menials [2]—those who held the animals of the staff at the council-hall—were punished when they missed the prayers. The sulṭān issued orders that the people [3] should learn the principles of ablution and prayers as well as the fundamentals of Islām, and they were interrogated on these. Those who could not give

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[1, 2, 3] *I.e.* Muslims.

satisfactory answers were punished. And the people[1] in the council-hall and in the markets set to learning and writing these.

His zeal for the execution of the rulings of law (shar'a)

He was strict regarding the enforcement of law. Among his practices in this connection the following should be noted. He ordered his brother Mubārak Khāṅ to sit in the council-hall by the side of the chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*) Kamāl-ud-dīn in an elevated cupola with a carpeted floor, where for the *qāẓī* there was a special dais all covered with cushions like that of the sulṭān himself, and the sulṭān's brother used to sit on his right. The bailiffs of the sulṭān's brother would produce before the *qāẓī*, to administer justice, any great amīr who would not pay his creditors their dues.

His abolishing the taxes and oppressions[2] and his sitting to render justice to the oppressed

In the year 741 [3] the sulṭān ordered the remission of duties in his empire adding that no tax should be realized from the people except the *zakāt* and '*ushr*.[4] He used personally to sit for *an-naẓar fil maẓālim*[5] every Monday and Thursday on the large open lawn before the council-hall. On those days none except the *amīr ḥājib*, *khāss ḥājib*, *saiyid-ul-ḥujjāb* and *sharaf-ul-ḥujjāb* stands before him. And no one intending to make a complaint is prevented from presenting himself before the sulṭān. He appoints four of the principal amīrs to sit each at one of the four gates of the council-hall to take the petitions from the complainants. The fourth amīr was the sulṭān's cousin, Malik Fīroz. If the amīr at the first gate accepted the petition from the complainant it was well, otherwise either of the second or the third or the fourth would accept it. In case none of them accepted it, he would go to Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ, the *qāẓī-ul-mamālik*.[6] If the latter accepted his appeal well and good, otherwise he would lodge his complaint before the sulṭān. And if the sulṭān ascertained that the complainant had been to any one of them and his plaint had not been received, he would deal suitably with the official at fault. All petitions collected on other days of the week were perused by the sulṭān after '*ishā*, the retiring prayer of the night.

His feeding the people during the famine

When famine was raging all over Hind and Sind[7] and prices became exorbitant to such an extent that the price of a maund (*mann*)[8] of wheat

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[1] *I.e.* Muslims.

[2] That is, the sulṭān hereby put an end to all wrongs and erroneous views abolishing also the imposts that fell heavy on merchandise. See p. 12 *supra*, foot note 2.

[3] 1340-1 A.C. [4] See p. 12 *supra*. [5] See Appendix M., p. 268.

[6] *I.e.* *qāẓī* of the empire—a post analogous to that of the *qāẓī-ul-quẓāt* or chief justice.

[7] For 'Hind' and 'Sind', see page 1 *supra*.

[8] The maund (*mann*) of those days being over 14 seers (*ser*) and a dīnār being equal to a *tankа*, the price of a seer (*ser*) of wheat would come to 6 annas and 10·3 pies and in the case of the gold standard it would rise to Rs.3 12 annas 9 pies in modern currency. See *N.B.*, p. 235 *infra*

rose to six dinars, the sulṭān ordered six months' provisions at the rate of a daily allowance of one and a half *raṭl* [1] of *maghrib* per head to be given to all the people [2] of Dehlí. He ordered this to be given to every one great or small, free or slave. The jurists and judges set out registering the names of the inhabitants in different streets, sending for the people [3] and giving to each victuals amounting to six months' provision.

Daring on the part of this sulṭān to perpetrate whatever he meditated and his reprehensible actions

Notwithstanding all his modesty, his sense of equity and justice, and his extraordinary liberality and kindness to the poor that we have described, he had immense daring to shed blood. His gate was hardly ever free from the corpse of a man who had been executed. And I used to see frequently a number of people killed at the gate of the royal palace and the corpses abandoned there. One day as I arrived there my horse was startled and as I looked round I saw on the earth some white [4] thing. 'What is it ?' said I One of my comrades replied, 'It is the torso of a man [5] who has been cut into three pieces'.

The sulṭān used to punish all wrongs whether big or small and he would spare neither the men of learning (*ahl-ul-'ilm*) [6] and probity (*ṣalāḥ*), [7] nor those of high descent (*sharaf*). [8] Every day hundreds of people in chains with their hands fastened to the neck and their feet tightened were brought into the council-hall.

Those who were to be killed were killed and those who were to be tortured were tortured and those who were to be beaten were beaten. The sulṭān used to summon all the prisoners to the council-hall every day except Fridays, when they were not taken out, for Friday was the day of their rest when they would clean themselves and take rest. May God save us from the calamity!

He kills his brother

He had a brother named Mas'ūd Khān whose mother was the daughter of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn. He was the most handsome of all the men I have seen in the world. The sulṭān accused him of rebellion and prosecuted him. He acknowledged the accusation for fear of torture for, as a rule, he who refuses to acknowledge a charge of this kind brought against him by the sulṭān is tortured. Hence people preferred death to torture. The sulṭān ordered that he should be beheaded and he was killed in

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[1] *I.e.* 12 chataks of modern Indian weight. That is, more than double the quantity now given by the present Indian Government to the average man.

[2] & [3] See p. 164, footnote 6.

[4] This is a pointer to the kind of people who fell under the executioner's sword as described further in the text (pp. 86–93)—and most of these, it may be noted, being either new-comers from places like Khurāsān, Bukhārā and Transoxiana or new domiciles were white.

[5] Evidently the man referred to was not a Hindū.

[6], [7], [8] See pp. xxi, xxii, *supra*.

the centre of the market, where his corpse lay three days, according to the custom. Two years previously his mother had been stoned to death in the same place on account of her confession of adultery. She had been stoned by Qāẓī Kamāl-ud-dīn.

Execution of three hundred and fifty men under his orders in the course of one hour

Once the sulṭān detailed a division of the army under the charge of Malik Yusuf Bughra to fight the infidels in the hills bordering the Dehlī province. Yusuf marched and was attended by most of his troops; but some of them stayed behind—a fact which he intimated to the sulṭān who ordered a search[1] to be instituted round the city and to capture whichever of those, who had stayed behind, might be traced. His orders were carried out and three hundred and fifty of them were captured. And the sulṭān ordered the execution of them all; so they were executed.[2]

Torture and execution of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn under his orders

Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn was the son of Shaikh-ul-Jām of Khurāsān. The city of Jām[3] in Khurāsān came to be named after his grandfather as we have already described.[4] Shihāb-ud-dīn was one of the principal saints (*mashāikh*), pious and accomplished. He used to fast for a fortnight at a stretch. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn and Sulṭān Tughluq had held him in great esteem and used to pay him visits and solicit his blessings. When Sulṭān Muḥammad ascended the throne he intended to employ the *shaikh* in some capacity, as it was his habit to employ the jurists, sufis and men of probity contending that the first Muslim rulers—may the peace of God be on them!—had employed only men of learning and probity. Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn, however, refused to accept service. Once the sulṭān discussed the matter with him in the public audience[5] (*majlis-ul-'ām*), but he still refused and persistently declined to accept service. The sulṭān became indignant and ordered the venerable jurist, Shaikh Ẓiyā-ud-dīn of Simnān, to pull the hair of his beard, which the latter refused to do saying, 'This I will not do'. The sulṭān then ordered that the beards of both of them should be pulled out. The order was carried out. Ẓiyā-ud-dīn was then banished to Telingana (*Tiling*) and installed after some time as the *qāẓī* of Wārangal (*Warangal*), where he died. Shihāb-ud-dīn was exiled to Daulatābād, where he remained seven years. Then the sulṭān sent for him and received him with honour and exalted him by appointing him

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[1] Not only had they stayed behind, but had also concealed themselves violating the army laws.

[2] Thus the absconders were court-martialled.

[3] & [4] *Jām* was the birthplace of the Persian poet Mullā Nūr-ud-dīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Jāmī. He was born in 1414/817 and died at Herāt in 1492/898. The city of Jām lay practically half-way between Herāt and Meshed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived at Jām straight after his departure from Herāt (Def. et Sang., III, p. 75).

[5] *I.e.* the *darbār-i-'ām*

head of the *diwān-ul-mustakhraj*—the department [1] for the realization of the revenue officials' (*'ummāl's*) arrears, which used to be extorted from them by means of bastinado and tortures. Later, the sulṭān showed him increasingly great respect and ordered the amirs to go pay their respects to him and follow his advice, there being no one higher than him in the royal palace.[2] When the sulṭān took up lodgings on the bank of the Ganges where he built a palace called *Sargdvār* [3]—that is, the semblance of paradise [4]—and when he called on the people to build there houses of their own, Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn solicited his permission to stay at the capital city. The sulṭān permitted him to stay assigning him an uncultivated piece of land at a distance of six miles from Dehlī. Shihāb-ud-dīn dug there a deep cavern in whose cavity he built chambers, granaries, an oven and a bath. He brought water into it from the river Jumna and cultivated that land. And he amassed great wealth by means of its produce, for those were the years of drought. He lived there two and a half years—the period of the sulṭān's absence. The slaves of Shihāb-ud-dīn used to labour on the land during the day; and during the night they entered the cavern which they closed to secure themselves and their cattle against the infidel marauders, since the latter lived in a neighbouring, inaccessible mountain.

When the sulṭān returned to his capital, the *shaikh* proceeded to a distance of seven miles to meet him. The sulṭān honoured him and embraced him on seeing him; and then Shihāb-ud-dīn returned to his cavern. After a few days the sulṭān sent for him, but he refused to come. The sulṭān sent to him Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk of Nandurbār (*Nadharbār*) [5] who was one of the leading maliks.[6] He spoke to him very kindly and even warned him against the sulṭān's wrath. The *shaikh* said, 'I will never serve a tyrant'. Mukhliṣ-ul-mulk returned to the sulṭān and informed him about that. The sulṭān ordered the *shaikh* to be brought; and when he was brought the sulṭān said to him, 'You say I am a tyrant.' 'Yes', retorted the *shaikh*, 'you are a tyrant and such and such are the instances of your tyranny.'

[1] See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 219, 221.

[2] *I.e.* in the royal service.

[3] & [4] *Sargdvār* (gate of paradise) consists of two Hindī and Sanskrit words: (1) the Hindī *sarg* (Sanskrit *svarga*) meaning heaven or paradise, and (2) the Sanskrit *dvāra* meaning gate.

It should be noted that Swargadvāra is the name of a Hindū shrine in the town of Ajodhya where it is believed that the body of Rām was cremated. It appears that Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq's attention was drawn by this sacred shrine, his new palace which lay in the Farrukhābād district on the Ganges being not far from it; and he preferably borrowed the same name for it.

It is interesting to note that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa translates *Sargdvāra* as 'semblance of paradise' (*shabīh-ul-jannat*).

[5] Nadharbār on the Tapti was a flourishing town of Khāndesh.

[6] The French scholars (Def. et Sang., III, p. 296) translate the word *malik* as 'roi' (king). I think that '*malik*' as used in the *Rehla* stands for 'amir'

Then he gave several examples amongst which was the destruction[1] of the city of Dehlī and the expulsion[2] of its inhabitants. Thereupon the sulṭān caught hold of his sword and handing it over to the Sadr-i-jahāṅ said, 'Prove now and here that I am a tyrant, and cut my head off with this sword'. 'Whosoever', said Shihāb-ud-dīn, 'wishes to give evidence to confirm your tyranny will himself be killed. But you in your heart of hearts know your tyrannies well.' The sulṭān ordered the *shaikh* to be made over to Malik Nukbīa, chief of the dawādars[3] (*duwaidārīya*) who tied him with four chains and fastened his hands. In this state he remained fasting for a fortnight at a stretch; neither did he eat, nor drink. Every day, meanwhile, he was taken to the council-hall where the jurists and sufis, who used to assemble, advised him to recant. 'I will not recant', was his reply. 'I wish', he added, 'to join the rank of the martyrs'. On the 14th day the sulṭan sent food for him through Mukhlis-ul-mulk, but he refused to take it saying, 'I am no longer destined to partake of food in this world; take back the food to the sulṭān'. When the sulṭān was informed of this, he ordered the *shaikh* to be forcibly fed with five 'istars'[4] of human refuse; five 'istars' correspond to two and a half 'ratls' of *maghrib*. Those charged with such duties—and they are a body of infidel Hindus—executed this order. They stretched the *shaikh* on his back, opened his mouth with pincers and dropped into it the human refuse dissolved in water. This they made him drink. On the following day the *shaikh* was taken to the house of the judge (*qāẓī*) Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ where jurists, saints and prominent *a'izza* had assembled. They admonished him and desired him to recant, but he still refused to do so. At last, his head was cut off. May God the exalted have mercy on him!

He kills the professor and jurist 'Afīf-ud-dīn of Kāshān[5] and two other jurists along with him

During the years of famine the sulṭān had ordered the sinking of wells outside the capital city and the cultivation of crops there. For this purpose he had provided the people with seeds as well as with the requisite sum of money. And he had made them undertake this cultivation with the object of enriching the granary. When the jurist 'Afīf-ud-dīn heard of this he said, 'Such a cultivation as this cannot serve the purpose.' This was reported to the sulṭān, who put 'Afīf-ud-dīn into prison saying, 'Why do you meddle with the affairs of the State'? Then after some time he released him. As he was going home he met two of his fellow-jurists on the way. They said to him, 'Thank God for your release!' The jurist said, '*Praise be to God who released us from the tyrants!*'[6] Then they parted; but hardly

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[1] & [2] How this was neither a case of 'destruction' nor of 'expulsion' has been clarified elsewhere. See *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 109–124.

[3] See Appendix L, p. 270.

[4] *Istār* was about 1¼ *tola* and 2 mashas.

[5] 'Kāshān' is the name of a town in Transoxiana, south-east of Bukhārā.

[6] This is the Quranic verse 29, *Sūra XXIII*

had they reached their respective houses, when the sulṭān came to know of this. He summoned all three of them and referring to 'Afīf-ud-dīn said, 'Take away this fellow and cut off his neck diagonally, that is, cut his head with the arm and part of the chest, and behead the other two'. 'As for him,' said the two addressing the sulṭān, 'he deserved the punishment for what he said; but why are we being put to death?' 'You', said he, 'heard his remarks and did not disapprove; you appear to have concurred with him.' At last all of them were executed. May God the exalted have mercy on them!

He kills also two jurists of Sind in his service

The sulṭān ordered these jurists of Sind to go along with an amīr appointed as an *'āmil*[1] in a certain province. He said to them, 'I entrust to your care the affairs of the province and subjects; and this amīr will remain with you. He will act according to your instructions.' They replied, 'We would be but as witnesses and would show him the right way, which he might follow'. Thereupon the sulṭān said, 'Indeed, you intend to consume and dissipate my wealth and attribute it to this Turk who does not possess sufficient knowledge.' They said, 'God forbid! Your Majesty, we did not intend this'. The sulṭān said, 'You intended nothing but this'. Then he ordered, 'Take them to the Shaikhzāda of Nihāwand'.[2] And the Shaikhzāda was charged with inflicting punishment.

As they were taken to him he said to them, 'The sulṭān intends to kill both of you. In the circumstances you should admit what he says against you, and do not have yourselves tortured.' 'By God!' said they 'we meant nothing but what we said'. Thereupon the Shaikhzāda ordered his staff to administer some torture to them just to let them see what it tasted like. So they were stretched on their back and a sheet of red-hot iron was placed on the chest of each. After a while the sheet was removed, and it came off together with the flesh of their chests. Then a little urine mixed with ashes was painted on their wounds. As a result they avowed in spite of themselves that they meant nothing but what was said by the sulṭān. They acknowledged themselves as guilty, deserving to be killed; they admitted that they had no right to claim the protection of their lives or ransom for their blood in this world or the next. They wrote with their own hand to that effect and admitted the same before the *qāẓī* who confirmed their acknowledgment and wrote that their confession had been made without the employment of any force or compulsion whatever. Had they said that they had been forced into confessing, they would have been tortured to the utmost. They believed that to die a quick death was preferable to a painful and excruciating one. At last, they were killed. May Allāh the exalted have mercy on them!

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[1] *I.e.* a revenue collector.

[2] One of the great cities of Persia near Hamadān (*Mu'jam-ul-buldān*, IV, p. 827).

He kills Shaikh[1] *Hūd*

The *shaikhzāda*[2] named Hūd was the grandson of the pious and holy Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn *bin* Bahā-ud-dīn *bin* Abū Zakariyā of Multān. His grandfather Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn was held in great esteem by the sultān. Rukn-ud-dīn's brother 'Imād-ud-dīn, who resembled the sultān in appearance, was equally highly respected. 'Imād-ud-dīn was killed in the battle fought with Kishlū Khān, whom we shall describe[3] shortly. When 'Imād-ud-dīn was killed the sultān granted to his brother Rukn-ud-dīn a hundred villages for his maintenance and the entertainment of the visitors to the hospice. Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn died leaving the succession to his position in the hospice in favour of his grandson, Shaikh Hūd. A nephew of Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn questioned his claim to it and said, 'I am better entitled than you to receive my uncle's legacy.' Both went to the sultān, who was then at Daulatābād, the distance between Daulatābād and Multān being equal to a journey of eighty days. The sultān gave the charge of the hospice to Hūd according to the will of Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn. Hūd was a man of advanced age, while his rival, the nephew of Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn, was young. The sultān honoured Hūd and ordered him to be served with a feast at every station where he alighted on his way back to Multān and he ordered the inhabitants of every city he passed by to come out to meet him and prepare a feast in his honour. When the orders reached the capital, the jurists, the judges, the saints (*mashāikh*) and *a'izza* went out to meet him. I was one of those who thus went out. We met him and he was riding in a *dolā* which was carried by men while his horse was led by the side. We greeted him, but I disapproved of his riding in the *dolā* and said, 'It would have been better for him to ride the horse side by side with the qazis and the saints who have come out to meet him.' He heard my remark and got on horseback and apologized for not having done so earlier because of a complaint which had disabled him from riding a horse. As he entered the capital, a feast was given in his honour at considerable expense to the State. It was attended by the qazis, the saints, the jurists and the *a'izza*. The *simāt*[4] was spread and the dishes were brought in according to the custom; and subsequently money was given to everyone according to his position. The *qāzi-ul-quzāt* was awarded a sum of five hundred dinars, and I two hundred and fifty. This gift of money is customary at a royal banquet. Then Shaikh Hūd went to his town; with him went Shaikh Nūr-ud-dīn of Shīrāz, whom the sultān had sent to instal Hūd in his grandfather's place in the hospice and to arrange a feast for him at the expense of the State. He was installed in the hospice, where he remained several years. Then 'Imād-ul-mulk, governor of the province (*bilād*) of Sind, wrote to the sultān intimating that the *shaikh* and his relations had taken to

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[1] *Shaikh* is an appellation of honour applied to Hūd, the saint.
[2] *I.e.* the son of a *shaikh*
[3] See pp. 96-97 *infra*.
[4] See p. 9 *supra*.

collecting money and to dissipating it to satisfy their sordid needs and that they did not feed anyone in the hospice. The sulṭān issued orders demanding the restitution of money. In compliance with the royal orders, 'Imād-ul-mulk demanded the money, and as a result he imprisoned some of them and beat others. Every day he used to realize from them twenty thousand dinars, and this realization continued for days until they were stripped of all their possessions, which included enormous wealth and savings—among other things there being a pair of shoes set with the pearls and rubies which sold for seven thousand dinars. Some contend that this pair of shoes belonged to the daughter of Shaikh Hūd; others say that it belonged to one of his slave girls.

When Shaikh Hūd was pressed hard he fled intending to go to the country of the Turks. He was captured, and 'Imād-ul-mulk wrote about his flight to the sulṭān, who ordered both the *shaikh* and his captor to be sent to the court as prisoners. As they reached the court, the sulṭān released the captor but said to Shaikh Hūd, 'Where did you intend to flee?' He made apologies. 'Certainly,' said the sulṭān, 'you intended to flee to the Turks[1] and tell them that you were the son of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakarīyā and that the sulṭān had done such and such a thing to you and to bring them to fight me.' The sulṭān then ordered, 'Cut off his head'. So his head was cut off. May God the exalted have mercy on him!

He imprisons Ibn Tāj-ul-'ārifīn and kills his sons

The pious Shaikh Shams-ud-dīn, son of Tāj-ul-'ārifīn, was an inhabitant of the city of Koil (*Kūl*),[2] and he had devoted himself exclusively to worship. He was a man of great parts. As the sulṭān visited Koil he sent for him but the *shaikh* did not come. The sulṭān went to see him; but as he came near his house he changed his mind and did not see the *shaikh*.

Later on, it so happened that one of the amirs in a certain province revolted against the sulṭān and the people swore allegiance to him. It was reported to the sulṭān that the rebellious amīr was mentioned before Shaikh Shams-ud-dīn, who praised him and said that he was fit for kingship. The sulṭān sent an amīr who chained the *shaikh* and his sons as well as the *qāẓī* and the *muḥtasib*[3] of Koil. The *qāẓī* and the *muḥtasib* were reported to have been present in the assembly in which the *shaikh* had eulogized the rebellious amīr. The sulṭān threw them all into prison after having blinded the *qāẓī* and the *muḥtasib*. Shaikh Shams-ud-dīn died in prison. The

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[1] See p. 125 *infra*, footnote 4.

[2] *I.e.* Aligarh.

[3] *I.e.* the superintendent of police and public morals or an officer whose duty was to improve public life and prevent individuals—men as well as women—from indulgence in vice. He also examined weights and measures and looked after the markets (*vide* E.I., II, p. 703).

In the empire of Dehlī the *muḥtasib* combined in one the rôle of a police officer and that of a magistrate. As such he was as important a functionary as the *qāẓī*.

qāẓī and the muḥtasib used to be taken out in the charge of one of the jailors to beg alms of the passers-by (annās) and were then taken back to the prison.

It had been reported to the sulṭān that the shaikh's sons used to mix with the Indian infidels and rebellious Hindus and associated with them. When their father died the sons were taken out of the prison. The sulṭān told them not to continue their former practices. They said, 'What have we done?' The sulṭān became indignant and ordered them all to be killed, and they were killed. Then the sulṭān sent for the aforesaid qāẓī and said to him, 'Tell me who else concurred with the views of, and acted in the same way as, those who have been killed'. The qāẓī dictated the names of many of the infidels[1] of the country. When his dictated list was presented to the sulṭān he declared, 'This man desires the destruction of the country. Cut off his head.' So his head was cut off. May God the exalted have mercy on him!

Execution of Shaikh al-Haidarī under his orders

Shaikh 'Alī al-Haidarī was an inhabitant of the city of Cambay (*Kinbāya*) on the coast of India. He was a man of high position and great fame and renown. The merchant voyagers used to make many vows to him, and on their arrival they would hasten to pay their respects to him. He used to read their thoughts. Sometimes it happened that one of them made a vow, and then changed his mind; but when he came to the shaikh to pay him homage, the latter reminded him of his vow and ordered him to fulfil it. Such things he did many a time and he became renowned for this.

When Qāẓī Jalāl al-Afghānī and his tribe revolted in these parts, it was reported to the sulṭān that Shaikh al-Haidarī had wished for the success of Qāẓī Jalāl and had given him the cap he was wearing. It was even alleged that he had sworn him allegiance. When the sulṭān went personally against the rebels and Qāẓī Jalāl was defeated, he[2] retired leaving behind Sharaf-ul-mulk Amīr Bakht—one of those who had come to the sulṭān's court with us—at Cambay and ordered him to search for the rebels. And he left some jurists with him so that he might pass orders according to their advice. So Shaikh 'Alī al-Haidarī was brought to him and it was proved that he had given the rebel his cap and had prayed for him. As a result, orders were issued for his execution; but when the executioner struck him, the stroke had no effect. The people were astonished at this, and they thought that he would be pardoned on that account. Far from that, another executioner was appointed to cut off his head. So he was decapitated. May Allāh the exalted have mercy on him!

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[1] Def. et Sang.'s Arabic text (III, p. 309) has '*kibār*' (great) for '*kuffār*' (infidels). See my paper *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and his Reḥla* in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (1938), p. 279. See p. xii, *supra*. See also Appendix H, p. 260.

[2] *I.e.* the sulṭān.

He kills Ṭoghān and his brother

Ṭoghān, a native of Farghāna, and his brother were two of the notables of the city of Farghāna. They waited on the sulṭān who treated them kindly and granted them rich gifts. They remained a long time with him; but when their stay was prolonged they desired to go back to their own country and planned a flight. One of their companions informed the sulṭān of their plan, and he ordered them to be cut into two from the middle. They were cut up accordingly and all their property was given to the informant. Such is the custom in this country. When a man informs against another and his information is proved the latter is killed and his property passes to the informant.

He kills Ibn Malik-ut-tujjār

Ibn Malik-ut-tujjār was quite a young man who had not yet grown a beard. When the rebellion and war of 'Ain-ul-mulk against the sulṭān broke out, which we shall describe subsequently, Ibn Malik-ut-tujjār was also involved and he was forced to remain with the rebels. When 'Ain-ul-mulk was defeated and he as well as his companions were captured, Ibn Malik-ut-tujja and his brother-in-law Ibn Quṭb-ul-mulk were among the latter. The sulṭān ordered them both to be hung by their hands from a stake and commanded the sons of the maliks to shoot them with arrows. They were consequently pierced with arrows till they died. After their death the chamberlain Khwāja Amīr 'Alī of Tabrīz remarked to the chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*) Kamāl-ud-dīn saying, 'That youth did not deserve death'. This reached the sulṭān's ears who addressing the chamberlain said, 'Why did you not say so before his death?' And saying this he ordered him to be whipped about two hundred lashes. Then the chamberlain was thrown into prison and all his property was given to the head executioner, whom I saw on the following day wearing the dress of Khwāja Amīr 'Alī of Tabrīz, putting on his cap and riding his horse. I mistook him for the Khwāja who actually was in prison and remained a prisoner for several months. Then he was released and restored to his previous position. Again, the sulṭān was displeased with him and banished him to Khurāsān; but the Khwāja settled at Herāt whence he wrote to the sulṭān imploring his favours. The sulṭān wrote on the back of his petition—*agar bāz āmadī bāz āi*—that is, 'if you have repented, come back'. So he came back to the sulṭān.

Head orator (khaṭīb-ul-khuṭabā) beaten to death under his orders

The emperor (*sulṭān*) had put the head orator of Dehlī in charge of the treasure of precious stones during a journey. It happened that in the night the infidel robbers fell upon the treasure and carried away a part of it. The emperor ordered the orator to be beaten to death. May Allāh the exalted have mercy on him!

CHAPTER IX

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH (CONTINUED)

Devastation of Dehlī and the exile of its inhabitants and execution of a blind man and a cripple under his orders

One of the most serious reprehensions against the sulṭān is that he forced the inhabitants of Dehlī into exile. The cause of it was this. They used to write letters containing abuses and scandals, and they would seal the letters writing on the cover—'By the head of His Majesty none except he should read the letter'. These letters they used to throw into the council-hall in the course of the night. When he tore them open, he found abuses and scandals in the contents. So he resolved to lay Dehlī waste. He bought the houses and dwellings from all the inhabitants of Dehlī and paid the price for them. Then he ordered the inhabitants to leave Dehlī and move on to Daulatābād, but they refused to do so. Thereupon his crier went forth proclaiming that no one should remain in Dehlī after three days. As a result, most of the people went away; but some concealed themselves in their houses. The sulṭān ordered a search for those who still lingered; and in the lanes of the city his slaves lighted upon two men—one being a cripple and the other a blind man. Both were brought to the court and the sulṭān ordered the cripple to be thrown up in the air by means of the ballista (*minjanīq*) and the blind man to be dragged from Dehlī to Daulatābād—a distance of forty days' journey. He was torn to pieces on the way, and only a leg of his reached Daulatābād. When the sulṭān had done that, all the inhabitants of Dehlī came out leaving behind their property and baggage, and the city was reduced to a desert. I was informed on reliable authority that in the night the sulṭān mounted the roof of his palace and looked round Dehlī. When neither a light nor even a smoke or a lamp came into sight he remarked, 'Now my heart is pleased and my soul is at rest'. Then he wrote to the inhabitants of other provinces to repair to Dehlī to re-people it. As a result, those provinces were destroyed, but Dehlī was not re-peopled on account of its vastness and immensity. It is one of the greatest cities of the world and when we entered it we found it in the state above referred to, it was empty and was but scantily inhabited.[1]

We have described many of the virtues as well as vices of this sulṭān. Let us now describe some of the events and happenings of his reign.

Favour which in the beginning of his reign the sulṭān showed to Bahādūr Būra[2]

When the sulṭān obtained the empire after his father's death and the people swore allegiance to him, he sent for Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Bahādūr Būra

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[1] This apparent discrepancy has been explained in *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. 119.

[2] See p. 50 *supra*.

who had been imprisoned[1] by Sulṭān Tughluq. He showed him favour and opened his chains and gave him rich gifts including money, horses and elephants. He sent him back to his dominion (*mamlakat*), and sent along with him his own brother Bahrām Khān,[2] having made him promise that his dominion would be shared equally by them, that the names of both would appear jointly in the coinage (*sikka*) and that the *khuṭba* would be read in the names of both. Further, he made Ghiyās-ud-dīn promise to send his son Muḥammad, better known as Barbāṭ, as a hostage to him. Ghiyās-ud-dīn went back to his dominion and fulfilled the promises he had made; but he did not send his son, pretending that he had refused to go and that in his speech he had outraged decency. On this the sulṭān sent his troops to his brother Bahrām Khān under the charge of one Dulji-ut-tatarī. They fought Ghiyās-ud-dīn, killed him and skinned him; and his skin filled with straw was then paraded through the country.

Insurrection of his father's sister's son and the events that followed

Sulṭān Tughluq had a nephew[3] called Bahā-ud-dīn Gushtāsp (*Gushtāsb*) whom he had made governor of some province. On the death of his uncle, Bahā-ud-dīn refused to swear allegiance to his uncle's son.[4] Bahā-ud-dīn was a brave and resolute man. The sulṭān sent against him troops which contained great amirs like Malik Mujīr,[5] and the vezir Khwāja Jahān was the commander-in-chief. The cavalry in either camp met in action and a furious battle was fought; a desperate resistance was put up on both sides. Finally the royal forces carried the day. As a result, Bahā-ud-dīn fled to one of the Hindū rajas (*mulūk*) called Rāi Kampila.

The word *rāi* in India has the same significance as 'sulṭān' has in some European language.[6] Kampila (*Kambīla*) was the name of the country over which the *rāi* held sway. The dominion of the *rāi* comprised an inaccessible mountainous territory; and he was one of the greatest of the Hindū rulers. When Bahā-ud-dīn fled to him the royal forces came in pursuit and laid siege to the dominion of the *rāi* who was pressed hard and spent all his provisions. Fearing lest he should fall into the hands of the enemy he said to Bahā-ud-dīn, 'You see how things have developed. In these circumstances I have resolved to perish with my family and followers. You had better go to such and such *sulṭān*, and he gave the Hindū ruler's name[7] to Bahā-ud-dīn. 'You should stay with him' he added, 'he will defend you.' Then he sent along with Bahā-ud-dīn some one who took him to that ruler.

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[1] *I.e.* in course of the Lakhnautī expedition, p. 49 *supra*.

[2] See introduction, p. xi, *supra*.

[3] *I.e.* sister's son.

[4] *I.e.* Sulṭān Muḥammad.

[5] 'Mujīr' is probably the same man who has been described elsewhere as Mujīr-ud-dīn Abū Rijā. See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 102.

[6] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa hereby makes reference to the Spanish term '*rey*' as pointed out by Def. et Sang., III, p. 318.

[7] *I.e.* Ballala III.

After this, the *rāi* of Kampila ordered a large fire to be made. The fire blazed into flames in which he burnt all his property and he said to his wives and daughters, 'I wish to perish; those of you who desire to follow me may do so.' Thereupon the ladies took to washing and rubbing their bodies with the *muqāṣarī* [1] sandal one by one. Then each prostrated herself before the *rāi* and threw herself into the fire, till at last all perished. The same was done by the ladies of the amirs [2] as well as by those of the vezirs and government officers and even by some of the volunteers from the rest of the women.

Then the *rāi* washed himself, rubbed his body with sandal and put on his arms, but [illegible] no shield. Those of his subjects who wished to die with him did the same. Then they sprang on the royal forces and fought until all were killed. The royal army entered the city and imprisoned its inhabitants as well as eleven of the sons of Rāi Kampila who were taken to the sulṭān; all of them embraced Islām. In consideration of their good descent and noble conduct of their father the sulṭān honoured them and installed them as amirs. In the court of the sulṭān I saw three of these brothers—Naṣr, Bakhtiyār and the *Muhrdār*, that is keeper of the seal. This seal the latter used for the water which the sulṭān used to drink.[3] His surname was Abū Muslim, and between him and me a friendship grew up.

After the death of Rāi Kampila the royal troops marched to that infidel's town (*balad*) [4] where Bahā-ud-dīn had taken shelter, and they laid siege to it. On this the *sulṭān* [5] said, 'I cannot afford to do what the *rāi* of Kampila did.' Saying this, he caught hold of Bahā-ud-dīn and made him over to the imperial army who, putting him in irons and tying his hands to his neck, took him to the sulṭān. The sulṭān ordered him to be taken to his female relations who abused him and spat on his face; and then he had him flayed alive. His flesh was cooked with rice and sent to his wife and children; the rest put together in a tray was placed before a she-elephant who refused to eat it. The sulṭān then had his skin filled with straw and paraded together with that of Bahādūr Būra through the provinces. When the skins reached the province of Sind its governor Kishlū Khān—the comrade of Sulṭān Tughluq and his helper in seizing the empire whom Sulṭān Muhammad respected highly and used to address as 'uncle' and would come out to receive whenever he came on a visit from his own province—ordered both the skins to be buried. When this news reached the sulṭān he disapproved of it highly and intended to kill him.

[1] See p. 69 *supra*.

[2] The term *amir* like the term *sulṭān* applies as much to the Hindus as to the Muslims.

[3] The royal drinking water was brought from the Ganges. See p. 4 *supra*.

[4] *I.e.* Dvārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala kingdom.

[5] *I.e.* the Hindū ruler.

Insurrection of Kishlū Khān and his execution

When the sulṭān heard of Kishlū Khān's action in regard to the burial of the two skins, he sent for him. Kishlū Khān knew that the sulṭān wanted to punish him; so he refused to go and revolted. He lavished money and collected troops, and recruited the Turks, Afghans and Khurasanis, who joined in large numbers, until his troops grew equal to those of the sulṭān's or rather outnumbered them. The sulṭān went out personally to fight Kishlū Khān. The battle took place in the plain of Abohar (*Abūhar*) at a distance of two days' journey from Multān. In the course of the battle the sulṭān acted with shrewdness. He placed Shaikh 'Imād-ud-dīn, brother of Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn Multānī, under the royal parasol to pass for himself. It was Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn himself who related this to me. Shaikh 'Imād-ud-dīn resembled the sulṭān in appearance. When the fire of battle blazed, the sulṭān withdrew with a handful of four thousand soldiers, whilst Kishlū Khān's troops fell upon the parasol believing that the sulṭān was under it. They killed 'Imād-ud-dīn and the news spread through the whole army that the sulṭān had been killed. Consequently Kishlū Khān's forces fell to plundering. And they left Kishlū Khān who was stranded with a small following. Then the sulṭān with his adherents fell upon him and killed him. He cut off his head, and as soon as his army came to know of this they fled. The sulṭān entered the city of Multān, seized its *qāẓī* named Karīm-ud-dīn and had him flayed.[1] He then ordered Kishlū Khān's head to be hung up at the city gate. I saw it suspended there when I reached Multān. The sulṭān granted to Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn and Ṣadr-ud-dīn, the brother and son respectively of Shaikh 'Imād-ud-dīn, a hundred villages each to serve as a means of their living and to enable them to administer food in the hospice of their grandfather, Bahā-ud-dīn Zakarīyā.

The sulṭān then ordered his vezir Khwāja Jahān to go to the city of Kamālpūr which is a large city on the seashore and whose inhabitants had rebelled. I was informed by a jurist, who was present in the city when the vezir entered it, that the *qāẓī* and the *khaṭīb* of Kamālpūr were brought before the vezir, and that the latter ordered them to be flayed.[2] 'Kill us', said they, 'in any other fashion'. 'Why,' he enquired 'are you to be killed at all?' 'On account of our disobedience' said they 'to the sulṭān's orders'. 'How', he rejoined, 'can I myself act contrary to his orders? Verily he has ordered me to kill you in this very fashion.' He then ordered those charged with flaying to dig a pit under their faces to enable them to breathe.

[1] & [2] Kishlū Khān's rebellion, commonly known as the Multān rebellion, was not the rebellion of an individual; it was the beginning of the rebellion of the 'ulamā. Since Kishlū Khān, as the head of an important province, was involved in it, the sulṭān regarded his insurrection as the nucleus of the rising against him of the joint forces of the church and state officials. To nip it in the bud and to uproot it, he first fought and killed Kishlū Khān, and then his hand fell heavily upon the 'ulamā—the qazis and the khatibs. Thus began the sulṭān's war with the 'ulamā (*vide The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 171–175 and 229–231).

It is the custom that the people to be flayed are thrown down on their faces. May God save us from such a fate! When this was done the province of Sind was pacified, and the sulṭān returned to his capital.

Misfortune that befell the royal army in the Qarāchīl (Qarājīl) mountain

It is a huge mountain—the length of which amounts to a journey of three months—lying at a distance of ten days' journey from Dehlī, and its ruler is one of the most powerful infidel chiefs. Sulṭān Muḥammad sent Malik Nukbīa,[1] the chief of the dawadars (*duwaidāriya*), at the head of a hundred thousand horsemen and a large number of infantry besides, to fight a battle there. He captured the city of Jidya, which lay at the foot of the mountain, along with the adjacent territories and took prisoners and destroyed and burnt the country. The infidels fled climbing up the mountain heights and left behind their domains and their property as well as the treasures of their country. There was only one road leading up the mountain which overhung the valley below it and only a single horseman with a single follower on horseback could pass through it. The royal (*muslim*) troops climbed by this way and captured the city of Wārangal[2] on the highest peak of the mountain and seized all that it contained. Then they wrote about their victory to the sulṭān who sent a judge and an orator, and ordered them to remain there. But when the rains set in, a disease broke out in the army, which became weak, and the horses died and the bows grew slack. In these circumstances the amirs wrote to the sulṭān soliciting his permission to withdraw from the mountain and descend to its base until the rains were over when they would return to their original position. The sulṭān permitted them to do so. Accordingly, Amīr Nukbīa took all the wealth consisting of the treasures and metals which he had seized, and distributed it to the soldiers to carry the same down to the foot of the mountain. When the infidels came to know of their withdrawal they took their stand in the gorges and occupied the pass before them. Then cutting into pieces huge trees they began to throw them down from the heights of the mountain, which killed everyone who was struck. In this way many people died and those who survived fell prisoner. The infidels took the wealth, the goods, the horses and the arms of the royalists; out of the whole army only three officers escaped, namely their chief, Nukbīa, Badr-ud-dīn Malik Daulat Shāh and a third man whose name I do not remember.

This misfortune affected the Indian army greatly and created in it a decidedly manifest weakness. After this, the sulṭān made peace with the inhabitants of the mountain on condition that they should pay him a certain amount, since these people held possession of the territory lying at

[1] It may be noted that not only Malik Nukbīa but all other officials of whatever cadre had to discharge military duties when required.

[2] Wārangal lies 86 miles north-east of Hyderabad in the Deccan. There is no city known as 'Wārangal' high up in the mountainous range as far as I know.

the foot of the mountain, and they were unable to use it without his permission.

Insurrection of Sharīf[1] *Jalāl-ud-dīn in the province of Ma'bar and the events which followed it like the execution of the vezir's sister's son*

The sulṭān had appointed Sharīf Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh governor of the province of Ma'bar, which lay at a distance of six months' journey from Dehlī. He revolted and advanced his claims to independent rule and killed the naibs and amils of the sulṭān, and struck gold and silver coins in his own name. On one side of his dīnār he used to write 'the offspring of Ṭā-hā[2] and Yāsīn[3], the father of the fakirs and indigent, the glory of the world and hereafter',[4] and on the other 'the reliant on divine assistance Aḥsan Shāh Sulṭān'.

When Sulṭān Muḥammad heard of this insurrection, he marched with a view to fight him. He encamped at a place called *kūshk-i-zar*, meaning golden palace, where he remained eight days to provide the necessary equipment[5] for the soldiers (*an-nās*).[6]

In the meantime were brought to the royal camp the vezir Khwāja Jahān's nephew[7] and three or four amirs—all in chains, with their hands tied to their necks. The sulṭān had sent the said vezir in advance The latter having reached the city of Dhār (*Ẓihār*) which lay at a distance of twenty-four days' journey from Dehlī, stayed there a few days. The vezir's nephew, a brave and resolute man, conspired with the amirs who were brought with him to murder[8] his uncle and then to flee with all his treasures and property to the rebellious *sharīf* in the province of Ma'bar. And they resolved to kill the vezir at the time of his going to say the Friday prayer. However, one of their confidants named Malik Nuṣrat Ḥājib divulged the plot, to the vezir. He told the vezir that the index of their intention was their wearing of armours underneath their clothes. The vezir sent for them and found them exactly as he had been informed. He sent them to the sulṭān, and as they came to him I was present. I saw one of them wearing a long beard tremble and recite the *Yāsīn*[9]

[1] *I.e.* Saiyid, see p. 39 footnote *supra*.

[2] & [3] *I.e.* Prophet Muḥammad.

[4] It may be noted that his name, Jalāl-ud-dīn, literally means '*glory of hereafter*'

[5] The practice was for the emperor to encamp at a neighbouring place after having started on an expedition to arrange for the soldiers' march and to look to their needs.

[6] The term الناس in the Arabic text (Def. et Sang., III, p. 329) has not been used in its general and usual sense indicating 'people'.

[7] *I.e.*, sister's son.

[8] According to the MS. 909, which has على ثمل خاله, the translation would be thus: 'he conspired with the amirs to intoxicate his uncle.'

[9] *I.e.*, a section of the Qur'ān (Part XXII) particularly recited at the time of one's death.

The sulṭān had them thrown to the elephants who were trained to kill people. As for the vezir's nephew he ordered him to be sent to his uncle so that he should kill him. The latter killed him accordingly. This we shall describe later.[1]

The tusks of the elephants who kill people are sheathed in iron-cases pointed at the end, and resemble a ploughshare with knifelike edges. The mahout rides the elephant. As soon as a man is cast before an elephant he rolls him up in his trunk and throws him up into the air, and on his fall receives him on his tusks, throws him at his feet and then places his forefeet on the man's chest and does to him exactly as the mahout directs him to do, the mahout's directions being in accordance with the orders of the sulṭān. If the royal orders are for cutting the man into pieces, the elephant cuts him up with the iron points. If the orders are to leave the man lying, the elephant leaves him on the ground, then he is flayed. Such was the fate meted out to the aforesaid amirs. As I left the sulṭān's palace after the *maghrib*[2] prayer I saw the dogs eat their flesh, their skins being already stuffed with straw. May God save us from such a fate!

When the sulṭān had made ready to set out for the aforesaid expedition he ordered me to stay at the capital as we shall relate. He pursued his journey till he reached Daulatābād. Meanwhile, Amīr Halājūn revolted in his province. The vezir Khwāja Jahāṅ had also stayed in the capital with a view to recruit the troops and collect the army.

Insurrection of Halājūn

After the sulṭān had reached Daulatābād and had moved to a great distance from his capital, Amīr Halajun revolted in the city of Lahore (*Lahaur*) and advanced his claim to an independent rule. He was assisted in his enterprise by Amīr Gulchand[3] whom he made his vezir. The news of this reached the vezir Khwaja Jahāṅ, then at Dehlī. He recruited soldiers, collected troops, enrolled the Khurasanis, and took the men of all the State officers (*khuddām*)[4] stationed at Dehlī including mine since I was stationed there. The sulṭān reinforced the vezir with two principal amirs: one was Malik Qirān,[5] the army organizer (*ṣaffdār*) and the other Malik Tamūr, the cup-bearer (*shurbdār*).[6]

As Halājūn marched at the head of his army an encounter took place on the bank of a great river. But he was defeated and fled, and many of his soldiers were drowned in the river. The vezir entered the city.[7]

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[1] See p. 168 *infra*.

[2] The *maghrib* prayer—one of the five daily prayers mentioned above.

[3] 'Gulchand' appears to have been the name of some Hindū amīr. Two of the MSS. give somewhat different orthography, *i.e.*, قلنجدر and قلنعد which appears to have been the Arabic form of Gulchand.

[4] Cf. p. 19 *supra*. Evidently *khuddām* or *khadīm* stands for the State officers like the *'āmil*, and the *muqṭi'*.

[5] The text has Qirān Malik.

[6] See Introduction, p. xii, *supra*.

[7] *I.e.* of Lahore.

He flayed some of its inhabitants, while others he put to death in different ways. The man who supervised the execution was Muḥammad, son of Najīb, the vezir's lieutenant (*nāib*), better known as *azhdar malik*[1] and also nicknamed as *sag-i-sulṭān*, *sag* meaning 'dog' according to the Indians.[2] He was a ruthless tyrant whom the emperor called *asad-ul-aswāq*.[3] Sometimes he would bite the criminals with his teeth because of his blood-thirsty and aggressive nature. The vezir sent some three hundred of the insurgents' women into the fortress of Gwalior where they were imprisoned, and I saw some of them there. One amongst them was the wife of a jurist who used to visit her, and she later gave birth to a baby in prison.

Plague in the royal army

As the sulṭān reached the province of Telingana (*Tiling*) intending to fight the *sharīf*[4] in the province of Ma'bar, he encamped in the city of Badrkoṭ (*Badrakot*), the capital of Telingana, the distance between Badrkoṭ and Ma'bar being equal to a three months' march. At that time plague broke out in his army, the bulk of which perished. The slaves (*'abīd*)[5] and mamluks[6] and principal amirs such as Malik Daulat Shāh, whom the sulṭān used to address as 'uncle,' and Amīr 'Abdullāh of Herāt died. The story of the latter has been described in the account of the first journey.[7] It was he whom the sulṭān had ordered to carry as much money from the treasury as he possibly could. Accordingly, he had fastened to his arms thirteen bags and taken them away.

When the sulṭān saw the misfortune which had befallen the army, he returned to Daulatābād since rebellion had become rife in the provinces[8] and anarchy reigned in different parts and the sceptre would have fallen from his hands had it not been decreed by destiny that his good fortune should still continue.

Dissemination of the rumours of the sulṭān's death and the flight of Malik Hoshang (Hoshanj)

On his way back to Daulatābād the sulṭān fell ill; the people spread rumours of his death far and wide, and this gave rise to widespread disturbances.

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[1] *I.e.* chief dragon.

[2] *I.e.* Persian.

[3] *I.e.* tiger of the streets.

[4] *I.e.* Saiyid Jalāl-ud-dīn.

[5] & [6] As to the distinction between *'abd* (عبد) and *mamlūk* (مملوك)—terms used apparently indifferently in the *Reḥla*, Lane (p. 1935) says, 'عبد is now generally applied to a male black slave; and مملوك to a male white slave. And this distinction has long obtained.' See also p. 162 *infra*, footnote.

[7] In Part I of the *Reḥla* (MS. 909 F. 58) 'Abdullāh of Herāt is described as a jurist of Khurāsān.

[8] All the provinces were in revolt except Gujarāt and Deogīr. See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 141–166.

Malik Hoshang (*Hoshanj*), son of Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn Gurg, was at Daulatābād. He had entered into a solemn pledge with the sulṭān that he would not swear allegiance to any other than him, neither in his life-time nor after his death. When rumours of the sulṭān's death spread, Malik Hoshang fled to Burabrah, the infidel ruler who was established in the inaccessible mountains between Daulatābād and Kokan Thana (*Tāna*). When the sulṭān heard of his flight he became alarmed fearing the outbreak of tumults. He travelled with forced marches to Daulatābād and followed the tracks of Hoshang, and hemmed him in with the cavalry. He sent word to the infidel demanding the delivery of Hoshang. But he refused saying, 'I will not surrender my refugee, even though the same misfortune should befall me as befell the *rai* of Kampīla.'[1] Hoshang became alarmed about his safety. He opened correspondence with the sulṭān. It was agreed that the sulṭān should retire to Daulatābād leaving behind his tutor Qutlugh (*Qutlū*) Khān from whom Hoshang should obtain a guarantee and to whom he should surrender on promise of safe conduct. Then the sulṭān left, and Hoshang surrendered to Qutlugh Khān who promised that he would neither be killed nor degraded by the sulṭān. On this Hoshang marched with his property, family and attendants, and came to the sulṭān, who was pleased to see him and made him happy and conferred on him a robe.

Qutlugh Khān was a man of his word, in him people trusted and they had faith in the fulfilment of his promises. He was held in great esteem by the sulṭān, who respected him highly. Whenever he paid a visit to the sulṭān, the latter would stand up as a mark of respect for him. It was for this reason that Qutlugh Khān would never visit the sulṭān unless he was sent for, to spare the sulṭān the trouble of standing for him. Qutlugh Khān had an intense love for alms-giving, and he was a man of self-sacrificing nature passionately given to doing good to the fakirs and indigents.

[1] Yet another example of Hindū chivalry !

CHAPTER X

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAḌ SHĀH (CONTINUED)

Projected rebellion of Sharīf Ibrahīm and his fate

Sharīf [1] Ibrāhīm, usually known as *kharīṭadār*, that is the keeper of the paper and pen in the sulṭān's palace, was the governor (*wālī*) of the province of Hānsī (*Ḥānsī*) and Sarsutī [2] at the time of the sulṭān's setting out for the province of Ma'bar where his [3] father Sharīf Aḥsan Shāh had raised the standard of rebellion. On hearing rumours of the sulṭān's death Ibrāhīm craved for kingship. He was brave, generous and handsome.

I was married to his sister Ḥūr Nasab, a virtuous lady, who used to say the *tahajjud* [4] prayer in the course of the night and repeated the formulas glorifying the names and attributes of the Almighty God. She bore me a daughter, but I do not know what has become of either. She was able to read but could not write.

When Ibrāhīm intended to rebel, one of the amirs of Sind happened to pass through his territory carrying the treasures to Dehlī. Ibrāhīm said to him, 'The road is unsafe and is infested with robbers; so you had better stop with me till the road is safe and I can take you to a place of safety.' Ibrāhīm really meant to seize the treasures after the news of the sulṭān's death had been confirmed. When, however, it was ascertained that the sulṭān was alive, he let the amīr go. The amīr's name was Ẓiyā-ul-mulk *bin* Shams-ul-mulk.

When the sulṭān returned to the capital, after an absence of two and a half years, Sharīf Ibrāhīm visited him. One of Ibrāhīm's slaves exposed him to the sulṭān, telling him all about his rebellious designs. The sulṭān wanted to kill Ibrāhīm immediately; but he put off doing so on account of his love for him.

One day it so happened that a slaughtered gazelle was brought to the sulṭān. The sulṭān looked at it and remarked saying, 'It has not been properly slaughtered; throw it away.' Ibrāhīm then looked at it and said, 'The slaughter has been carried out properly and I shall eat it.' His remark was conveyed to the sulṭān, who disapproved of it and made it a pretext to seize him. He issued orders whereby Ibrāhīm was put in chains, his hands being tied to his neck. And he was forced to admit the charge brought against him—namely that he intended to seize the treasures which Ẓiyā-ul-mulk was carrying through his territory. Ibrāhīm realized that the sulṭān intended to kill him on account of his father's revolt and that no

[1] *I e* Saiyid. [2] *I e* Sirsa.

[3] *I e* Ibrāhīm's father

[4] The *tahajjud* prayers are special prayers performed between 1 and 4 a m.

apology of his would be of any avail and he feared lest he should be put to torture. In these circumstances he preferred to die and he admitted the said charge. A sentence was accordingly passed against him and he was cut in twain.[1] His corpse was then abandoned in the place of execution.

The custom in India is that when the sulṭān condemns any one to death, his corpse remains abandoned in the place of execution for three days.[2] After three days a body of infidels, appointed for the purpose, take it up. They carry it and throw it into the ditch outside the city. These people live round about the ditch so as to prevent the relations of the deceased from coming and taking away the corpse. Sometimes, a relation of the deceased gives money to these infidels, as a result of which they turn aside from the corpse enabling it to be buried. This was done with the corpse of Sharīf Ibrāhīm. May God the exalted have mercy on him!

Rebellion of the sulṭān's nāib in the province of Telingāna (Tiling)

As the sulṭān was returning from Telingāna (*Tiling*), rumours of his death got abroad and reached the ears of Tāj-ul-mulk Nuṣrat Khāṅ whom he had left as deputy (*nāib*) in the province of Telingāna. Tāj-ul-mulk Nuṣrat Khāṅ was one of the old favourites of the sulṭān. On hearing of his death he mourned the loss of the sulṭān and advanced his own claim to sovereignty; and the people swore allegiance to him in the vicinity of Badrkoṭ (*Badrakot*). When the sulṭān heard of this, he sent his tutor Qutlugh Khāṅ at the head of a large army. He besieged him after a severe fight in the course of which a large number of troops perished, and the siege tightened on the people of Badrkoṭ which is a very strong fortress. When Qutlugh Khāṅ began to make a breach therein, Nuṣrat Khāṅ came to him on promise of safe conduct. Qutlugh Khāṅ granted him his life, and sent him to the sulṭān and also granted an amnesty to the inhabitants of the city as well as to the troops.

Sulṭān's shifting to the river Ganges and 'Ain-ul-mulk's insurrection

When famine was raging in the country, the sulṭān shifted along with his troops to the river Ganges, where the Hindus go on pilgrimage and which lies at a distance of ten days' journey from Dehlī. He ordered the troops (*an-nās*)[3] to build their quarters whereas till then they used to put up thatched huts of dry reeds, as a result of which fire broke out frequently therein and they suffered so much that they used to build caves under the ground; and whenever fire broke out they would throw all their belongings into the caves and close them with earth.

It was in these days that I reached the sulṭān's camp. The territories on the western bank of the river where the sulṭān was encamped were

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[1] The infliction of the tortures is un-Islamic. *'Ināya—Kitāb-ul-ḥudūd*, pp. 447–452.

[2] According to Islamic law a corpse must be buried *immediately* except in a certain case of a confirmed highway robber. *Ibid.*

[3] *An-nās* here signifies 'troops', see also p. 34 *supra*.

severely affected by famine while those lying on the eastern bank were prosperous. The governor of the territories on the eastern bank was 'Ain-ul-mulk *bin* Māhrū; and these territories included Oudh (*'Auḍ*), Ẓafarābād, Lucknow (*Laknau*) and others. Amīr 'Ain-ul-mulk used to send every day fifty thousand maunds of wheat, rice and gram as fodder for the animals. The sulṭān then ordered that the elephants and most of the horses and mules should be taken to the prosperous eastern side to graze there and he charged 'Ain-ul-mulk to keep watch over them.

'Ain-ul-mulk had four brothers, namely Shahr Ullāh, Naṣr Ullāh, Faẓl Ullāh and another whose name I have forgotten. They conspired with their brother 'Ain-ul-mulk to seize the king's elephants and his other animals, and to swear allegiance to 'Ain-ul-mulk and rise against the sulṭān. In the course of the night 'Ain-ul-mulk fled to them, and their plans were almost successful.

It is the habit of the emperor of India (*malik-ul-Hind*) to keep with every amīr, be he great or small, one of his slaves who acts as a spy on the amīr and informs the emperor about everything concerning him. He also keeps in the houses slave girls who act as spies for the sulṭān on the amīrs. He also appoints female scavengers (*kannāsāt*) who enter the houses without permission; and to them the slave girls communicate all the information which they possess. These female scavengers convey this information to the chief of the secret intelligence service (*malik-ul-mukhbirīn*), who informs the sulṭān accordingly. It is said that an amīr was once in bed with his wife with whom he wished to be intimate. She begged him not to be so, conjuring him by the sulṭān's head. But he did not heed her. In the morning the sulṭān sent for him and told him about it. This became the cause of his destruction.

The sulṭān had a slave (*mamlūk*) named Ibn Malik Shāh who acted as a spy on the aforesaid 'Ain-ul-mulk. This spy informed the sulṭān about the flight of 'Ain-ul-mulk and about his crossing the river. The sulṭān was unnerved and thought that his end had come, because his horses and elephants and all his provisions were with 'Ain-ul-mulk and the royal army was scattered. He intended to return to his capital to collect the troops and then to advance in battle against 'Ain-ul-mulk. In this he consulted the chiefs of the state (*arbāb-ud-daula*). The amīrs of Khurāsān and the foreigners were the most alarmed[1] by the rebellion, because 'Ain-ul-mulk was an Indian, and the people of India hate the foreigners because of the favour the sulṭān shows them. They disapproved of the sulṭān's plan and said, 'Your Majesty! if you were to return to the capital the rebel would know it and his position would be strengthened; he would then set his troops in order and all the turbulent elements and political

[1] The alarm was caused by an apprehension of a civil war between the Indians (Hindus and Muslims) on the one hand and the non-Indians (Khurasanis, Turks and Persians) on the other. And the overwhelming strength of 'Ain-ul-mulk's army was feared since it contained besides large numbers of Hindus some discontented Muslim officials also.

malcontents would rally round him. Hence the best course is to crush him quickly before he gathers strength.' The first to speak in this way was Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muṭahhar-ul-auharī;[1] and all the amirs supported him. The sulṭān acted on their counsel. The same night he wrote to all the neighbouring amirs and troops; and they came instantly. He then adopted a fine ruse. While a handful of, say one hundred, horsemen came to his camp he would send thousands of those already with him to receive them in the night and they would reach the camp together as if all of them had come as further reinforcements to him.

The sulṭān marched along the river bank to have the city of Kanauj (*Qinauj*) behind him to fall back upon if necessary, and to fortify himself in it in view of its impregnability and strength. The distance between Kanauj and the place where he then was, was a journey of three days. He marched to the first halting station and put his troops in battle array; and when they were about to make a halt he put them all in one line, every one of them having his arms before and his horse beside him. And each had with him a small tent wherein he performed ablutions and took his meals, which being done he would return to his post, while the headquarters were at a distance from the troops. During these three days the sulṭān did not enter a tent nor did he seek rest in the shade.

One of these days as I was in my tent along with my slave girls, a servant of mine, named Sumbul, called upon me asking me to hasten. When I went out the servant told me, 'The sulṭān has just ordered all those who have with them women or slave girls to be killed.' But the amirs interceded; and the sulṭān ordered that no woman should thenceforth be allowed to remain in the camp and that all the women should be taken to a fortress called Kampil (*Kambīl*)[2] situated at a distance of three miles. As a result, no woman remained in the camp, not even with the sulṭān. We spent that night in preparation for the war; and on the morrow the sultān drew up his army in squadrons, and assigned to each squadron elephants armed with cuirasses[3] surmounted with howdahs in which sat the warriors. And the army put on armour and prepared for battle. The second night even they spent in preparation. On the third day the news came that the rebel 'Ain-ul-mulk had crossed the river. The sulṭān was alarmed at this and thought that 'Ain-ul-mulk had taken this step only after agreement with the rest of the amirs who still remained with him (sulṭān). So he ordered pedigreed horses[4] to be distributed at once to his courtiers; and he sent me a

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[1] See p 107 *infra*.

[2] Kampil, which must not be confounded with Kampila or Kampli in the Deccan, lies four miles south of the Ganges and twenty-eight miles north-west of Fatehgarh. Prior to the accession of Balban (1266 A.C.) Kampil was a lair of independent robbers. Balban subdued them and subsequently erected the fortress of Kampil.

[3] *I.e.* a kind of body armour for the elephant.

[4] This shows that while ordinary horses of the sulṭān were still with the enemy —having been transferred to 'Ain-ul-mulk's custody prior to his hostilities—the pedigreed horses had been retained. Hardier than the steeplechase horses of Ireland,

share of the same out of which I gave a grey horse to a companion of mine called Amīr-i-amīrān al-Kirmānī who was a brave man. When he spurred it to go it jumped and could not be controlled and he was thrown from its back; and he died. May God the exalted have mercy on him!

That day the sulṭān pressed on and reached the city of Kanauj after the *'aṣr* prayer. He feared lest the rebel should get there earlier. He passed that night disposing of his troops personally; and he watched us, we being in the vanguard of the army with his cousin Malik Fīroz. There were with us Amīr Ghaddā *bin* Muhanna, and Saiyid Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muṭahhar, and the amirs of Khurāsān. The sulṭān put us among his special favourites saying, 'You are dear to me; it is not fit that you should quit me.' This ultimately proved good because the rebel made a surprise attack on the vanguard in the latter part of the night—the vanguard wherein was Vezir Khwāja Jahān. Consequently there arose a huge uproar among the troops. At that time the sulṭān ordered that no one should move from his post and only swords should be used in the fight. Accordingly the soldiers unsheathed their swords and fell on their enemies; and the fight became furious. The sulṭān ordered that the password of his troops should be *Dehlī* and *Ghazna*. So when a horseman was met he was addressed with the word 'Dehlī'; and if he replied by saying 'Ghazna' it was understood that he was from among his friends, otherwise he was engaged in fight. The rebel aimed at attacking the sulṭān's quarters but his guide misled him and he found himself in the vezir's quarters; so he cut off his guide's head. In the vezir's army there were Persians, Turks and Khurasanis, who being enemies[1] of the Hindus (*al-Hunūd*)[2] put up a very serious fight. The insurgent troops[3] amounted to nearly fifty thousand who took to their heels towards day-break. Malik Ibrāhīm, otherwise known as Banjī the Tartār, who had received the administrative charge (*iqtā'*) of Sandīla,[4] from the sulṭān—Sandīla being a village in 'Ain-ul-mulk's province—joined the latter in his rebellion; and 'Ain-ul-mulk made him his deputy.

Dā'ūd *bin* Quṭb-ul-mulk and Ibn Malik-ut-tujjar were in charge of the sulṭān's horses and elephants. They also joined hands with 'Ain-ul-mulk who

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the pedigreed horses were then specially bred to endure the hardships of war and were trained for purposes of defensive and aggressive warfare.

[1] & [2] The enmity which the Persians, Turks and Khurasanis are said to have borne towards the Hindus has no reference to religion inasmuch as this enmity was equally noticeable *vis-à-vis* the Indian Musalmans. In fact, the foreigners (*'aizza*)—the Persians, Turks and Khurasanis—held posts at the royal court and provincial capitals to the exclusion of both Indian Musalmans and Hindus. Hence the enmity.

[3] The bulk of 'Ain-ul-mulk's army consisted of Hindus, as it was the practice then with all rebel leaders to man their army with the Hindus. As instances of this practice, the rebellion of Malik Chhājjū against Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī and that of Qāẓī Jalāl against Sulṭān Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq may be studied. (See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 12, 180.)

[4] Sandīla is a town in the Hardoī district of the United Provinces now Uttar Pradesh.

made Dā'ūd his chamberlain. When the enemy fell upon the vezir's quarters, Dā'ūd was publicly abusing the sultān and was railing against him. The sultān heard all and recognized his voice. On suffering defeat 'Ain-ul-mulk said to his deputy Ibrāhīm the Tartar, 'O Malik Ibrāhīm! What do you think? Most of the troops have fled; and the most courageous of them have taken to their heels. Don't you think that we should save our lives.' Thereupon Ibrāhīm said to his companions in their own language,[1] 'When 'Ain-ul-mulk takes to flight I shall seize the plaits of his hair; and when I do that you will strike his horse so that he falls on the ground. We may then seize him and take him to the sultān in the hope that this service of ours might atone for our misdeed in revolting against him; perhaps it might lead to our escape.' Accordingly, when 'Ain-ul-mulk intended to flee Ibrāhīm said to him, 'O Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn!'—for such was the title he had assumed—'Where are you going?' And he seized him by the plaits of his hair, and his attendants struck the horse. As a result, 'Ain-ul-mulk fell upon the ground; and Ibrāhīm threw himself on him and seized him. As the vezir's attendants advanced to take charge of him Ibrāhīm restrained them saying, 'I will not quit him until I conduct him to the vezir, else I shall die before he is taken.' So they left him and Ibrāhīm took 'Ain-ul-mulk to the vezir.

In the morning I saw that the elephants and standards were brought to the sultān. At that moment there came to me an inhabitant of 'Irāq and said, 'Ain-ul-mulk has been seized and taken to the vezir.' I did not believe him, but before long there came to me Malik Tamūr, the keeper of royal drinks (*shurbdār*); and catching me by the hand he said, 'Congratulations! verily 'Ain-ul-mulk has been captured, and he is now with the vezir.' On this the sultān made a move towards 'Ain-ul-mulk's camp on the bank of the Ganges, we being in the escort. The troops sacked whatever there was in the camp. Many a soldier of 'Ain-ul-mulk's fell into the river and was drowned. Dā'ūd *bin* Qutb-ul-mulk and Ibn Malik-ut-tujjār together with many others were captured and treasures, horses and goods were looted. The sultān encamped near the ferry, and the vezir took to him 'Ain-ul-mulk who was seated on an ox while he was almost naked; only a piece of cloth was tied round his loins with a rope, the rest of the rope hanging round his neck. He stood at the gate of the tent-enclosure, and the vezir went in to the sultān who was pleased to give him a drink. Then came the maliks' sons to 'Ain-ul-mulk and began to abuse him and to spit at his face, and they slapped his attendants. The sultān sent Malik-ul-kabīr to him who said to him, 'What have you done?' 'Ain-ul-mulk could make no reply. The sultān ordered that he should be clad in contemptible clothes, that four chains should be put round his feet, that his hands should be tied to his neck and that in this condition he should be placed under the vezir's charge.

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[1] *I.e.* Awadhī or Baiswārī. (Cf. Grierson, G. A.—Linguistic Survey of India, VI, p. 9.)

The brothers of 'Ain-ul-mulk having taken to flight crossed the river and arrived in the city of Oudh ('*Auẓ*). They took their wives and their children and as much of money as they could carry; and they said to the wife of their brother 'Ain-ul-mulk, 'You should save yourself and your children by accompanying us.' 'Should I not do', she replied, 'even as do the infidels' wives who burn themselves with their husbands? I shall also die, should my husband die; and should he live, so shall I'. On this, they left her. This reached the ears of the sulṭān and ultimately did her good. The sulṭān was moved with compassion for her.

A certain youth, Sohail, captured Naṣr Ullāh, one of 'Ain-ul-mulk's brothers, and killed him and he took his head to the sulṭān. He also took along with him 'Ain-ul-mulk's mother, sister and wife. They were made over to the vezir and were placed in a tent near that of 'Ain-ul-mulk. The latter used to visit them and remain with them, and later he returned to his prison.

In the afternoon following the victory the sulṭān ordered the release of 'Ain-ul-mulk's indiscriminate following such as the slaves, rowdies, contemptibles and riffraff who had been captured along with 'Ain-ul-mulk. The aforesaid Malik Ibrāhīm Banjī being then taken to the sulṭān, Malik Nuwā[1]—the army chief (*malik-ul-'askar*)—said, 'Your Majesty! kill him; he is one of the rebels.' The vezir said, 'He has already redeemed his life by his capture of the rebel.' The sulṭān pardoned him and let him return to his own territory.[2]

After dusk (*maghrib*) the sulṭān sat in the wooden tower and sixty-two of the principal companions of the rebel were brought. Then were brought the elephants and the rebels were thrown before the elephants who started tearing them to pieces by means of the iron forks fitted on their tusks: some they threw up into the air catching them as they fell. In the meanwhile, the bugles were blown, flutes were sounded and drums beaten. 'Ain-ul-mulk stood watching the massacre of his companions, and their dismembered remains were even thrown at him. After this, he was taken back to his prison.

The sulṭān then remained[3] several days near the ferry on account of the large number of passengers (*an-nās*)[4] and the small number of boats. He had his goods and treasures transported by means of the elephants and he distributed the elephants to his courtiers to enable them to transport their property. And he sent one such elephant to me, with which I transported my baggage. Then he went along with us to the city of Bahrāich.

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[1] Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥusain gives Malik Bughrā instead of Malik Nuwā ('*Ajāib-ul-asfār*, p. 176). No manuscript of the *Reḥla* mentions 'Bughra'.

[2] It appears that the sulṭān permitted Ibrāhīm Banjī to go back to his territory of Sandīla, although the French translation mentions Ibrāhīm's return to Transoxiana (Def. et Sang., III, p. 354).

[3] This belies the thesis of those who believe that the sulṭān was a selfish tyrant. That he waited several days enabling his subjects to embark earlier speaks volumes for him.

[4] *An-nās* literally meaning 'mankind' here signifies 'passengers'.

(*Bahrāij*)—a handsome city lying on the bank of the river Serv,[1] which is a big and rapid river. The sulṭān crossed it with the object of paying his homage at the tomb of the virtuous hero, Shaikh Sālār 'ūd,[2] who had conquered most of those parts. Many marvellous stories are told about him and some notable battles are attributed to him. People rushed forward to cross the river and they overcrowded to such an extent that a big ship with three hundred passengers sank; not a soul was saved, except an Arab, a companion of Amīr Ghaddā. We had embarked on a small ship and Allāh the exalted saved us. The Arab who had escaped drowning was a man named Sālim; and this was a wonderful incident. He wanted to go on board the ship along with us, but when he came we had already left. So he went on board the ship which sank; but he escaped from drowning while people thought that he was with us. A clamour rose among our companions, as also among the rest of the people who thought we were drowned. Later, on seeing us they rejoiced at our safety.

We visited the tomb of the aforesaid pious personage,[3] which lay under

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[1] 'Serv' stands for the Sarjū.

[2] عود in the Arabic text stands for Mas'ūd (مسعود).

[3] *I.e.* Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī. In a book brought out in 1935 by Mr. Muḥammad 'Abbās Sherwānī of Aligarh and named *Ḥayāt-i-Mas'ūdī* (Urdū) the mists which had shrouded this 'personage' heretofore have been removed. Still, the principal source of information about him is the *Mirāt-i-Mas'ūdī*, a book written during the reign of Jahāngīr by one 'Abdur Raḥīm Chishtī. It was written, as the author alleges, under the inspiration of the spirit of the saint. But the information he has given has been confirmed in part from other sources and mention of Shaikh Sālār Mas'ūd has also been made by Abul Faẓl, Firishta and Prince Dārā Shikoh.

According to the *Mirāt-i-Mas'ūdī*, Shaikh Sālār Mas'ūd was the son of Sālār Sāhū and a descendant of Muḥammad Ḥanafīa, son of Haẓrat 'Alī. He was born at Ajmer on 22nd January, 1015 A.C. Sāhū held a rank in the army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī; and the latter sent him as commander (*sālār*) of an army marching to India to relieve one Muẓaffar Khān and his followers harassed by the Hindū princes in the fortress of Ajmer (1010 A.C.). Since then, Sāhū was addressed by the sulṭān as Sālār Sāhū or *Pahlwān-i-lashkar*.

Sālār Sāhū journeyed with Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī up to Kandahār where he parted and marched by way of Tattah to Ajmer. Before he reached Ajmer the spirits of some unknown persons appeared to him in a dream and gave him the good news of the victory awaiting his arms and announced the birth of a male issue, later to be known as Sālār Mas'ūd or Sulṭān-ush-shahīd, *i.e.* the Prince of Martyrs.

As soon as Sālār Sāhū reached Ajmer, the enemies took to their heels, and Muẓaffar Khān proceeded to give him a hearty reception. On the morrow the enemies re-assembled and gave battle. But the stars were against them; they were defeated and fled to Kanauj.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd was highly pleased to hear of this victory, and he granted Sāhū the victor estates in Ajmer. Then, he allowed Ṣāhū's wife Satr-i-mu'alla to leave for India. She reached Ajmer and met her husband on 13th March, 1013 A.C. On 22nd January, 1015 A.C., the son who had been long predicted saw the light of day; he was named Mas'ūd. Before long Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī came to Ajmer and was pleased to see Mas'ūd in his swaddling clothes (1016 A.C.); he saw him subsequently everytime he came to India.

a dome [1] and we could not enter on account of the crowds. In this journey we passed through a forest of reeds where a rhinoceros sprang upon us. But it was killed, and the camp-followers (*an-nās*) [2] brought its head to us. The rhinoceros is smaller than an elephant but its head is several times larger than that of the elephant.[3] We have already mentioned this.[4]

Sulṭān's return to his capital and the revolt of 'Alī Shāh the deaf

When the sulṭān had triumphed over 'Ain-ul-mulk, as we have related, he returned to his capital after an absence of two and a half years. He pardoned 'Ain-ul-mulk as well as Nuṣrat Khān, who had revolted at Telingāna (*Tiling*) and employed both of them in one and the same job, namely to look after the royal gardens. He gave them clothes and horses and granted them a daily allowance of flour and meat.

After this came the news that one of the companions of Qutlugh Khān, named 'Alī Shāh the deaf (*kar*), had revolted against the sulṭān; the word *kar* means deaf. He was brave, handsome and good-mannered. He seized Badrkot (*Badrakot*) and made it the capital of his kingdom. The troops were sent against him, and the sulṭān ordered his tutor[5] to march to fight him. The latter marched at the head of large troops and besieged 'Alī Shāh the deaf in the fortress of Badrkot. He made breaches in the towers of the fortress. 'Alī Shāh being hard pressed sued for peace. Qutlugh Khān granted him peace, and sent him in chains to the sulṭān who pardoned him and exiled him to Ghazna on the boundary of Khurāsān,

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At the age of four years the *Bismillāh* ceremony (initiation of the child to learning) was performed for Mas'ūd, and in the course of next five years he acquired all the knowledge and learning then available. When ten years old he began to regulate his habits and drew up a daily routine which he followed consistently. He became a great devotee of Allāh and was at his prayer-mat for several hours. He used to spend some of his time in the company of the learned and well-informed spiritualists and the evenings he spent in shooting, lancing and in playing polo. When he was 16 years old, his father died (1031 A.C.). Mas'ūd then became the 'Sālār' and settled at Bahrāich and he rendered Sulṭān Maḥmūd active service until his death. The zamindars of Bahrāich looked upon him as a foreigner and joined together to turn him out. With them he fought a defensive battle, and without much difficulty he got the upper hand and dispersed them. But they re-assembled before long; and on 17th June, 1033 A.C. they made a night attack at the house of Sālār Mas'ūd. He fought bravely, but an arrow pierced his neck, and got into his throat. He bled profusely, fell from his horse and died instantly (Sunday, 18 June, 1033 A.C.).

Thus he died young at the age of 18, leaving behind great many admirers and devotees. He was buried at Bahrāich, and his tomb became a shrine which continued to be visited by all sorts of people. Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh visited it in 1374 A.C. 'He stayed there some time', says Shams Sirāj 'Afīf; 'and one night Sālār Mas'ūd appeared to him in a dream and stroked his beard with his own hand, thereby intimating to the sulṭān that age was prevailing over him and that he must prepare for death.'

[1] See the photograph on p. 111.

[2] *An-nās* here signifies 'camp-followers'.

[3] This is an exaggeration, although it is a fact that the head of the rhinoceros is disproportionately huge as compared to his body.

[4] See p. 5 *supra*.

[5] Qutlugh Khān.

where he remained for some time. Later, he was seized by the desire to return to his native country and decided to return, since God had decreed his death there. He was captured in the province of Sind and taken to the sulṭān who said to him, 'You have come again to create trouble'. Saying this he sentenced him to death; so his head was cut off.

Flight and arrest of Amīr Bakht

The sulṭān was displeased with Amīr Bakht who bore the title of Sharaf-ul-mulk[1] and was one of those who had come to the sulṭān's court with us. The sulṭān reduced his salary[2] from forty thousand to one thousand and sent him to Dehlī to be placed at the disposal of the vezir. Meanwhile Amīr 'Abdullāh of Herāt died of plague (*wabā*)[3] in Telingāna (*Tiling*), his property being with his companions at Dehlī. They conspired with Amīr Bakht to flee. When the vezir set out from Dehlī to meet the sulṭān, they fled with Amīr Bakht; and his companions arrived in Sind in seven days although normally the journey from Dehlī to Sind takes forty days. They had horses in lead and resolved to swim across the river Sind. Only Amīr Bakht, his son, and those who could not swim well were to cross it in a sort of raft of reeds which they would make. And they had already prepared silk cords for this purpose.

When they got to the river they were afraid of swimming across it. So they sent two of their men to Jalāl-ud-dīn, the commandant (*ṣāḥib*) of the town of Uch (*Ūja*). They said to him, 'There are some merchants who desire to cross the river, and they have sent this saddle as a present to you in the hope that you may be pleased to let them cross the river.' The amīr became suspicious of such a saddle being presented by the merchants and he ordered both the men to be arrested. One of them made his escape and joined Sharaf-ul-mulk and his companions, who were lying asleep through fatigue since they had not slept for several nights in succession. He informed them of all that had happened; so they mounted their horses in fright and took to flight. And Jalāl-ud-dīn ordered the man under arrest to be beaten. He confessed all concerning Sharaf-ul-mulk. Jalāl-ud-dīn then told his deputy to march with some troops against Sharaf-ul-mulk and his companions. He marched against them but found that they had fled and he followed on their track. When the army came up to them they shot arrows at it. Ṭāhir, the son of Sharaf-ul-mulk, shot an arrow which wounded the deputy of Amīr Jalāl-ud-dīn in the arm. They were overpowered and brought before Jalāl-ud-dīn who had chains put on their feet and their hands tied to their necks. And he wrote about them to the vezir. The vezir ordered him to send them to the capital; so he sent them to the capital where they were imprisoned. Ṭāhir died in prison. And the sulṭān ordered Sharaf-ul-mulk to be given one hundred lashes every day. He continued in this state for a long time.

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[1] See Appendix B, p. 246.

[2] *I.e.* the annual salary of 40,000 tankas was reduced to 1,000 tankas.

[3] *I.e.* an epidemic disease.

Later the sulṭān pardoned him and sent him along with Amīr Niẓām-ud-dīn, commandant (*mīr*) of Najla, to the province of Chanderī (*Jandīrī*). He was reduced to such a state of poverty that he possessed no horse to ride upon and had to ride an ox. He remained in this state for a long time. Afterwards Amīr Niẓām-ud-dīn went to the sulṭān along with Sharaf-ul-mulk. The sulṭān made the latter his *shāshnīkīr*[1]—an officer who cuts the meat into slices before the sulṭān and accompanies[2] the dinner. Later the sulṭān showed him still greater kindness, and exalted him to such an extent that when he fell ill His Majesty visited him and had him weighed against gold which he gave away to him. This story we have already related in the account of the first journey.[3] Later, the sulṭān married him to his sister and granted him the province of Chanderī where he formerly used to ride an ox while in the service of Amīr Niẓām-ud-dīn. Glory be to God, who changes the hearts and conditions of men!

Rebellion of Shāh Afghān[4] *in Sind*

Shāh Afghān had revolted against the sulṭān at Multān in the province of Sind. He had killed the governor of Multān named Bihzād and advanced his own claim to kingship, and the sulṭān prepared to fight him. But realizing that he was unable to withstand the sulṭān, Shāh Afghān fled and joined his Afghān people who lived in the high mountains which were inaccessible.[5] The sulṭān was annoyed at his doings, and he wrote to his officials ordering them to capture any Afghān found in the empire. This was the cause of the rebellion of Qāẓī Jalāl.

Rebellion of Qāẓī Jalāl

Qāẓī Jalāl and a group of Afghans used to live in the vicinity of the city of Cambay (*Kinbāya*) and that of Broach (*Bilozara*).[6] When the sulṭān wrote to his officials ordering them to seize the Afghans he wrote also to Malik Muqbil, the vezir's deputy in the province of Gujarāt and Nahrwāla, to contrive the capture of Qāẓī Jalāl and his adherents. The territory of Broach was in the administrative charge (*iqṭā'*) of Malik-ul-ḥukamā,[7] who was married to the daughter of the sulṭān's step-mother, the widow of his father, Tughluq. She had another daughter by Tughluq who had been married to Amīr Ghaddā.[8] At that time Malik-ul-ḥukamā was in the company of Muqbil, because his territory was under the supervision of the latter. When they[9] reached the province of Gujarāt (*Juzrāt*), Muqbil ordered Malik-ul-ḥukamā to bring Qāẓī Jalāl and his companions. When Malik-ul-

[1] *I.e. chāshnīgīr*—a Persian word.

[2] *I.e.* from the kitchen to the palace.

[3] See Appendix B, p. 246 *infra*.

[4] *I.e.* Shāhū Afghān. See R.F.M., p. 180.

[5] *Idem.*

[6] *Bilozara* is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's word for Baroda or Broach.

[7] 'Malik-ul-ḥukamā' literally means 'chief of the philosophers'. It was the title of a brother-in-law of Sulṭān Muḥammad (see *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 181).

[8] An account of the marriage of this sister of Sulṭān Muḥammad appears on p. 78 *supra*.

[9] *I.e.* Malik-ul-ḥukamā and his party.

ḥukamā reached his territory,[1] he warned them secretly, because they were his countrymen, saying, 'Verily Muqbil has sent for you with a view to seize you. Do not go to him unless armed.' Accordingly some three hundred of them clad in armour rode up to Muqbil and said, 'We shall all go in together.' It became evident to Muqbil that he would not be able to capture them, as they were in a body. He feared them and ordered them to go back. declaring that they were in perfect safety. But they revolted against him and entered the city of Cambay (*Kinbāya*), where they plundered the royal treasury and the property of private individuals[2] (*an-nās*) and that of Ibn-ul-kaulamī, the merchant, who had constructed the handsome school at Alexandria which we shall describe later.

Malik Muqbil came to fight them; but they inflicted on him a disastrous defeat. Then came Malik 'Azīz Khammār and Malik Jahāṅ Bambal at the head of seven thousand horsemen to fight them; but they too were defeated. The turbulent and disaffected people[3] having heard of these events rallied round them. And Qāẓī Jalāl advanced his claim to kingship and his companions swore allegiance to him. The sulṭān sent troops against him, but Qāẓī Jalāl defeated them. And there lived at Daulatābād a group of Afghans who also raised the standard of rebellion.

Rebellion of Ibn Malik Mall[4]

Ibn Malik Mall lived at Daulatābād with a group of Afghans. The sulṭān wrote to Niẓām-ud-dīn, who was his deputy there and who was the brother of his own tutor Qutlugh Khān, ordering him to seize them. And he sent to him many fetters and manacles as well as winter robes.

It is a custom with the Indian emperor to send to every commandant (*amīr*) of a city as well as to his army chiefs two robes annually—one robe in winter and another in summer. As soon as the robes come, the amīr and the army go out to receive them and the moment they see the robe-bearers they get down from their horses. Each takes hold of his robe and carries it on his shoulder and bows in the direction of the sulṭān.

The sulṭān wrote to Niẓām-ud-dīn saying, 'When the Afghans come out and dismount from their horses to receive their robes, you must instantly capture them.' But one of the horsemen who carried the robes of honour came to the Afghans and told them all that had been designed against them. Tables were turned upon Niẓām-ud-dīn who was from among the contrivers. He got on horseback in company with the Afghans and marched till they came up to the robes. As soon as Niẓām-ud-dīn dismounted his

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[1] The Arabic word—*bilād*—should not be translated here as 'fief', since fief is land held of a superior in fee or on condition of military service, which was not the case here.

[2] One of these being Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn Shaikhu-sh-shūkh of Egypt. See p. 69 *supra*, and Appendix A, p. 245.

[3] See Appendix P, p. 279.

[4] *I.e.* Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Afghān as described by 'Iṣāmī. *Vide* the *Futūh-us-salāṭīn* (Agra), verses 10025–10137

horse, they rushed upon him and his companions and seized him, killing many of his followers. Then they entered the city, seized the treasures and installed Nāṣir-ud-dīn *bin* Malik Mall as their chief. The turbulent elements rallied to them, and their power increased.

Sulṭān's departure in person for Cambay (Kinbāya)

When the sulṭān heard what the Afghans had done at Cambay (*Kinbāya*) and Daulatābād, he set out personally. He resolved to begin his operations at Cambay and then at Daulatābād. He sent A'ẓam Malik Bāyazīdī, his brother-in-law, at the head of four thousand men as an advance-guard. The troops of Qāẓī Jalāl approached him and defeated and besieged him in Broach—the place where they fought with him.

In Qāẓī Jalāl's army there was a chief called Jalūl. He was a very brave man, who did not stop attacking the soldiers and killing them. He used to challenge them to fight, and no one dared to accept the challenge. One day he happened to charge on horseback; but the horse fell into a ditch and he was thrown and killed. On his body were found two armours. His head was sent to the sulṭān and his body was impaled on the walls of Broach, and his hands and feet were sent round. Then the sulṭān arrived there with his troops; but Qāẓī Jalāl, unable to withstand him, fled along with his companions. They left behind their goods and children, all of whom were seized. Then the royal troops entered the city [1] where the sulṭān halted for some days. Afterwards he set out leaving behind his brother-in-law, Sharaf-ul-mulk Amīr Bakht, whom we have mentioned before.[2] We have also related the story of his flight, of his capture in Sind and of his imprisonment followed by his humiliation and exaltation in turn. Then the sulṭān ordered him to make a search for the adherents of Jalāl-ud-dīn; [3] and he left with him some jurists in order that he might act according to their advice. This circumstance ultimately led to the murder of Shaikh 'Alī al-Haidarī, as has been related before.[4]

When Qāẓī Jalāl fled he met Nāṣir-ud-dīn, son of Malik Mall, at Daulatābād and joined his party. The sulṭān marched in person against them; they numbered about forty thousand Afghans, Turks, Hindus and slaves, and vowed not to flee but to fight the sulṭān who had come to give them battle. He did not at first raise the parasol, the insignia of royalty, over himself; but when the battle was at its height the parasol was raised. When the rebels saw the parasol all of a sudden, they were confounded and were completely routed. Ibn Malik Mall [5] and Qāẓī Jalāl in company with about four hundred of their adherents sought shelter in the fortress of Deogīr (*Duwayqīr*), one of the most impregnable fortresses of the world, which we shall describe later.[6] The sulṭān remained in the city of Daulatābād, of which Deogīr is the fortress. He

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[1] *I.e.* Cambay.

[2] See Appendix B, p. 246 *infra*.

[3] *I.e.* Qāẓī Jalāl.

[4] See p. 92 *supra*.

[5] *I.e.* Nāṣir-ud-dīn.

[6] See pp. 168-169 *infra*.

sent word to them ordering them to surrender at discretion, but they refused to yield unless an amnesty were granted. The sulṭān refused to grant them an amnesty, but he supplied them food by way of disdain; and he continued to stay there. This was the last I knew of them.

Battle between Muqbil and Ibn-ul-Kaulamī

This battle took place before the rising and rebellion of Qāẓī Jalāl. Tāj-ud-dīn Ibn-ul-Kaulamī was one of the principal merchants who had come to visit the sulṭān from the country[1] of the Turks, with magnificent presents, slaves, camels, merchandise, arms and clothes. The sulṭān was pleased with his conduct and gave him twelve lacs.[2] It is said that the value of all his presents did not exceed one lac. And the sulṭān made him commandant of the city of Cambay, which was under the supervision of Malik Muqbil, the vezir's deputy.

Having arrived at Cambay (*Kinbāya*), Tāj-ud-dīn Ibn-ul-Kaulamī sent ships to the province of Mālābār (*Mulaybār*), to the island of Ceylon (*Saylān*) and to other places. And there came to him presents and gifts loaded in the ships to such an extent that his position improved considerably. As he had not yet sent the tribute of his territories to the capital, Malik Muqbil sent word to him instructing him to send as usual the tribute and presents together with all the revenue he had collected from his territories. Ibn-ul-Kaulamī refused to send any, and said, 'I shall take them personally or I shall send them by my servants. Neither the vezir's deputy, nor the vezir himself exercises any control on me.' He had been inflated by the honours and presents he had received from the sulṭān. Muqbil wrote of this to the vezir, who wrote on the back of Muqbil's letter, 'If you are unable to govern our territory, you should leave it and return to us.' When this reply of the vezir reached Muqbil he got his troops and slaves ready for war, and he encountered Ibn-ul-Kaulamī on the borders of Cambay. The latter was put to flight, and a large number of men were killed on both sides.

Ibn-ul-Kaulamī concealed himself in the house of the Captain Ilyās one of the principal merchants. Muqbil entered the city[3] and cut off the heads of the chiefs of Ibn-ul-Kaulamī's troops. He sent a safe-conduct to Ibn-ul-Kaulamī on condition that he would take only his own goods and leave the treasures and presents due to the sulṭān as well as the revenues of the city. Muqbil sent all the dues through his servants to the sulṭān and he wrote to him complaining against Ibn-ul-Kaulamī. The latter on his part also wrote to the sulṭān complaining against Malik Muqbil. The sulṭān sent to them Malik-ul-ḥukamā[4] to settle their quarrel. It was immediately after these events that the rebellion of Qāẓī Jalāl broke out. The goods of Ibn-ul-Kaulamī were plundered and he fled together with some of his slaves and repaired to the sulṭān.

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[1] See p. 125 *infra*, footnote 4.
[2] *I.e.* twelve lac tankas.
[3] *I.e.* Cambay.
[4] *I.e.* his brother-in-law.

Famine in India

When the sulṭān set out on an expedition to the province of Ma'bar, famine broke out in the course of his absence from the capital. It became so rigorous that the price of a maund of wheat rose to sixty dirhams, and a little later it rose still higher. There was general hardship and the situation became very grave. One day as I was going out to see the vezir, I saw three women cutting into pieces and eating the skin of a horse which had died several months before. Even hide was cooked and sold in the market. When oxen were slaughtered people used to take and consume their blood. Some students of Khurāsān told me that they had entered a city called Akroha[1] between Hānsī and Sarsutī, and that they had found it deserted. They entered one of the houses to pass the night there; as they came to one of its chambers they found in it a man who had kindled a fire and was holding in his hand the leg of a human being. He was roasting it in the fire and eating it. May God save us from such a misfortune!

When the famine became unbearable, the sulṭān ordered six months' provisions to be distributed to all the people of Dehlī. Accordingly the qazis, clerks and amirs used to go round the streets and shops. They would make a note of the inhabitants, and give to each provisions sufficient to last for six months at the rate of the daily allowance of one and a half *maghribī raṭl*.[2] All this while I used to feed the people with victuals which I caused to be prepared in Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's sepulchre, as will be mentioned. The people[3] were thus being relieved. May Allāh the exalted compensate us for our worthy intentions!

As I have dealt sufficiently with the sulṭān's history as well as with the events that took place during his reign, I revert, now, to what specially concerned me therein. First I shall relate my arrival at the sulṭān's capital and the vicissitudes of my fortune till I abandoned his service. Then I shall relate my departure for China on an embassy from the sulṭān and my return from China to my own country, God willing (*inshā'-Allāh t-'aālā*).

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[1] 'Akroha' or 'Agroha' is now a village, at a distance of thirteen miles from Hisār. The Agarwal baniyas trace their origin from this Agroha.

[2] *Vide* the footnote at p. 85 *supra*.

[3] Cf. p. 164 *infra*, footnote 6.

CHAPTER XI

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH (CONTINUED)

Our arrival at the sulṭān's palace on our reaching Dehlī, the sulṭān being away

When we arrived at Dehlī the capital, we went to the sulṭān's palace. We entered the first, second and third gates in succession. On each gate we found the palace officers (*nuqabā*) who have been described before. When we came to them, their chief showed us into a vast and spacious reception-hall where we saw the vezir, Khwāja Jahān, who was expecting us. The first of us to enter was Ẓiyā-ud-dīn Khudāwandzāda, who was followed by his brother, Qiwām-ud-dīn. Then followed their brother 'Imād-ud-dīn, who was followed by me; and I by their brother Burhān-ud-dīn, who was followed by Amīr Mubārak of Samarqand, Aran Bughā Turkī, Malikzāda—Khudāwandzāda's nephew[1]—and Badr-ud-dīn al-Faṣṣāl respectively. When we entered the third gate we came into the great council-hall[2] called *hazār sutūn* (*ustun*) that is, the hall of one thousand pillars, wherein the sulṭān held his public courts. At that time the vezir bowed bending his head nearly to the earth and we bowed—our heads bent to the knees and our fingers touching the ground—in the direction of the sulṭān's throne. And all those who formed our company bowed likewise. When we had finished bowing, the heralds called out '*Bismillāh*' in a loud voice, and we walked out.

Our arrival in the house of the sulṭān's mother and her good qualities

The sulṭān's mother called Mukhdūma-i-jahān[3] is one of the most virtuous women. She is very charitable and has built many hospices wherein she has made provision for feeding the wayfarers. But she has lost her eyesight, which came about in this way. When her son ascended the throne all the ladies and maliks' and amīrs' daughters dressed in their best clothes came to pay her visits. She was seated on a gold throne studded with jewels. All of them bowed to her. Then all of a sudden she lost her eyesight. She was treated in various ways, but to no effect. Her son venerates her exceedingly, an instance of which is afforded by the fact that once his mother travelled with him; but he returned a little earlier than she. When she arrived, he proceeded to receive her and got down from his horse, she being in the palanquin; then he kissed[4] her foot publicly in view of all.

Let us return to our subject. When we left the sulṭān's palace, the vezir came out with us up to the turning-door (*bāb-uṣ-ṣarf*), which is

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[1] *I.e.* sister's son. [2] See p. 57, footnote 5 [3] *I.e.* the Lady of the world.

[4] This practice is absolutely in conformity with the Islamic injunctions regarding parental reverence.

called the *bāb-ul-ḥaram*.[1] This is the residence of the Makhdūma-i-jahān; and on arriving at the gate we alighted from our horses. Each of us had brought a present according to his means. The chief justice[2] Kāmal-ud-dīn *bin* Burhān entered with us; then entered the vezir who bowed at the gate; and so did we. The secretary at the gate (*kātib-ul-bāb*) registered our presents. Then there came a group of page-boys, and their chief having come up to the vezir whispered something to him. Thereupon they returned to the palace, came back to the vezir and again returned to the palace. All this while we remained standing, but later we were asked to sit in a portico that was there.

Then food was brought; and gold pitchers called *suyūn* were brought. These are shaped like cauldrons and have gold stands called *subuk*. Then were brought cups, plates and ewers—all these being made of gold. The food was laid out on two dinner-carpets, each bearing two rows of visitors; and at the head of each row sat a chief visitor. When we proceeded to take dinner, the chamberlains and heralds bowed and we bowed as they did. Then the *sherbet* was brought, which we drank and the chamberlains called out '*Bismillāh*.' Then we ate; and barley-drink[3] and betel-leaf were brought in succession. Again, the chamberlains called out '*Bismillāh*.' At that time all of us bowed. Then we were called to a specified place and were awarded silk robes embroidered with gold. Then we were taken to the palace gate where we bowed; and the chamberlains called out '*Bismillāh*.' The vezir stood up, and we stood by him. Then was brought from inside the palace a chest containing unsewn clothes of silk, linen and cotton. Every one of us received his share from it. After this was brought a large tray of gold containing dry fruits and a similar tray containing rose-water and still another tray containing betel-leaves. It is customary with them that the person for whom these articles are brought from the palace holds the tray in one hand, places it upon his shoulder, and makes a bow with the other almost touching the ground. The vezir took the tray purposely in his hand with a view to instruct[4] me how I should act. This he did by way of kindness, hospitality, and goodness. May God grant him good recompense for it! I acted like him. Then we retired to the house which had been set apart for us in the city of Dehlī close to the Pālam (*Bālam*) gate and victuals were sent for us.

Convivial entertainment

When I arrived at the house which had been prepared for me I found therein all the necessary things such as bedding, carpets, mats, utensils

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[1] *I e.* the sacred area.

[2] The MS. No. 909 has قاضی الممالیک while other MSS. have قاضی الممالک or قاضی قضاة الملک as has been shown in Chapter II, p. 12. Defrémery and Sanguinetti have given a very useful note upon it (Vol. III, p. 377).

[3] *I.e.* فقّاع. See p. 66 *supra*.

[4] Such was the great stress then laid on the observance of the court etiquette.

and cots.[1] The cots in India are portable, and a single man can carry one. It is necessary for every traveller to carry his cot with him and his servant carries it on his head. The cot consists of four tapering legs on which stretch four sticks, and between them is made a net of silk or cotton. When one sleeps on it one does not need to keep it supple, as it is supple by itself.

Then they brought along with the cot two mattresses, two pillows and a quilt—all made of silk. It is a custom in India to cover the mattresses and the blankets with white sheets of linen or cotton. When the covers become dirty they are washed; and thus the inner parts are kept safe. That night there came two men, one was a miller whom they call *kharrāṣ* and the other a butcher who is called *qaṣṣāb*. We were told to take a specified quantity of flour and meat from each of them. I do not remember now what that amount was; it is customary to give flour and meat in an equal measure. This is the account of the feast given by the sulṭān's mother. And subsequently there came to us the sulṭān's feast, which will be related shortly.

On the morrow, we rode to the sulṭān's palace, and saluted the vezir who gave me two money-bags each containing one thousand tankas (*dīnar darāhim*) saying, 'This is *sar-shustī*'—that is, for your 'head-wash'.[2] Then he gave me a robe of fine wool and made a note of all my companions, servants and pages, who were divided into four classes—those of the first class were awarded two hundred dinars each, those of the second class one hundred and fifty dinars each, those of the third class one hundred dinars each, and those of the fourth seventy-five dinars each. They were about forty all told, and the total sum given to them came to about four thousand dinars and odd. After that, the victuals to be given by the sulṭān were fixed—that is, one thousand Indian ratls of flour, one-third of which was refined flour called *darmak* and two-thirds of bran, that is, the buttered one (*madhūn*), and one thousand ratls of meat and a considerable number of ratls of sugar, of ghee, of honey[3] and betel-nut, the amount of which I do not remember, and a thousand betel-leaves. The Indian *raṭl*[4] is equal to twenty ratls of Morocco and twenty-five Egyptian ratls. The victuals received by Khudāwandzāda were four thousand ratls of flour, the same amount of meat and the other relative articles which we have mentioned.

My daughter's death and the observances on this occasion

One and a half month after our arrival my daughter, who was less than a year old, died. The news of her death reached the vezir who ordered her to be buried in the hospice which he had built outside the

[1] This is what is called *chārpāī* in Hindī. It was a new thing for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

[2] See p. 59 *supra*, footnote 3 and p. 73, footnote 4.

[3] I read the word سليف as سليق as given in the MS. 909. سليق is the Arabic word for honey-comb (*al-Qāmūs*, Teheran, 1277 A.H.).

[4] See p. 232 *infra*, footnote 1.

Pālam (*Bālam*) gate near the tomb of our [1] Shaikh Ibrāhīm Qūnavī; and so we buried her there. The vezir wrote about this to the sulṭān, whose reply was received in the evening of the following day,[2] although the distance between the sulṭān's hunting-ground and the capital was a journey of ten days.

It is a custom in India for the people to go to the grave of the deceased in the morning of the third day after the burial. Carpets and silk cloths are spread on all sides of the grave, which is covered with flowers. No season of the year is without flowers, such as jasmine, *gul shabbū*—which has a yellow colour—*raibūl* which is white and *nasrīn* which is of two varieties, white and yellow. Orange and lemon branches bearing fruit are also placed on the grave. Fruits are attached to the branches by means of threads if the branches happen to bear none. Then dry fruits and copra,[3] are strewn on the grave and people assemble around it taking their respective copies of the Qur'ān which they recite there. When a whole Qur'ān has been recited, rose-drink is brought and the people drink it. Then rose-water is sprinkled on them and betel-leaves are served; and they disperse.

The third day after the burial of this daughter I went out, as was customary, early in the morning having made necessary arrangements as best as I could; but I found the vezir had already arranged everything. Under his orders the grave had been roofed with a tent-enclosure where assembled men like Shams-ud-dīn al-Fūshanjī—the chamberlain (*ḥājib*) who had welcomed us in Sind—and Qāẓī Niẓām-ud-dīn al-Karvānī and many other important men of the city. And as I came I found the aforesaid people had taken their respective seats with the chamberlain in their midst—all engaged in reciting the Qur'ān. I also sat by the grave along with my companions. After they had finished reciting the Qur'ān, some master reciters (*qurrā'*) [4] recited it in a very sweet voice. This done, the *qāẓī* stood up and read an elegy on the deceased daughter and praised the sulṭān; and as the sulṭān's name was pronounced, all stood up and bowed. Then they sat and the *qāẓī* invoked divine blessings. After this, the chamberlain and his staff took barrels of rose-water and sprinkled it on the assembly (*an-nās*), then they passed round bowls of sugar-candy drinks and distributed betel-leaves.

Next, I as well as my companions were awarded eleven robes. Later, the chamberlain mounted on horse; so did we, riding along with him to the royal palace where we bowed in the direction of the throne according to the custom. Then I returned to my house; but hardly had I reached when food came from the house of Makhdūma-i-jahān. The meals were so abundant that they filled my lodging as well as the abodes

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[1] He was a non-Indian being an inhabitant of Konia.

[2] This shows how quick and efficient was the postal service

[3] The text has *nārjīl* (نارجيل) meaning a coco-nut. But I feel that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa meant copra—one of the dry fruits.

[4] *Qurrā'* is the plural of *qārī*—a well-known term signifying a master-reciter specializing in the phonetics of the Holy Qur'ān.

of my companions. All dined accordingly and so did the poor; still many loaves and sweets, and refined sugar remained unconsumed for several days. All this was done under the orders of the sultān.

After a few days a *dola*[1] was brought by some pages from the Makhdūma-i-jahān's house. It was a litter in which women are conveyed, and which is sometimes used by men too. The *dola* which resembles a cot has its upper part made of cotton or silk cords, and over it there is a stick similar to that found on parasols in our country; and it is made from bent Indian reeds. It is carried by eight bearers divided in two equal batches, four shouldering it at a time while the remaining four rest. The dolas function in India almost in the same way as donkeys in Egypt; and many a man uses the *dola* as conveyance. For those who own slaves it is they who ply the *dola*, but those who own no slaves hire men for this purpose. They are to be found in small numbers in the markets of a town and in front of the royal palace and at the gentry's door looking for employment. The dolas used by women are overhung with silk curtains. Such was also the said *dola* which the pages brought from the house of the sultān's mother. They carried my slave girl, that is, the mother of the deceased daughter, in this *dola*; and along with her I sent a Turkish maid-servant to be presented to the sultān's mother. My slave girl spent the night there, and she came back the following day. She was awarded a sum of one thousand tankas (*dīnār darāhim*) together with gold bracelets studded with jewels, a gold necklace similarly studded, a linen shirt embroidered with gold and a robe of silk embroidered with gold, besides sheets of drapery. When she brought all these things I gave them away to my companions and to those merchants from whom I had borrowed to save my honour, since informers used to report all about me to the sultān.

Sultān's and vezir's favours on me during the former's absence from the capital

During my stay at Dehli the sultān ordered a certain number of villages, whose revenue came to five thousand dinars annually, to be assigned to me. The vezir and the government officials (*ahl-ud-dīwān*) assigned them to me and I set out for those places—that is the village named Badali[2] and another Basahi[3] and one-half of the village named Balara.[4]

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[1] A smaller variety of what Ibn Battūta calls *dola* is commonly known as *ḍolī*. It should be noted that *dolī* is still in use in some parts of the country in almost the same form as has been described by Ibn Battūta. The difference lies in the fact that only two bearers are required for shouldering the *ḍolī*, for it is smaller in size. The bigger one which requires eight bearers is called *pīnus*, *pālkī* or *ḍola*, and it is a symbol of family prestige in some of the old families of Oudh.

[2] Badalī or Badlī is a village and railway station on the East Indian Railway, north-west of Delhi.

[3] & [4] Basahī or Basaī and Balara were two villages north-east of Delhi.

These villages lay at a distance of sixteen *kiroh* [1] that is, *mīl* [2] from Dehlī in the *ṣadī* of Hindpat.[3]

The *ṣadī* in India is a collection of a hundred villages, and the territories [4] dependent upon a city are divided into sadis each of which is under a *chowdhrī* (*jauṭrī*), the latter being the chief of the local infidels and a *mutaṣarrif*—an officer charged with collecting the taxes. At that time there arrived in Dehlī some female infidel captives, ten of whom the vezir sent to me. I gave one of these to the man who had brought them to me, but he was not satisfied. My companions took three young girls, and I do not know what happened to the rest.

In India female captives are low-priced because they are dirty and know nothing of the town manners. Even those who are educated can be had at a cheap price; no one, therefore, stands in need of buying the captive girls.

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[1] & [2] For *kiroh* and *mīl*, see p. 3, footnote *supra*.

[3] The Arabic form is *Hindbat*. For Hindpat or Indrapat, one of the *pats* of the time of the *Mahabharata*, see p. 43 *supra*.

[4] *I.e.* the suburbs of a city.

CHAPTER XII

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH (CONTINUED)

In India the infidels occupy one continuous piece of land and inhabit regions which are adjacent to those of the Muslims. The Muslims dominate the infidels; but the latter fortify themselves in mountains, in rocky, uneven and rugged places as well as in bamboo groves.

In India the bamboo is not hollow; it is big. Its several parts are so intertwined that even fire cannot affect them, and they are on the whole very strong. The infidels live in those forests which serve them as ramparts, inside which are their cattle and their crops. There is also water for them within, that is rain water which collects there. Hence they cannot be subdued except by means of powerful armies, who, entering those forests, cut down the bamboos with specially prepared instruments.

'Īd which I witnessed during the sulṭān's absence

The *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr*[1] came, and the sulṭān had not returned to the capital. On the day of 'Īd the orator (*khaṭīb*) mounted an elephant, on whose back was placed a seat like a throne with four flags on its four corners. The orator

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[1] *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr* is a great festival—greater and more popular than the *'Īd-ul-Aẓḥā* described in the course of Chapter VI (p. 61)—although it is called or was originally set forth as *'Īd-uṣ-ṣaghīr* (the minor *'Īd*) as compared to the *'Īd-ul-Aẓḥā* which was shown as *'Īd-ul-kabīr* (the major *'Īd*).

'Īd-ul-Fiṭr is celebrated throughout the Muslim world to mark the close of the month of fasting, *i.e. Ramaẓān* (*vide* p. 29, *supra*). The first of the month of *Shawwāl* which succeeds the month of *Ramaẓān* is called *Īd-ul-Fiṭr* because the Muslims are required that day to break their prolonged fast and to offer special thanksgiving service (*namāz*) in congregation as far as possible and then to give *fiṭra* (alms) to the poor.

It should be noted that *fiṭra* is a special kind of alms—a donation to be given to one person as a whole without being divided up amongst two or many. It is believed that the *fiṭra*, if rightly dispensed, will stand a guarantee for the protection of the person in whose name it has been given from unforeseen calamities in the course of the following year. That is why the *fiṭra* must be given by all men and women who can afford to do so on behalf of every member of the family including small children and babies in the wombs as well as the dependents, guests and servants. This is obligatory on every believer, for one, who in spite of his or her possessing livelihood for a whole year does not give the *fiṭra*—the measure and nature of which has been specified—runs the risk of incurring Allāh's displeasure. Neither his or her fasts of the month of *Ramaẓān* will be accepted by Him nor any other good deed of his including the performance of the *namāz* and the recitation of the Qur'ān.

In fact *'Īd-ul-Fiṭr* is the day of meditation when the believers pray to Allāh to discipline their lives and mend their morals after the models of discipline and morality set by the Prophet and his true followers. They recall *how strongly Islām deprecates the hoarding of wealth and how strenuously the Prophet endeavoured all his life to help the poor and to encourage the circulation of capital and to fight against capitalism.*

was dressed in black. Before him rode the muezzins mounted on elephants, and they called out '*Allāh-o-akbar*.'[1] The jurists and judges of the city were on horseback; and each of them bore a sum which he distributed in charity on his way to the place[2] of prayers on which was raised a canopy of cotton, and the floor of which was all carpeted. The people assembled reciting the name of Allāh the exalted; then the orator conducted the congregational prayer and delivered a sermon. Afterwards, the people retired to their houses while we returned to the sulṭān's palace. There dinner was served, and it was attended by the maliks, amirs and *a'izza*,[3] that is, the foreigners. They dined and then withdrew.

Sulṭān's arrival at the capital and our interview with him

On the 4th of *Shawwāl* the sulṭān alighted in the palace of Talpat (*Talbat*) which lay at a distance of seven miles from the capital. The vezir ordered us to go out to meet him. Accordingly we went out, each carrying his present—horses, camels, Khurāsānī fruits, Egyptian swords and slaves and the sheep brought from Turkistān.[4] We arrived at the gate of the palace where all the visitors had assembled. They were introduced to the sulṭān according to their respective ranks and were given linen robes of honour embroidered with gold. When my turn came I went in and saw the sulṭān seated in a chair. I took him for one of the chamberlains until I saw in his company Malik-un-nudamā[5] Nāṣir-ud-dīn al-kāfī al-haravī,[6] whom I had come to know during the sulṭān's absence. The chamberlain bowed, and I did the same. Then the head chamberlain (*amīr ḥājib*), the sulṭān's cousin named Fīroz advanced to receive me, and I bowed a second time to pay homage to him. Then Malik-un-nadamā called out addressing me, '*Bismillāh*',[7] 'Maulānā Badr-ud-dīn!' And they used to call me

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Says Allāh in the Qur'ān *Sūra* II, verse 255 يا ايها الذين آمنوا انفقوا مما رزقناكم 'O believers: you should spend (in the cause of righteousness and to help the poor) out of what We have given you': that is, give away in charity or employ your earnings in helping the needy but do not hoard. (Yusuf 'Alī *Translation and Commentary of the Holy Qur'ān*.)

[1] See p. 61 *supra*.

[2] *I.e.* a selected open space where the annual 'Id congregrational prayers are held. It is commonly known as '*Idgāh*—a Persian word. The Arabic word *muṣallā* in the text is more expressive inasmuch as the *place* is not necessarily fixed as in the case of the mosque because of the extraordinary size of the '*Id* congregations.

[3] Literally '*azīz*—*a'izza* being plural—means glorious. This was the honorific the foreigners enjoyed at the court and in the empire of Dehlī under Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq.

[4] بلاد الاتراك (country of the Turks)—signifying principally Transoxiana with its five provinces, namely (1) Ṣoghd or Sogdiana containing the famous towns of Bukhārā Samarqand, (2) Khwārizm or Khīva on the Oxus delta, (3) Ṣaghāniyān south-east of Khwārizm containing Badakhshān, (4) Farghāna in the valley of the Jaxartes, (5) Shāsh or Tashkend lying on a tributary of the Jaxartes.

[5] '*Malik-un-nudamā*' is a title meaning 'chief of the king's favourites'.

[6] *I.e.* an inhabitant of Herāt. See p. 139 *post*.

[7] '*Bismillāh*' (in the name of God) here signifies 'come up'.

'Badr-ud-dīn' in India. All educated persons are called 'Maulānā' in India. I approached the sulṭān till he took me by the hand and shook hands with me and continued holding my hand and addressing me in the most affable manner. And he spoke to me in Persian, 'Blessings have descended from on high—your arrival is blessed; rest assured, I will do you favours and will bestow upon you such magnificent things that your countrymen will hear about these and will come to you'. Then he questioned me about my country. 'The west country', said I. 'The country of 'Abdul Mu'min[1]?' enquired the sulṭān. 'Yes', said I. And whenever he said to me a good word I kissed his hand, so much so that I kissed it seven times. Then he gave me a robe of honour and I retired.

All the visitors gathered, and a dinner-carpet was spread for them. At their head stood the chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*) Ṣadr-i-jahān Nāṣir-ud-dīn of Khwārizm who was one of the principal jurists, and the chief justice of the empire (*qāẓī-o-quẓāt-il-mamālik*)[2] Ṣadr-i-jahān Kamāl-ud-dīn of Ghazna and 'Imād-ul-mulk, muster-master of the empire (*'arẓ-ul-mamālik*),[3] and Malik Jalāl-ud-dīn al-kījī and a group of chamberlains and amirs. There was also at the dinner Khudāwandzāda Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn, cousin of Khudāwandzāda Qiwām-ud-dīn, *qāẓī* of Tirmidh, who had come with me. The sulṭān honoured him much and used to address him as 'brother'; he used to come frequently to the sulṭān from his country. The other visitors on whom robes of honour were conferred on this occasion were Khudāwandzāda Qiwām-ud-dīn, his brothers—Ẓiyā-ud-dīn, 'Imād-ud-dīn, Burhān-ud-dīn—his nephew,[4] Amīr Bakht son of Saiyid Tāj-ud-dīn whose grandfather Wajīh-ud-dīn was the vezir of Khurāsān and whose maternal uncle 'Alā-ud-dīn was an amīr of India and a vezir also, Amīr Hibat Ullāh *bin* al-Falakī of Tabrīz whose father was the deputy vezir in 'Irāq and who had built at Tabrīz the school called al-Falakiya and Malik Kerāī, one of the descendants of Bahrām Gor,[5] a companion of Cosroe and an inhabitant of mount Badakhshān (*Badhakhshān*), whence rubies called *balakhsh* and *lāzvard* are obtained. Yet other visitors were Amīr Mubārak Shāh of Samarqand; Arūn Bughā of Bukhārā; Malikzāda of Tirmidh and Shihāb-ud-dīn al-Kāzerūnī, the merchant who had brought presents from Tabrīz to the sulṭān and had been robbed on the way.

Sulṭān's entry in the capital and the horses which he granted us

On the morrow of our going to meet the sulṭān every one of us was given a horse from the royal stables equipped with ornamented saddles and

[1] Abū Muḥammad 'Abdul Mu'min, founder and first king of the Almohade dynasty of Morocco reigned from 1130 to 1163 A.C.

[2] & [3] For *mamālik* and not *mamālik* being the correct reading in the *qāẓī-o-quẓāt-il-mamālik* and the *'arẓ-ul-mamālik*, see footnote, p. 3, *supra*, and the footnote on p. 119, Chapter XI.

[4] *I.e.* sister's son.

[5] Bahrām Gor was the name of a Persian king of the Sassanian dynasty; but in this place 'Bahrām Chobīn' is preferable because he flourished in Persia during the reign of Khusrav Parwēz who was contemporary with the Prophet.

reins. The sulṭān mounted to enter his capital, and we mounted marching in his vanguard together with Ṣadr-i-jahān. The elephants in front of the sulṭān were adorned, the standards and sixteen parasols being attached to them. The latter were hoisted; some of these were embroidered with gold and some bejewelled. One of the parasols was raised over the sulṭān's head. and before him was carried the *ghāshia* [1] which is a saddle-cover studded with gold and precious stones. On some of the elephants were placed small ballistae (*ri'āda*).

When the sulṭān approached the town, dinars with dirhams were thrown by means of these ballistae. The people walking before the sulṭān as well as others then present picked them up. This continued up till the sulṭān's entry into the palace. Thousands of people walked in front of him, and wooden cupolas were constructed and were covered with silk cloth in which sat the female singers whom we have mentioned before.

Our entry in the sulṭān's court and the favours and offices he conferred on us

On Friday, the second day after the sulṭān's arrival at Dehlī, we went to the gate of the council-hall [2] and sat down in the porticos at the third gate. The permission for our entry had not been obtained as yet. The chamberlain, Shams-ud-dīn al-Fūshanjī, came out and ordered the secretaries to write down our names. And he permitted them to let us enter with some of our companions, fixing at eight the number of those who could enter with me. So we entered and they entered along with us. Then the officials brought the money-bags and the *qabbān*, that is, scales. Afterwards, the chief justice and the secretaries sat and called for those foreigners who were at the gate. A share out of those money-bags was fixed for every man I, for my part, received five thousand dinars and the total sum which the sulṭān's mother gave away in charity on the occasion of her son's arrival came to one hundred thousand dinars. Then we retired that day.

After that, the sulṭān used to send for us to dine with him and to enquire after us and to address us in the most affable manner. One day he said to us, 'You have honoured us by your arrival and we cannot sufficiently recompense you. Those of you who are old are like a father to me; those who are middle-aged are like my brothers, and those who are young are like my sons. In the whole of my empire there is no city greater than this, my capital,[3] which I give [4] to you.' On this we thanked him and invoked blessings on him. After this, the sulṭān gave orders concerning our salaries. My salary was fixed at twelve thousand dinars

[1] The *ghāshia* was carried before the king by the equerry as a sign of majesty among the Egyptian mamluks.

[2] See p. 118 *supra*.

[3] This shows that Dehlī which the sultān describes as his capital and the greatest city of his empire as late as 1334—seven years after the so-called transfer—was surely not destroyed. See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 108–120.

[4] This royal gift of the city of Dehlī to Ibn Baṭṭūṭā and his companions amounted to nothing beyond court courtesy (*vide* footnote, p. 74 , *supra*)

annually, and the sultān gave me two villages in addition to the three which he had granted me before. One was Jauza,[1] and the other Malakpūr[2] (*Malakbūr*).

One day the sultān sent to us Khudāwandzāda Ghiyās-ud-dīn and Qutb-ul-mulk, the governor of Sind. They said to us, 'His Majesty (*khūnd 'ālam*) says to you, whichever of you be fit to hold the post of a vezir (*wizārat*), of a secretary (*kitābat*), of a ruler (*imārat*), of a judge (*qazā*), of a professor (*tadrīs*) or of an administrator of hospice (*mashīkhat*), I shall grant him the same.' All remained silent because they wanted to get money and go back to their respective countries. But Amīr Bakht, son of Saiyid Tāj-ud-dīn who has been mentioned before, spoke saying, 'Vezirate (*wizārat*) is my heritage, secretaryship, however, is my occupation; as to the rest of the functions I know nothing.' Then spoke Hibat Ullāh, son of al-Falakī, in the same strain. And Khudāwandzāda said to me in Arabic, 'What do you say, my lord (*saiyid*)?'

The Indians address the Arabs, as *saiyid*, and out of respect for the Arabs the sultān also addresses them with the same title. I said to Khudāwandzāda, 'Vezirate and the secretaryship are not my occupation; but as for the judgeship and administration of hospice it is my calling as well as that of my ancestors; as for rulership you know that other nations embraced Islām only when the Arabs used their swords[3] against them.' When the sultān heard this he was impressed by my words.

He was then sitting in the *hazār ustūn*[4] and was at his dinner. He sent for us and we joined him at the dinner, after which we came out of the *hazār ustūn*. Then leaving my companions there, I retired on account of a boil which had prevented me from sitting. But the sultān sent for us a second time; my companions attended, and they made excuses on my behalf. I came to the palace after the *'asr*[5] prayer, and I said my *maghrib* prayer and the retiring prayer of *'ishā* in the council-hall.[6]

The chamberlain came out and called us. Khudāwandzāda Ziyā-ud-dīn, the eldest of the aforesaid brothers, entered and the sultān appointed him

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[1] 'Jauza' is the Arabic form of Jaura.

[2] 'Malakpūr' and 'Jaura' were two villages north of Dehlī. Malakpūr still exists and can be seen some three miles west of the Qutb Mīnār.

[3] 'Swords' refer to the war waged in the early stages of Islām—war that was always a means to the consummation of the mission and not an end itself, a necessary defence and not an unjust offensive. See Appendix G, p. 259 *infra*.

[4] For *hazār ustūn*, see *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 241, and Chapter VI, p. 57, *supra*. The word *sutūn* is Persian, but it has been arabicized as *ustūn* or *ustuwāna*.

[5] It is obligatory on every Muslim to perform five daily prayers at five different times. The first prayer (*namāz-i-subh*) is performed at daybreak; the second (*namāz-i-zuhr*) is performed after the decline of the sun between 1 and 4 p.m. The third prayer (*namāz-i-'asr*) is performed between 4 and 5 p.m. The fourth prayer (*namāz-i-maghrib*) is performed after dusk; and the last prayer (*namāz-i-'ishā*) is performed at night between 8-30 and 10 p.m. These prayers are timed differently in different seasons and in the countries of different latitudes and longitudes.

[6] See photo p. 57.

lord justice (*amīr-i-dād*). This post is held by one of the principal amirs whose duty is to sit in the *qāẓī*'s court, and to summon before him whichever amir or principal chief is sued. The sulṭān fixed his salary for this office at fifty thousand dinars per year. He also assigned him *majāshir*[1] which yielded a revenue of an equal amount and ordered a sum of fifty thousand to be given to him in cash. Moreover, he conferred on him a silk robe embroidered with gold called *ṣūrat-i-shēr*, that is, the image of a lion which it bears on its front and back; and in the interior of the robe a card indicating the amount of gold embroidered in it is stitched. Further, the sulṭān awarded him a first-class horse. The horses in India are grouped into four classes, and the saddles in this country resemble those of Egypt and are in large part covered with silver coated with gold.

Then Amir Bakht went in. The sulṭān ordered him to take his seat by the side of the vezir and examine the accounts of the various departments. He was assigned an annual salary of forty thousand dinars and was awarded jagirs (*majāshir*) yielding an equal amount of revenue; he gave him forty thousand dinars in cash. He also gave him a caparisoned horse and robed him in the same way as he had robed Ẓiyā-ud-dīn, and he granted him the title of Sharaf-ul-mulk. Then entered Hibat Ullāh, son of al-Falakī, who was appointed *rasūldār*, that is the secretary of diplomatic missions (*ḥājib-ul-irsāl*).[2] His salary was fixed at twenty-four thousand dinars annually, and he was awarded jagirs yielding a revenue of an equal amount. He was further given twenty-four thousand[3] in cash and was awarded a caparisoned horse as well as a robe, and he was granted the title of Bahā-ul-mulk. Then I entered and found the sulṭān sitting on the palace roof leaning against the throne; the vezir, Khwāja Jahāṅ, was in front of him and Malik-ul-kabīr Qabūla stood before him. When I saluted the sulṭān, the Malik-ul-kabīr said to me, 'Make a bow, for His Majesty has appointed you the *qāẓī* of the capital city of Dehlī and has fixed your annual salary at twelve thousand dinars.[4] He has also granted you jagirs yielding an equal amount of revenue and has ordered that you should receive twelve thousand in ready money. This you can realize from the treasury tomorrow, God willing. He has further granted you a bridled and caparisoned horse as well as a *maḥārībī* robe'—a robe which bore on its front and back the image of an arch (*miḥrāb*). On hearing this I bowed. Then catching me by the hand Malik-ul-kabīr took me to the sulṭān, who said to me, 'Do not look upon the office of the *qāẓī* of Dehlī as one of the smallest things; it is in our estimation one of the greatest.' I could understand the sulṭān's words, but I could not properly answer.[5] The sulṭān could understand Arabic but could not reply well. I said to him, 'My lord (*maulānā*)! I am a follower

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[1] *Majāshir* or *majāshir*, plural of *mijshar*, means pasture-land (Lane's Arabic lexicon). While the French scholars have translated it as 'prairies' (Def. et Sang., III, p. 400), I think here it signifies *jāgīr*.

[2] See p. xxxix *supra*.

[3] *I.e.* tankas.

[4] *I.e.* one thousand rupees a month in modern currency.

[5] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa acknowledges his inability to speak Persian well.

of the Māliki[1] school, while the people here are Hanafis[2] and I do not even know their language.' 'I have', said he in reply, 'appointed Bahā-ud-dīn of Multān and Kamāl-ud-dīn of Bijnor (*Bijnar*) your deputies and counsellors. They will give you their advice and you will have merely to stamp the documents with your seal. You are unto us like a son.' 'I am rather', said I, 'your slave and your servant.' 'On the contrary', replied the sulṭān in Arabic, 'you are our master and our lord.' This was on his part an expression of modesty, grace and amiability. Then addressing Sharaf-ul-mulk Amīr Bakht the sulṭān said, 'If the amount of salary I have fixed for him does not suffice, for he is a man of great expenses, then I will put him in charge of a hospice if he could undertake to see to the betterment of the fakirs.' And he added, 'Tell this to him in Arabic.' The sulṭān thought that Amīr Bakht knew Arabic well, but as a matter of fact he did not. On realizing this the sulṭān said, '*Birau ; wa yakjā bekhuspī wa ān ḥikāyat bar ōō begoī wa tafhīm kunī tā fardā inshā 'Allāh pēsh-i-man bīāī wa jawāb begoī.*................' (Go and this night you both sleep together in one place and make him understand the matter. Tomorrow morning come to me, God willing, and inform me as to what he says.) So we retired. This took place when one-third of the night had passed and the trumpet sounding the curfew (*naubat*) had been blown.

It is a custom in India that no one goes out after the curfew. We waited for the vezir to come out. And we started with him. We found

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[1] *I.e.* a follower of Imām Mālik *bin* Anas (715–795 A.C.), a Muslim jurist of Medīna who became famous for his exhaustive studies in Muslim jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and produced a masterly book on the subject called *'al-Muwaṭṭa* (literally a smoothed path)—an attempt at codifying the customary law of Medīna. It had the merit unlike other contemporary works of this kind to take an average view on disputed points and evolved a kind of standard for settling matters which were not settled from the point of *ijmā'* and *sunna'*.

Imām Mālik also distinguished himself as a sifter of *hadīṣ*, and his tenets which are called *Mālikī madhhab* pervaded largely in north-west Africa and in Egypt. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* was a born *Mālikī* having inherited the belief in the *Mālikī madhhab* from his forefathers (cf. H. M.—*L'Islam*, pp. 92-93 and E I., III, pp. 205–9).

[2] *I.e.* the followers of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, founder of the *Ḥanafī madhhab*, the most widely spread of the four *Sunnī* mazhabs or schools of thought in Islām He was born (699 A C.) at Kūfa where his father Ṣābit was a prosperous merchant dealing in cloth. Ṣābit was an adherent of Haẓrat 'Alī who is said to have blessed him and his descendants. From his father, Imām Abū Ḥanīfa also inherited a bias for Haẓrat 'Alī and was inclined to support the cause of the house of Haẓrat 'Alī—an inclination which led Imām Abū Ḥanīfa later to join the Abbasid movement then agitating against the Ommayyads. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa suffered for this; and the Ummayyad governor of Kūfa, Yazīd *bin* 'Umar, threw him into prison where he died in 767 A.C.

At an early age Imām Abū Ḥanīfa had distinguished himself as a scholar and had developed wonderful powers of speech, argument and expression. His lectures delivered regularly at Kūfa drew large crowds from different parts, and he held his audiences spellbound for hours. Many small works on Muslim law have been attributed to him, the most important and perhaps the biggest being the *Musnad* commonly known as the *Musnad of Abū Ḥanīfa* (H. M.—*L'Islam*, pp. 93-94 and E.I., I, pp. 90-91).

the gate of Dehlī closed. We spent the night in the house of Saiyid Abul Ḥasan al-'Ibādī of 'Irāq in a street called Sarāpūr Khān. This gentleman[1] (*shaikh*) used to trade with the State money and purchase arms and merchandise from 'Irāq and Khurāsān. On the morrow the sulṭān sent for us and we received money, horses and robes; each receiving a purse and placing it on his shoulder proceeded to the sulṭān and bowed to him. Then were brought horses whose hoofs we kissed after a piece of cloth had been placed thereon. And we personally led those horses to the gate of the sulṭān's palace where we mounted them. All these ceremonies form a custom among the Indians. Afterwards we retired. The sulṭān ordered two thousand dinars and ten robes to be given to my companions, but he gave nothing to the companions of the others—for my companions had a good bearing and a fine appearance, which the sulṭān liked. They bowed to him and he thanked[2] them.

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[1] *I.e.* he was the commercial agent for India in foreign countries.

[2] An illustration of the royal manners.

CHAPTER XIII

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH (CONTINUED)

Second grant which the sulṭān ordered for me and the delay that supervened in its payment

One day I was in the council-hall some time after I had been appointed *qāẓī* and had received favours from the sulṭān. I was sitting there under a tree, and by my side sat the learned preacher, Maulānā Nāṣir-ud-dīn of Tirmidh, when there came a chamberlain who called Maulānā Nāṣir-ud-dīn. So the latter went to the sulṭān who conferred on him a robe and gave him a copy of the Qur'ān studded with jewels. Then a chamberlain came to me and said, 'Give me something and I shall get for you the mandate (*khatt-i-khurd*)[1] of twelve thousand dinars which His Majesty (*khūnd 'ālam*) has sanctioned for you.' I did not believe him and I thought that he intended to play on me a trick, but he was serious in his statement. Thereupon one of my companions said, 'I shall give him something.' So he gave him two or three dinars. Then the chamberlain brought the *khaṭṭ-i-khurd*—that is, the small writ bearing his identity—to this effect: 'It is hereby ordered by His Majesty that so much should be given out of the royal treasury to such and such a man through the identification of such and such a man.'

He who hands over the note writes his name upon it; then it is signed by three amirs, namely—(1) Khān-i-a'ẓam Qutlugh (*Qatlū*) Khān, the sulṭān's tutor; (2) the *kharīṭadār*, that is, keeper of the paper- and pen-bag; and (3) Amīr Nukbīa the *dawādār*, keeper of the inkpot. When each of them puts his signature, the note is taken to the ministerial department (*dīwān-ul-wizārat*) where the departmental secretaries make a copy of it. Then it is registered in the *dīwān-ul-ishrāf*,[2] and in the *dīwān-un-naẓar*[3] successively. Then is written the *parvaneh* which is an order of the vezir to the treasurer for the payment of the sum; the treasurer makes a note of it in his department. And he writes a brief report every day of all the amounts which the sulṭān has ordered to be paid that day from the treasury and submits the same to the sulṭān. If the sulṭān wants the money granted to be paid immediately he gives his orders accordingly; if he wants the payment to be delayed he delays it, but the payment is surely made even though it be delayed. For example, the payment of this sum of twelve thousand was delayed for six months, but I received it eventually together with the other grants as will be related later.

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[1] See R.F.M., p. 219.

[2] & [3] *I.e. dīwān-i-ishrāf* and *dīwān-i-naẓar*—the department of control and the department of inspection

It is a custom in India that when the sulṭān orders a grant to anyone, one-tenth of it is deducted. For instance, one who has been granted a hundred thousand would get ninety thousand, and one who has been granted ten thousand would receive nine thousand.

My creditors' demand for the payment of my debts and my panegyric of the sulṭān and his orders for the payment of my debts and the considerable delay that supervened

As I have already mentioned, I had borrowed from the merchants money which I spent on my way and with which I procured gifts for the sulṭān and met the expenses of my stay at Dehlī. When the merchants intended to return to their country they pressed me with demands for their money. I composed a long ode in praise of the sulṭān, its opening verses being:—

O exalted chief of the faithful! we have come to you passing through deserts and travelling vigorously.

I have come to pay my homage at your exalted court, which is the fittest place for paying one's homage.

If there were a place of dignity loftier than the sun, Your Majesty were the fittest to attain it.

And you are a noble and unique imām noted for quickly redeeming your word.[1]

I am in need of something which I expect to be granted through your royal bounty, and my requirement can easily be met through your excellent generosity.

Shall I mention it? Or would Your Majesty's boundless generosity save me the trouble of mentioning it? It is more advisable, I trust, to dwell on Your Majesty's generosity than to relate the nature of my need.

Pray, order the immediate payment of the debts of one who has arrived at your court as a visitor[2] since the creditors are pressing him.[3]

I submitted my ode to the sulṭān who was sitting in a chair. He placed it on his knee, one of its ends being in his hand and the other in mine. Whenever I finished reading a verse I asked the chief justice, Kamāl-ud-dīn of Ghazna, to explain its meaning to His Majesty which he did. The sulṭān approved of my composition. And they like Arabic verses. When I recited my verse—'Pray, order immediate payment......'—the sulṭān called out '*marḥamat*',[4] that is, 'I will have compassion on you.' Instantly the chamberlains caught me by the hand to conduct me to the appointed place where I should bow to the sulṭān according to the custom. The sulṭān said, 'Leave him until he completes the recitation'. So I completed the recitation of my ode and bowed—an achievement on

[1] Literally 'habituated to act definitely upon what you say'.
[2] *I.e.* refugee.
[3] *I.e.* for quick payment of the debts.
[4] *I.e.* mercy

which the assemblage (*an-nās*) [1] congratulated me. Then I waited a long time after which I wrote an application which they call '*arẓdāsht*'. I gave it to Quṭb-ul-mulk, the governor (*ṣāḥib*) of Sind, who submitted it to the sulṭān. The sulṭān said to him, 'Go to Khwāja Jahāṅ and tell him to pay off his debt.' He went to him and communicated the sulṭān's message. 'Yes', said he; but he delayed it for some days. Meanwhile, the sulṭān ordered Khwāja Jahāṅ to undertake a journey to Daulatābād, while he himself set out on a hunting expedition. Since the vezir departed I got nothing at all until much later. Now, I am going to relate in detail the cause of the delay which supervened in the payment of that grant.

When my creditors resolved to depart I said to them, 'When I come to the royal palace you should raise a hue and cry against me as is customary in this country', because I was aware that when the sulṭān came to know of this he would pay them off.

It is a custom in India that when one of the royal favourites is indebted to someone and the latter is unable to realize his debt he stands at the door of the sulṭan's palace and on the debtor's intending to enter the palace, the creditor cries saying, 'I appeal [2] to the sulṭān for help and justice, and I conjure you by the sulṭān's head that you should not enter the palace until you pay off my debt.' So the debtor cannot quit the place until he pays his dues or persuades the creditor to delay the demand.

One day it happened that the sulṭān went out to visit his father's tomb, and there he put up in a palace. At that time I said to my creditors, 'This is an opportunity for you.' Accordingly, when I intended to enter the palace they stood in my way hindering my entrance into the gate of the palace and said, 'We appeal to the sulṭān for help and justice. You will not enter until you pay off our debts.' The secretaries at the gate wrote about this matter to the sulṭān. Thereupon Shams-ud-dīn, the chamberlain of petitions (*ḥājib-i-qiṣṣa*) [3] who was one of the principal jurists, came out. He enquired of them why they had suddenly taken me unawares. 'He owes us', they said, 'a debt.' Shams-ud-dīn went back to the sulṭān and reported the matter to him. The sulṭān ordered him to ascertain the amount of the debt from the merchants. On enquiry

[1] *An-nās* here signifies an assemblage or assembly of courtiers. See also p. 73 *supra*, footnote 3.

[2] The term *darūhai* in the Arabic text is derived from the Sanskrit word *droha* for injury or wrong and is akin to the Mahraṭṭa word *durahi*, its Hindī form being *dohāī* which is an exclamation for redress. 'Every Englishman in Upper India has often been saluted by the calls of '*dohāī* khudāwand kī . . . in consequence of some oppression . . .' 'Until 1860', observes M. Gen. Keatinge, 'no one dared to ignore the appeal of *dohāī* to a native prince within his territory. I have heard a serious charge made against a person for calling the *dohāī* needlessly' (Hobson-Jobson, p. 321).

It appears that it was then customary for an aggrieved person or party to use the expression *darūhai* deprecating injustice and oppression in the name of the sulṭān and imprecating vengeance in case of disobedience.

[3] This post finds mention also in verse 447 of the *Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn* (Agra).

they said, 'He owes us fifty-five thousand dinars.' Shams-ud-dīn returned and reported this to the sulṭān, who ordered him to go to them again and tell them, 'His Majesty says that your money is with him and that he will see that justice is done to you. Do not demand it of him.'

Then the sulṭān ordered that 'Imād-ud-dīn Simnānī and Khudāwandzāda Ghiyās-ud-dīn should sit in the *hazār usṭūn*, and that the creditors should bring their documents which these officials should examine and verify. They acted accordingly and the creditors brought their documents. Then they went to the sulṭān and reported that the documents had been verified. He laughed and said humorously, 'I know he is a *qāẓī*; he must have manœuvred it well.' Then the sulṭān ordered Khudāwandzāda to give me the specified amount from the treasury. But he desired some bribes and refused to write the mandate (*khaṭṭ-i-khurd*).[1] I sent him two hundred tankas, which he declined to accept and returned. One of his servants told me that he wanted five hundred tankas, which I refused to pay. I brought this to the notice of 'Amīd-ul-mulk, son of 'Imād-ud-dīn Simnānī, who related it to his father. Later the vezir came to know of this and there was an enmity between the vezir and Khudāwandzāda. So the vezir reported the matter to the sulṭān and told him of many other misdeeds of Khudāwandzāda. The sulṭān's mind was embittered against him, and he ordered him to be interned in the city saying, 'Why did he[2] give him anything? Stop payment in order to make it known that when I do not want to pay, Khudāwandzāda cannot; and when I intend to give, no one can stop it.' For this reason the payment of my debt was delayed.

Sultān's setting out on a hunting expedition and my departure in his company and that which I did in the course of it

When the sulṭān set out on a hunting expedition, I set out with him without hesitation. I had equipped myself with all the necessaries according to the Indian custom. I had bought a tent-enclosure (*serācha*) which is also called *afrāj* and can be freely set up by every man in th[illegible] and the grandees cannot do without it. The royal *serācha* is cha[illegible] by its red colour, whilst all others are white dotted with blue. Also I bought the *ṣīvān*,[3] which serves as a sunshade for the interior[4] of the tent-enclosure and is set up on two big poles which the people who are called *kaivānīya* carry on their shoulders.

It is the custom in India for a traveller to hire the *kaivānīya* whom we have just mentioned. Even the people who supply green fodder for the

[1] '*Khaṭṭ-i-khurd*' literally means 'small writ'; but it was then a term for a mandate.

[2] *I.e.* Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

[3] *Ṣīvān* is the Arabic form of the Persian word *sāyabān*, meaning a canopy or pandal. It was probably made of canvas or of sail-cloth.

[4] According to the MS. 909 the given sentence should be translated thus, 'which serves to make the interior of the *serācha* cool and beautiful and pleasing'.

animals are hired, because they do not feed the animals on straw in India. In addition the traveller hires *kahārīn*[1]—that is, the men who carry the kitchen utensils and also those who carry him in the *dola*, which we have already mentioned, and transport it when it is empty. Further still, the valets (*farrāsh*)—that is, people who pitch and carpet the tent-enclosure and load the camels—are hired. And then the *davādavīya*[2]—people who run in the front and carry torches by night—are hired. In short, I hired every type of men I needed, and I made a show of enterprise and vigour. I set out the very day the sulṭān left, while others lingered two or three days after that.

On the day of his departure the sulṭān mounted an elephant after the *'aṣr* prayer with a view to seeing how the people were doing and to find out which of the expeditionists had hastened to march out and which had delayed. As he sat in a chair outside the tent-enclosure I walked up to him and saluted him and took my usual stand on the right. He sent towards me Malik-ul-kabīr Qabūla, the *sarjāmdār*[3]—an official whose duty is to drive away the flies from the sulṭān—ordering me as a special favour to sit down. No other person than myself had that day been permitted to sit. Then an elephant was brought and the sulṭān mounted it by means of a ladder, the parasol being raised over him; the sulṭān's favourites also mounted their respective animals by his side. He went round for an hour and returned to the tent-enclosure.

It is a custom, after the sulṭān has mounted, for the amirs to mount in groups—every one of them with his troops, his standard, his drums, his bugles and hautboys. These are known as *marātib*. No one except the chamberlains, the musicians, the drummers—who hang small drums round their necks—and those who play the hautboys rides in front of the sulṭān. About fifteen men ride to the sulṭān's right, and an equal number to his left—among whom are the chief justices, the vezir and some of the principal amirs and some foreigners (*'aizza*). I was one of those who rode to the sulṭān's right. In his front march the footmen as well as the guides; behind him are carried the standards made of silk embroidered with gold, and drums are carried on camels. Behind these are the royal slaves and his entourage followed by the amirs and all the camp-followers (*an-nās*).[4]

Nobody knows where would be the halt. When the sulṭān passes through a place where he likes to halt he orders a halt. No one else is allowed to pitch his tent-enclosure until the sulṭān's own has been pitched.

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[1] See p. 140 *infra*, footnote 5.

[2] The term *davādavīya* (دوادویه) is another form of the Persian word 'daw-a-dav' (دوادو) which means 'running incessantly or in every direction of a messenger or anyone constantly employed in the running of errands' (Johnson).

[3] *Sarjāmdār* or *sar-i-jāmādār*, i.e. head of the wardrobe, was an official whose permanent duty was to supervise the royal wardrobe. It appears that he was temporarily employed on this occasion in the above service. See Appendix K, p. 268.

[4] *An-nās* here signifies 'camp-followers'. See also p. 99, footnote 6.

Then come the officials responsible for the lay-out of the camp and see that each person is put up in his proper place. Meanwhile, the sulṭān walks on and sits by the side of a river or a grove of trees; then they bring to him all kinds of meat like mutton, fat chickens, cranes and all sorts of game. Afterwards, the sons of maliks come, each holding in his hand a skewer. They light the fire and roast the meat. A small tent-enclosure for the sulṭān is next brought and pitched. In the exterior part of this tent sit his special attendants.[1] Then dinner is served and the sulṭān invites to the dinner anyone he likes to dine with.

One day when the sulṭān was in the tent-enclosure he enquired about the people waiting outside. Saiyid Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muṭahhar-ul-auharī, one of his companions, told him, 'There is that *maghribī*[2] who is upset.' 'Why?' inquired the sulṭān. 'On account of the debts he has incurred' replied Nāṣir-ud-dīn. 'His creditors', he added, 'are pressing him with their demands. Your Majesty had ordered the vezir to pay off his debts, but the vezir left on a journey before making the payment. Your Majesty may graciously be pleased to order the creditors to await the vezir's return; else Your Majesty may order that justice be done to them.' And on this occasion was present Malik Daulat Shāh, whom the sulṭān used to address as 'uncle'. He said to the sulṭān, 'Your Majesty! every day this man tells me something in Arabic, which I do not understand. My lord (*saiyid*), Nāṣir-ud-dīn! what is it that he says?' His object was that Nāṣir-ud-dīn should take the opportunity to repeat what he had said. Nāṣir-ud-dīn observed, 'He speaks about the debts he has incurred.' The sulṭān said, 'When we arrive at the capital, uncle (*awmār*)[3]! you should go to the treasury and give him the amount.' Khudāwandzāda who was present on this occasion observed, 'Your Majesty! he is a very extravagant man. I saw him in our country with Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn.'[4]

After this, the sulṭān invited me to dinner, and I did not know what had taken place. The dinner over, I withdrew. Saiyid Nāṣir-ud-dīn said to me, 'You must thank Malik Daulat Shāh.' And the latter in his turn said, 'You must thank Khudāwandzāda.'

One of these days while we were still with the sulṭān in the course of his hunting expedition, he got on horseback in the camp quarters and happened to pass by my tent. As for myself, I was with him to his right, my comrades being in the rear. I had a tent[5] near my *serācha* beside which stood some of my comrades. They saluted the sulṭān, and he sent 'Imād-ul-mulk and Malik Daulat Shāh to find out to whom those tents and the

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[1] That is, the emperor's councillors and select companions.

[2] *I.e.* a native of Morocco, namely Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

[3] *Awmār* or *Oūmār* is obscure; and considering its different forms in the MSS. I am inclined to read it as *awdar* (اودر) which means 'father's brother'. The same is confirmed by 'Afīf—T.F., pp. 196, 197, 199.

[4] See Appendix F, p. 254 *infra* and R.F.M., pp. 85-86ff.

[5] This tent seems to be an outhouse or a pantry outside the main tent-enclosure (*serācha*).

serācha belonged. They were told that those belonged to such and such a man.[1] They reported this to the sulṭān who, on hearing it, smiled; the following day he issued orders to the effect that I as well as Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muṭahar-ul-auharī and Ibn Qāẓī Miṣr and Malik Ṣabīḥ should return to the city. We were given robes of honour and we returned to the capital.

Camel I presented to the sulṭān

During the hunting expedition the sulṭān asked me whether al-Malik un-Nāṣir rode a camel or not. 'He rides a *mahārī*[2] in the ḥajj[3] season',[4] said I, 'and he goes from Egypt to Mecca in ten days. But those camels are not like the camels of this country.' Then I added that I had with me one of those maharis. On my return to the metropolis I sent for an Egyptian Arab who drew for me a tar picture of a model saddle to ride the *mahārī*. I showed it to a carpenter, who made a good and strong saddle after that model. I draped it all over, fitted it with stirrups, put a fine cover on the camel and made a silk bridle for it. There was with me an inhabitant of Yemen, who knew well how to make sweets, and he made some sweets in the form of dates, etc.

I sent the camel and the sweets to the sulṭān, and advised the man who took these to deliver to Malik Daulat Shāh; for the latter I sent a horse and two camels. When he received these he went to the sulṭān and said, 'Your Majesty! I have seen an extraordinary thing.' 'What is that ?' asked the sulṭān. 'Such and such a man', said he in reply, 'has sent a camel with a saddle on it.' 'Bring it to me', said the sulṭān. The camel was accordingly taken into the interior of the tent-enclosure. Struck at the sight of the camel the sulṭān ordered my messenger to mount it. The latter rode on the camel and made it walk before the sulṭān, who granted him a sum equivalent to two hundred tankas (*dīnār darahim*)[5] as well as a robe. That man returned to me and informed me of the matter, and I was delighted to hear it. After the sulṭān's return to the capital I presented to him two more camels.

Two camels and sweets I presented to the sulṭān and his orders for the payment of my debts and other matters bearing on these

When my messenger whom I had sent with the camel returned and told me all that had taken place I made two saddles, which I covered on both sides—in the front as well as on the back—with gold-plated silver sheets. Further, I draped them in silk and made a rein which I embellished with threads of silver. I also made for the two saddles two saddle-cloths of fine silk lined with damask. Finally for the legs of both the camels I

[1] *I.e.* Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

[2] *Mahārī*, plural of *mahrīyat*, are excellent camels, so named from Mahr, the father of a tribe (Johnson).

[3] The famous pilgrimage at Mecca performed in *Dhilḥijja*, the 12th month of the Muslim calendar.

[4] For the ḥajj season, see *Id-ul-Azḥā*, p. 61 *supra*.

[5] See p. 71, footnote 4 *supra*.

made silver rings. Besides, I constructed eleven trays and filled them with sweets, and I covered each tray with a silk napkin.

When the sulṭān returned from the hunt and sat the following day in the place where he held his public sitting, I took my camels and the trays to him in the morning. He ordered that the camels should be brought in; they moved and ran before him and while running, the ring of one of them flew off. Seeing this the sulṭān said to Bahā-ud-dīn *bin* al-Falakī, '*Pāil bardārī*', that is, 'pick up the ring'. Then looking at the trays the sulṭān said, '*Che dārī dar ān ṭabaqhā, ḥalwā ast* ?'—which meant, 'what have you in the trays? Is it sweets?' 'Yes', said I. The sulṭān said to the jurist and preacher Nāṣir-ud-dīn of Tirmidh, 'Never did I see or taste sweets (*ḥalwā*) like those which he sent me when I was in camp.' Then he ordered the trays to be taken to the place where he held his court in private. The trays were taken accordingly and he went there in person and sent for me. He then ordered a dinner which I shared with him.

Meanwhile, he questioned me about the kind of sweets (*ḥalwā*) I had sent him before. 'Your Majesty!' said I, 'there were various kinds of sweets (*ḥalwā*) and I do not know which kind you question me about.' He said, 'Bring those trays (*aṭbāq*).'[1] Now, the tray which we call *ṭaifūr* is known to the Indians as *ṭabaq*. So the trays were brought, placed before him and opened. Then he said, 'I asked you the name of this,' handling meanwhile the tray which contained that sweet. 'This', said I in reply, 'is called *muqarraṣa*.' Then he took one of another kind and said, 'What is the name of this?' 'This is', said I, 'the *luqaimāt-ul-qāẓī*.'[2] There sat before the sulṭān a merchant who was one of the chiefs of Baghdād and went by the name of as-Sāmirī. He was believed to have been a descendant of 'Abbās—may God the exalted be pleased with him!—and possessed great riches. The sulṭān used to address him as 'my father'. He became jealous of me and wanted to make me feel shy. 'They are not', he broke out, 'the *luqaimāt-ul-qāẓī*.' Then taking hold of a piece called *jald-ul-faras*[3] he said, 'This is the *luqaimāt-ul-qāẓī*.' By his side there sat Malik-un-nudamā Nāṣir-ud-dīn al-kāfī al-haravī, who often humoured with this chief before the sulṭān. He said to as-Sāmirī, 'Master! you lie; the *qāẓī* speaks the truth' 'How can that be?' said the sulṭān to him. 'Your Majesty!' said he, 'he is the *qāẓī* and these are his morsels (*luqaimāt*), which he has brought.' The sulṭān laughed and said, 'You are right.'

When we finished the dinner and the sweets were consumed and barley-drink (*fuqqā'*) was taken, we took the betel and retired. Before long, however, the treasurer (*khāzin*) came to me and said, 'Send your attendants to take the money.' This I did, and after the sunset I returned to my house where I found the money There were three bags containing in all six thousand two hundred and thirty-three tankas,[4] which was equivalent to

[1] *Aṭbāq* is plural of *ṭabaq* meaning 'tray'.

[2] *I.e.* small morsels of the *qāẓī*.

[3] Literally 'phallus of the horse'.

[4] *I.e.* gold tankas

fifty-five thousand tankas[1] constituting my debt and twelve thousand besides, which the sulṭān had previously ordered to be paid to me—deduction being made from it of one-tenth according to their custom. The value of a ṭanka amounts to two and a half dinars of *maghrib*.[2]

Sulṭān's departure and his order for me to continue in the capital

On the 9th of *Jumād-al-'ūlā*,[3] the sulṭān left Dehlī to go to Ma'bar and to fight the rebel[4] there. I had paid off all my debts to the creditors and made up my mind to set out on the journey. I had paid nine months' salary in advance to the utensil-bearers (*kahārīn*[5]), the valets (*farrāshīn*),[6] the tent-bearers (*kaivānīya*) and the torch-bearers (*davādavīa*) who have been described before, when there came an order that I should continue my stay with others. The chamberlain took our signatures for this as a proof of the communication of the royal orders. Such is the custom in India, lest the man to whom the orders are addressed should deny having received them. The sulṭān ordered for me a sum of six[7] thousand tankas (*dīnār darāhim*)[8] and ordered a sum of ten thousand for Ibn Qāẓī Miṣr. Similarly he ordered sums to be given to all the foreigners (*a'izza*) who were to stay at Dehlī, but nothing was given to the metropolitans.

As for me the sulṭān ordered that I should supervise the tomb of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn which has been mentioned before. The sulṭān venerated his sepulchre very highly since he had been in his service. As he came to the tomb I saw him take and kiss Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's shoes and place them on his head. It is a custom in India to place the shoes of the deceased person on a pillow beside the tomb.[9] Whenever the sulṭān visited Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's tomb he would bow to it as he used to do during his lifetime; and he held his widow in high esteem and addressed her as 'sister'. And he had put her in company with the female members of his own household. Later on, he married her to Ibn Qāẓī Miṣr whom he showed kindness on account of her; and every Friday he used to pay her a visit.

On the eve of his departure the sulṭān sent for us to say good-bye. At that time Ibn Qāẓī Miṣr stood up and said, 'I would neither bid adieu to His Majesty nor would I part company with him.' This ultimately proved to his advantage. 'Go', said the sulṭān to him, 'and prepare for the journey.' After him I stepped forward to bid the sulṭān adieu; but I, for my part, desired to remain behind. This did not turn out to my advantage. 'What do you want?' said the sulṭān to me. I took out a piece of paper containing six requests. 'You may speak in your language', said the sulṭān.

[1] *I.e.* silver tankas. The term *ṭanka* is understood in the text.

[2] See p. 8 *supra*.

[3] *I.e.* 21st October, 1341 A.C.

[4] *I.e.* Saiyid Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh. See p. 99 *supra*.

[5] This is a Hindi word in Arabic plural form.

[6] This is one of the plural forms of the Arabic word *farrāsh*.

[7] Cf. p. 68, footnote 1.

[8] *I.e.* a silver ṭanka called *'adalī*. See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 236, 237.

[9] See p. xlviii *supra*, footnote 2.

'Your Majesty', said I, 'appointed me *qāẓī*, but I have not since sat as such and I do not want to enjoy the title of *qāẓī* without the work.' Thereupon the sulṭān commanded me to sit at the tribunal, along with the two assistants. Then the sulṭān said, 'Well!' I said, 'As for the tomb of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn I have enrolled there four hundred and sixty persons to be employed, but the revenue of its bequests does not come up to the amount of their salaries, nor does it suffice to feed them.' The sulṭān said to the vezir, '*Pinjāh hazār*'; that is, fifty thousand. And he added, '*Lā buḍ lak mann ghalla bideh*'[1]; that is—'give him one hundred thousand maunds of cereals, namely wheat and rice, which he may consume this year till the land of the tomb produces its corn'. Now, a maund equals twenty ratls of *maghrib*. 'And what next?' said the sulṭān to me. 'My companions', said I, 'have been imprisoned on account of the villages which Your Majesty had given me, as I have exchanged the said villages with something else.[2] The government officials (*ahl-ud-dīwān*) require me now to refund the amount I have so far received out of this or otherwise to show Your Majesty's order of remission.' 'How much did you receive from these villages?' asked the sulṭān. 'Five thousand dinars,' I replied. 'That', said the sulṭān, 'I hereby give you as a present.' 'Further,' I said, 'the house which Your Majesty has been pleased to assign to me needs to be repaired.' The sulṭān said to the vezir, '*Imārat-kuned*' which meant 'Build it'. '*Dīgar*[3] *namānad*?' which meant 'Is there nothing else left?' said the sulṭān. 'No', said I. The sulṭān then said to me, '*Waṣīyat dīgar hast*'—which means, 'I have a piece of advice to give you—do not incur debts lest one day you be prosecuted and find no one to report your case to me. Regulate your expenses according to the allowance I have granted you, for the Almighty God says: *You must not be too miserly and must not be a great spendthrift.*[4] *You should eat and drink, but must not be extravagant.*[5] *The virtuous people are those who in their expenses are neither prodigal nor niggardly, and they adopt a middle course.*'[6] On hearing this I intended to kiss the sulṭān's foot. But he restrained me from doing so and he held my head with his hand which I kissed. Then I withdrew and returned to the capital.[7]

I took to building my house on which I spent four thousand dinars, of which sum six hundred dinars were given me by the council[8] of state

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[1] *I.e.* 'give without fail one lac maund of corn.' The French translation gives the following—'*Il te faut absolument la récolte par anticipation* (you should have without fail the crop in advance)' (Def. et Sang., III, p. 429).

[2] Though a minor incident, it throws light on the efficacy of the administration inasmuch as lands awarded as *jāgīr* were not only not saleable, but also not transferable.

[3] Ibn Baṭṭuṭa previously announced that he had *six* requests to make. But he finishes with *four* only!

[4] Qur'ān, *Sūra* XVII, verse 31. [5] *Ibid.*, *Sūra* VII, verse 29.

[6] *Ibid.*, *Sūra* XXV, verse 67. [7] *I.e.* Dehlī.

[8] *I.e.* revenue ministry. See R.F.M., p. 225.

(*dīwān*) and the balance I paid out of my own pocket And by the side of the house I built a mosque. After this, I undertook the administration of the affairs in connection with the sepulchre of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn. The sulṭān had ordered a dome to be built which should attain a height of a hundred cubits, more than twenty cubits higher than the dome over the tomb of Qāzān, the king of 'Irāq. He had also ordered the purchase of thirty villages which should be dedicated to the sepulchre. These villages he put under me so that I may receive ten per cent of their revenue as was the custom.

My administration of the sepulchre

It is a custom among the Indians to provide for their dead in the same way as they do during their lifetime.[1] They bring elephants and horses to the tomb and tie them near its gate and the tomb is highly decorated. I acted accordingly in regard to this sepulchre. I appointed one hundred and fifty reciters of the Qur'ān who are known as *khatmī*, eighty students, eight repeaters called *mukarrarīn*, one professor and eighty sufis, and I appointed an imām, muezzins, pleasant-voiced readers, panegyrists and clerks who might register the absentees, as well as the ushers. All these people in this country are known as *arbāb*.

Further I appointed another class of functionaries known as domestics (*ḥāshia*), namely the valets, the cooks, the running footmen (*davādavia*), the water-bearers (*ābdārīya* that is the *saqqāūn*),[2] the sherbet-dispensers, the betel-givers, the arms-bearers, the spear-bearers, the umbrella-bearers, the laver-carriers, the chamberlains and the heralds—all these numbering four hundred and sixty. And the sulṭān had ordered that twelve maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat should be used in the preparation of daily food. But I thought it would be insufficient, while the total grant of corn was considerable; so I used every day to spend thirty-five maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat together with proportionate amount of sugar-candy, butter and betel. And I used to feed the employees, and besides them the wayfarers. The famine was very severe; but the people were relieved by this food, the news of which spread far and wide.

When Malik Ṣabīḥ went to the sulṭān at Daulatābād the sulṭān enquired of him about the condition of the people. 'Had there been', Malik Ṣabīḥ said in reply, 'two men like that man, people would not have complained of suffering.' The sulṭān was pleased to hear this, and he sent me a robe from his own wardrobe.

On the occasion of the great festivals—the two Ids, the birthday[3] of the

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[1] See p. xlix *supra*, footnote 3.

[2] *Saqqāūn* is the plural of *saqqā*—the Arabic word for a 'water-carrier while *ābdārīya* is Persian.

[3] It is believed that Prophet Muḥammad was born on Monday the 12th *Rabī'* I, but the year of his birth has not been fixed accurately. It has been put tentatively at about 570 A.C. (E.I., III, p. 641). According to Muslim tradition he was born in the

Prophet, the 10th of *Muḥarram* (*'āshūrā*),[1 & 2] the night of mid-*Sh'abān*[3] and the day of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn's death—I used a hundred maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat with which I fed the poor and indigent. As to the stipendiaries each had his share given him. We shall now relate the custom of the Indians regarding this.

year of the Elephant or Abraha's attack on Mecca which would fall much before 570 A.C. Syed Ameer Ali fixes the said birth on 29th of August, 570, and says in a footnote that it took place towards the end of the 40th year of the reign of Anūshirvūn and the end of the year 880 of the Seleucidae era (*The Spirit of Islam*, p. 8).

It should be noted that '*mīlād*' or '*mīlād-un-nabī*' is the usual term among the Muslims for the Prophet's birthday; and the *mīlād* can be held any day excepting the days of mourning in *Muḥarram*.

1 & 2 *Muḥarram* is the name of the first month of Islamic calendar. Its first ten days are days of special mourning in the Muslim world in commemoration of the great Tragedy of Kerbala, a remote desert in 'Irāq. There in October 680 A.C. or *Muḥarram* 61 A.H. was enacted the tragedy of the martyrdom of Ḥaẓrat Imām Ḥusain, the grandson of Prophet Muḥammad. The tragedy is unparalleled in human history inasmuch as it records a fight between character, discipline, spiritualism and devotion on one side and sheer brute force and materialism on the other.

In April 680/*Rajab* 60, Mu'āwīya died and was succeeded to the caliphate by his son Yazīd who imperiously demanded *bai'yat* (acknowledgment of his caliphate) from Imām Ḥusain then living at Medīna. Ḥusain declined to acknowledge Yazīd as the khalīfa; so Yazīd outlawed him. Imām Ḥusain was driven from Medīna to Mecca; but there too he was pursued and was in danger of being killed in the course of the ḥajj at the K'aba. So he was compelled to leave Mecca for Kūfa in 'Irāq whither he was invited by many of the pseudo-Shias, the so-called followers of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī. Taking his family, kinsmen and adherents along with him, Ḥaẓrat Imām Ḥusain performed a journey of about one thousand miles from Mecca to 'Irāq. He was stopped on the way and was brought under custody to the desert of Kerbala on the 2nd of *Muḥarram*. From that day until the 10th of *Muharram* all the seventy-two men, women and children of Imām Husain's party were surrounded by overwhelming numbers of panoplied hordes and were denied food as well as water. Parched with thirst and bent with hunger, all decided to face death rather than bow to Yazīd. On the 10th of *Muḥarram* commonly known as *'āshūrā*, the battle began in the morning and was over by 4-30 in the afternoon. All in the camp of Imām Ḥusain—the old, the youth and the suckling—were ruthlessly speared, lanced, sabred and slaughtered and some were hacked to pieces including Imām Husain himself. The only survivor was a sickly son of his, 23 years old named 'Alī (Zain-ul-'ābidīn or Sajjād), who was down with high fever and whom Imām Husain's younger sister Hazrat Zainab saved from the general massacre.

3 *I.e.* the night of the 14th of *Sh'abān* or the night preceding the 15th which is known in India as *Shabbarāt* or *Shab-i-barāt*, in Īrān as *Shab-i-nīmā-i-Sh'abān* or as *'Id-i-nīma-i-Sh'abān* and in other Islamic countries as *Lailat-ul-barāt* (night of quittancy or forgiveness of sins). With varying details this night is celebrated all over the Muslim world as a night of prayers, meditation and self-purification. The Prophet is said to have advised his followers to pass the whole night in prayers and *'ibādat*. Usually the Musalmans of India prepare *ḥalwa* during the day—the 14th of *Sh'abān*—and feed the poor in remembrance of the departed members of the family and they also visit the graveyards. In the night fireworks are displayed. This is according to the Shī'a belief in commemoration of the birth of Ḥaẓrat Mahdī Ākhir-uz-zamān, the 12th imām and descendant of the Prophet.

Their custom of entertainment of guests at feasts

It is a custom in the countries of India and Sarā[1] that as soon as the feast is over, they place before every saiyid (*sharīf*), jurist, *shaikh*, and judge a table[2] resembling a cradle[3] with four legs—and its top is interwoven with dried palm leaves. On it are placed some bread, roasted sheep's head and four round cakes made with butter, filled with the *ṣābūnia* sweet, and covered with four layers of brick-shaped pastry. Then is placed a small leather tray containing sweets and small sandwiches (*samosak*), the tray being covered with a new linen napkin. Before the guests who are of lower rank than those whom we have mentioned above, half of the roasted sheep's head called *zalla*[4] and half of the previously mentioned items are placed and before those who are still inferior in rank only a quarter is placed. The attendants of each man take away what is placed before him. The first time I saw this practice in the city of Sarā, the capital of Sulṭān Ozbek. I prohibited my men from taking away what had been placed before me because I was not used to such a custom. And they also send some of the food prepared for the feasts to the houses of important personalities.

My departure for Hazār Amroha

Out of the grant made by the sulṭān for the hospice the vezir gave me ten thousand maunds of corn; as for the balance[5] he gave me an order to realize the same from Hazār[6] Amroha. There the revenue officer (*wālī-ul-kharāj*) was 'Azīz Khammār, while the commandant (*amīr*) of Hazār Amroha was Shams-ud-dīn of Badakhshān (*Badhakhshān*). I sent my men, who took a part of the corn and complained about the default on the part of 'Azīz Khammār. So I went personally to realize the same, and between Dehlī and this district there is a distance of three days' journey. It was the rainy season; but I set out with about thirty of my companions and had with me two brothers who were good singers and used to sing for me on the way.[7] We arrived in the town of Bijnor (*Bijnar*)

[1] Sara or Sarray was the capital of the khans of Qipchaq. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it on his way to Khwārizm before his entry in India. He had arrived there after three days' travel from Astrakhān on the Volga.

[2] The text has *wi'ā'* which means a 'vessel, case or repository'. The French translation for this is *buffet*, *i.e.* a refreshment table (Def. et Sang., III, p. 435).

[3] *I.e.* rectangular in shape.

[4] This is a special term used in the *Rehla* like the *luqaimāt-ul-qāḍī*, mentioned above. According to the dictionary '*zalla*' is an 'Iraqī term meaning (1) benefit, (2) feast, and (3) a quantity of food taken away from the table of a friend (*al-Qāmūs*, Teheran).

[5] *I.e.* 90,000 maunds.

[6] The term *hazār* or *hazāra* indicates an administrative division and the fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has later mentioned 'the town of Amroha' without the term '*hazār*' (Def. et Sang., III, p. 437) urges the conclusion that the town visited by him was the modern town of Amroha in the district of Morādābād.

[7] In spite of the fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was an '*ālim* or theologian, he had a liking for songs; and he enjoyed the company of singers in the course of his journeys (*vide* p. 9, *supra*). He also enjoyed the dance with music (*simā'*). It should be noted

where also I found three brothers [1] who were singers; I took them with me. Sometimes these three would sing and sometimes the two others sang.

Then we reached Amroha (*Amrūhā*), a small and beautiful city whose officials came out to see me; so did its *qāẓī*, Saiyıd (*sharīf*) Amīr 'Alī, along with the head (*shaikh*) of the hospice. The *qāẓī* and the *shaikh* of the hospice both joined to give me a sumptuous feast. 'Azīz Khammār was then at a village called Afghānpūr (*Afghānbūr*) lying on the river Sarv,[2] which separated us. There being no boat there, we made a raft with wooden planks and grass and placing our luggage on it we crossed the following day. Then came Najīb, the brother of 'Azīz, with several companions and put up a tent-enclosure for us. Then his brother, the governor (*wālī*), who was notorious for his oppressions came to me. He had in his district one thousand and five hundred villages; their revenue amounted to sixty lacs [3] a year, one-twentieth of which accrued to him.

One of the marvels of the river on the banks of which we encamped is that during the rainy season neither any man nor his animal drinks from it. We stayed there for three days but nobody drank even one draught from it. We hardly even approached the river because it springs from the Qarājīl [4] mountain where there are gold mines[5] and passes over poisonous weeds. Consequently, whosoever drinks from it dies. This mountain extends in length over a space of three months' journey and at the foot of it lies the country of Tibet, where are found the musk gazelles. We have already mentioned what had befallen the Muslim troops in this mountain. •And in this village there came to me a group of the Ḥaidarī fakirs. They performed a dance (*simā'*), and having kindled a fire they got into it and were not hurt. This we have already mentioned.[6]

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that some of the 'ulamā—'ulamā being the plural of '*ālim*—have objected to singing and hearing of songs which amounts in their eyes to indulgence in forbidden music. On this ground they have also objected to and discouraged the *qawwālī*, which is so much liked by the sufis (*vide* p. 51 *supra*). It may be recalled that the problem whether *qawwālī* was permissible or not according to the *Sharī'at* worried Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq very much. One day there took place a heated discussion about it at his court between the 'ulamā on one side and the sufis on the other, Ḥaẓrat Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliyā being specially invited from Ghiyāspūr to reply to the opposition. No decision was reached; as a result the relations between Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, who was a strong supporter of the 'ulamā, and Ḥaẓrat Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliyā were embittered. This had materialized before the arrival of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in India. Had he witnessed the discussion he might have thrown his weight in favour of the *qawwālī* and the *simā'*.

He did not let us know in which language the songs, which he enjoyed, were sung. From the fact that the singers were Indians, it may be inferred that the language they used was Hindī mixed with Persian or Urdū which was then growing.

[1] See footnote 7 on p. 144.

[2] The river *Sarv* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and *Sarwa* as mentioned by al-Bīrūnī is better known as Sarjū.

[3] *I.e* 6 million of silver tankas.

[4] For *Qarājīl* or *Qarāchīl* which stands for the Himalaya mountain. See *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 126.

[5] There are no records of any gold mines in the Himalayas as far as I know.

[6] Def. et Sang., II, p. 6.

A quarrel had broken out between Shams-ud-dīn of Badakhshān (*Badha-khshāni*), the governor of this region, and its revenue officer 'Azīz Khammār. Shams-ud-dīn came to fight 'Azīz, who fortified himself in his house against the assailant. The complaint of one of them reached the vezir at Dehlī who wrote to me, to Malik Shāh, the chief of the slaves (*amīr-ul-mamālīk*) at Amroha—these being the royal slaves four thousand in number—and to Shihāb-ud-din ar-Rūmī, requiring us to look into their case and to send as prisoner to the capital whichever of the two was culpable. All of them assembled at my house, and 'Azīz brought several charges against Shams-ud-dīn. One of these was this—Shams-ud-dīn's slave called Razī al-Multānī came into the house of the said 'Azīz's treasurer. There he took wine and stole five thousand dinars out of the money which was with the treasurer. I interrogated Razī on these charges. 'I have', said he, 'taken no wine since my departure from Multān, and it is eight years since I left Multān.' 'Did you', said I, 'take wine at Multān?' 'Yes', said he. On hearing this I ordered him to be given eighty lashes and I threw him into prison on the charge of theft which turned out against him.

Then I left Amroha after having been away from Dehlī for about two months. Every day I slaughtered an ox for my companions. And I left them there to take from 'Azīz the corn which he had to deliver. He charged the villagers under his care with the task of delivering thirty thousand maunds to be carried on three thousand bullocks.

The Indians carry loads only on the ox, and the ox is used to transport their loads in their journeys. To ride an ass is very much looked down upon in India. The Indian asses are of small build; they are called *lāsha*.[1] When a man is to be paraded after being whipped he is seated on an ass.

Generosity of one of my friends

Saiyid Nāṣir-ud-dīn al-Auharī had left with me, while departing, one thousand and sixty tankas which I had appropriated and spent. On my return to Dehlī I found that he had transferred the same to Khudāwandzāda Qiwām-ud-dīn, who had come in the capacity of the vezir's deputy. I felt ashamed to say to him that I had appropriated and spent that money. I refunded to him about one-third and for some days I confined myself to my house. It was rumoured that I had fallen ill. So Nāṣir-ud-dīn al-Khwārizmī Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ came to see me. And as he saw me he said, 'You do not strike me as being ill.' 'I am', said I, 'suffering from mental trouble.' 'Tell me about it,' said he. 'Send your deputy, Shaikh-ul-Islām, to me and I will communicate it to him,' said I. He sent Shaikh-ul-Islām to me and I told him about the matter. Shaikh-ul-Islām returned and communicated the news to Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ, who sent me a sum of one thousand tankas (*dinār darāhim*)[2]; prior to that he had already advanced another thousand dinars to me on

[1] *Lāsha* which in Persian literally means 'a carcase or one reduced to skin and bones' is a term of contempt

[2] *I.e.* silver tankas.

some other occasion. Subsequently, when I was called upon to pay the balance of my debt to Qiwām-ud-dīn, I thought that the said Ṣadr-i-jahāṅ alone could rescue me, for he was a man of great wealth. So I sent to him a saddled horse, its value with that of the saddle being one thousand six hundred dinars and yet another horse, whose value with that of its saddle amounted to eight hundred dinars. I also sent two mules worth one thousand two hundred dinars and a silver quiver and two swords, their sheaths being covered with silver. I said to him, 'See what all this amounts to and send me the price.' He took them and reckoned the price of them all at three thousand dinars and sent to me one thousand deducting his two thousand. I was disappointed to such an extent that I contracted fever. I said to myself, if I take the complaint to the vezir I would be exposed. Then I took five horses, two slave girls and two slaves and sent them all to Malik Mughīṣ-ud-dīn Muḥammad, son of Malik-ul-mulūk 'Imād-ud-dīn Simnānī, a blooming youth, who returned them to me and sent me two hundred tankas[1] and treated me with greater kindness. I was then in a position to pay off my debts. What a difference between the actions of Muḥammad[2] and Muḥammad![3]

My departure for the sulṭān's camp

When the sulṭān proceeded towards Ma'bar and reached Telngāna (*Tiling*) plague broke out in his army. So he returned to Daulatābād and later retired to the Ganges river, where he encamped, ordering the troops (*an-nās*) to build their quarters. In the meantime I went to his camp and in those very days broke out the rebellion of 'Ain-ul-mulk which has been mentioned already. During all these days I remained with the sulṭān who gave me fine steeds while he was distributing the same to his courtiers, counting me as one of them. I attended the sulṭān right through 'Ain-ul-mulk's rebellion until his capture. Afterwards I crossed the rivers Ganges and Sarjū (*Sarv*), still in the sulṭān's company, to pay homage at the shrine of Sālār Mas'ūd—an account which I have given[4] in full. On the sulṭān's return I came back with him in his escort to the metropolis of Dehlī.

Punishment which the sulṭān wanted to inflict on me and how I was saved by the grace of Allāh the exalted

The cause of this was that one day I went to see Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn, son of Shaikh-ul-Jām, in his cavern which he had dug outside the city of Dehlī. I went with the object of seeing that cavern. When the sulṭān arrested him he enquired of his children as to who used to visit him. They mentioned a number of people, I being one of them. The sulṭān ordered four of his slaves to watch me in the council-hall all the time. The sulṭān's

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[1] Apparently gold tankas

[2] *I.e.* Mughīṣ-ud-dīn Muḥammad.

[3] *I.e.* Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khwārizmī, styled 'Muḥammad'.

[4] See p. 110 *supra*.

habit was that whenever he treated a man in that manner, the latter would hardly escape. The first day that watch was kept on me was a Friday. I was inspired by Allāh the exalted to reciting the Quranic verse—'*God suffices for us: and what an excellent protector He is!*'[1] That day I recited this verse thirty-three thousand times, and I passed the night in the council-hall. I fasted for five days at a stretch; every day of those five I used to read the Qur'ān through and would break the fast with water only. After five days I ate something and fasted another four days. At last I was released after the execution of the *shaikh*. Praises are due to Allāh the exalted!

My withdrawal from service and abandonment of the world

Some time afterwards I renounced the service and attached myself to the learned imām—the self-controlled, God-fearing and pious devotee and the unparalleled and matchless Kamāl-ud-dīn 'Abdullāh al-Ghārī. He was one of the saints and had many miracles[2] to his credit. I have described those of his miracles which I personally witnessed on first mentioning his name.[3] I retired to the service of this *shaikh*, giving away all my possessions to the indigent and poor. The *shaikh* used to fast for ten days at a stretch and sometimes even for twenty days. I also liked to do so, but he would not let me do so. He advised me to make my devotional tasks easier for myself and used to say, '*Verily he who marches quickly with a view to surpassing others and reach the destination earlier progresses not in his journey and pities not his animal.*'[4] Consequently I felt conscience-stricken,[5] because I had still some belongings with me. So I parted with whatever I possessed, big or small, and gave away the clothes that I then wore to a fakir and put on the latter's clothes. And I remained with the *shaikh* five months, while the sultān was away[6] in Sind.

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[1] حسبنا الله ، نعم الوكيل. *Sūra* III, v. 167

[2] See p. 238 *infra*, footnote 4. [3] See p 31 *supra*.

[4] This is a famous saying of the Prophet reproduced and explained in al-Maidānī—*Majma'-ul amṣāl* (Cairo, 1310). On seeing a man who had strained himself much too much in his devotional exercises the Prophet once remarked, 'Islām is not a religion of unbearable hardships. . . . . You should be moderate in your devotional exercises.'

Subsequently the Prophet's saying (ان المنبت لا ارضاً قطع ، و لا ظهراً أبقى) became a proverb, and it has been commonly used to pity the lot of the helpless, the stranded and the distressed. The word المنبت in the above saying may also be rendered as 'stranded' (Lane: *Arabic-English Lexicon*). As such, the saying can be translated literally as follows: 'Indeed, the really stranded person is he who has neither traversed any territory (*i.e.* any part of his journey), nor has he got any mount (riding beast) left to him.'

[5] That is, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa felt embarrassed in the course of his devotion and could not make any appreciable progress in his religious exercises on account of certain worldly things that he had still with him.

[6] Apparently the emperor was then fighting Shāh or Shāhū Afghān. See *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. 163.

Sulṭān recalls me and my refusal to resume service and my intense application to worship.

When the sulṭān heard of my renouncing the world he sent for me one day while he was in Sivistān. I attended him in the garb of fakirs. He talked very kindly and courteously to me and asked me to resume service, which I declined. I solicited his permission to leave for the Hedjaz (*Ḥijāz*). He permitted me to do so, and I withdrew from him. I put up in a hospice which went by the name of a certain Malik Bashīr. This took place towards the close of *Jumād-aṣ-ṣāniya*,[1] 742. During the month of *Rajab* and the first ten days of *Sha'bān* I remained in retirement and holy seclusion. I extended my fast gradually to that of a period of five days and broke it after five days with a small quantity of rice without curry. Every day I recited the Qur'ān and every night I said the *tahajjud*[2] prayer as long as God willed. When I ate I felt uneasy; when I abstained from food I felt better. Forty days I passed in this state, till the sulṭān sent for me again.

[1] *I.e* June, 1341 A C. *Jumād-aṣ-ṣānīya* is the sixth month of the Islamic calendar. Its place among the rest may be noted in the following list of the twelve months: *Muharram* (the sacred month), *Ṣafar* (the month of departure so called because in it they departed to procure their provision of corn from the places in which it was collected, their granaries having then become empty), *Rabī'-ul-awwal* (first month of the spring), *Rabī'-uṣ-ṣānī* (second month of the spring), *Jumād-al-'ūlā* (first dry month), *Jumād-aṣ-ṣānīya* (second dry month), *Rajab* (the month of respect), *Sha'bān* (the month of the budding of trees), *Ramaḍān* (the month of heat), *Shawwāl* (the month of junction), *Dhu'l-qa'da* (the month of truce and relaxation), *Dhu'l hijja* (the month of pilgrimage).

[2] The term '*tahajjud*' (تہجد) has been explained above; see p. 103. Here it may be noted that تہجد '*tahajjud*' has opposite meanings. While it means 'sound sleep' it also means 'sleeplessness'. The French scholars (Def. et Sang., III, p 447) have accepted the former; accordingly the French translation of the given text is *et dormais le temps que Dieu voulait* (and slept as much as God willed). In my opinion neither of the two meanings mentioned above is applicable here. What Ibn Battūta really means to say is that he performed and repeated the '*tahajjud*' prayer as many times as possible in the dead of night.

CHAPTER XIV

DEHLĪ TO MALABAR *(MULAYBĀR)*

He orders sending me on an embassy to China (aṣ-Ṣīn)

When my forty days' seclusion was completed the sulṭān sent me saddled horses together with male and female slaves, clothes and provisions. I put on the clothes and went to see him. I had a lined cloak of blue cotton which I used to wear during my holy seclusion. When I removed it in order to put on the clothes sent by the sulṭān I felt a sort of repugnance, and whenever I looked at that cloak I felt spiritual enlightenment. I kept that cloak till the infidels robbed me of it at sea.

When I arrived at the sulṭān's court he honoured me more than he used to do and said to me, 'I sent for you in order that you should go as my ambassador to China (aṣ-Ṣīn). I know you love to travel and go abroad.' And he provided me with all the necessaries I needed and nominated as my travelling companions persons who will be mentioned later.

Cause of the despatch of presents to China (as-Ṣīn) and the people who accompanied me and the presents

The king of China had sent a hundred male and female slaves, five hundred velvet garments—out of which one hundred were made in the city of Zaitūn[1] and one hundred in the city of Khansā[2]—five maunds of musk, five garments studded with jewels, five quivers of gold brocade and five swords. He asked the sulṭān's permission to build an idol fane on the skirts of the Qarājīl mountain, which has been mentioned before, at a place called Samhal. The inhabitants of China go on pilgrimage to Samhal,[3] which the royal (*Muslim*) army of India had seized, destroyed and sacked.

When the said presents reached the sulṭān he wrote to him a reply to this effect—'Islām does not allow the furthering of such an aim and the permission to build a temple (*kanīsa*)[4] in a Muslim country can be accorded only to those who pay the *jizya*.[5] If you agree to pay it, permission for

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[1] *Zaitūn* is the Arabic name for the Chinese town Tseutung, modern Tsuan-tschou-fu or Ts'wan-chow-fu.

[2] *Khansā* is Hangtchufu (Hang-tschou-fu) on the mouth of the Tsantangkiang (Tsaen-tang-kiang). Both towns were famous for silk stuffs.

[3] No town bearing the name 'Samhal' exists or is known to have existed near the Qarāchīl mountains. So, the Samhal of the *Reḥla* is identifiable with modern Sambhal. Mžik (p. 247) does not concur with this view. But he makes no other suggestion.

[4] *Kanīsa* means a Christian church or a Jewish synagogue or a temple (Steingass).

[5] The term *jizya* finds mention in the Qur'ān like the term *kharāj*. That is, it has been described there *merely as a tax, not as the price to be paid by a non-Muslim for living in a Muslim State*. And in India by the middle of the 14th century the

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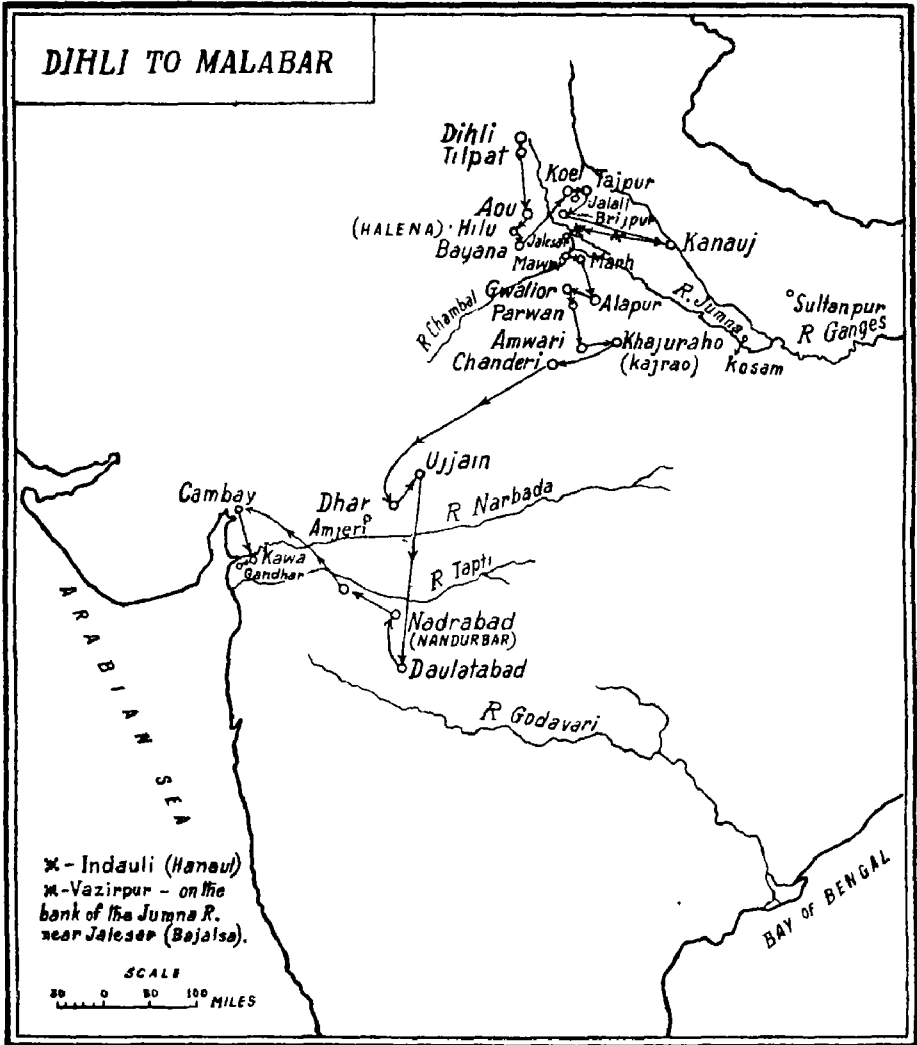
building the temple can be given. Peace be on those who follow guidance.' In exchange for his present the sulṭān sent him a better one, namely one hundred good horses equipped with saddles and bridles; one hundred male slaves and one hundred slave songstresses and dancers from among the Indian infidels; one hundred pieces of *bairamī*[1] cloth made of cotton which as to beauty had no equal, every piece being worth one hundred dinars; one hundred pieces of silk cloth called *khazz*,[2] the silk of each of them being from four to five different colours; one hundred pieces of the cloth called *ṣalāḥiya*[3]; one hundred pieces of *shīrīnbāf*; one hundred pieces of *shānbāf*; five hundred pieces of the Kashmīr woollen material of which one hundred were black, one hundred white, one hundred red, one hundred green and one hundred blue; one hundred pieces of Greek linen; one hundred pieces of wrapper; one tent-enclosure and six small tents; four golden goblets and six silver goblets enamelled in blue; four golden basins with jugs of the same metal and six silver basins; ten embroidered robes of honour of royal type and ten caps from those of the sulṭān himself—one of them being studded with pearls; ten quivers of gold brocade, one of them being set in with pearls; ten swords, the scabbard of one of which was set with pearls; gloves (*dastbān*) studded with pearls, and lastly fifteen pages.

The sulṭān appointed to accompany me in this journey Amīr Ẓahīr-ud-dīn az-Zanjānī,[4] one of the most accomplished men of learning, and a youth named Kāfūr the cup-bearer (*shurbdār*) to whom the presents were entrusted. The sulṭān also sent with us Amīr Muḥammad of Herāt at the head of a thousand horsemen to conduct us to the place whence we should embark on the sea. The ambassadors of the Chinese king set out on their return journey along with us. They were fifteen men, their chief bearing the name of 'Tursī', and they were attended by about one hundred servants.

So we set out in great number and formed a large camp. The sulṭān ordered us to be State guests during our journey through the empire. Our journey began on the 17th of the month of *Ṣafar* 743[5]—a day which the

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difference between the *jizya* and the *kharāj*, if it existed in theory, had faded and disappeared in actual fact and practice. Iṣāmī tells us that during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ḥasan, the founder and first king of the Bahmanī dynasty, *jizya* was demanded of Qīr Khāṅ, a Muslim rebellious chief (*Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn*, V. 11,374). Similar is the sense underlying the said remark reported to have been made by Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq. See also Appendix H, p. 260 *infra*.

[1] *Bairamī* is a Turkish word meaning 'high class'.

[2] *Khazz* was the name of a heavy, plushy velvet material made of silk and wool; according to the *al-Qāmūs* (Teheran) 'khazz' is also the name of some animal of the size of a rabbit. The context shows that the term *khazz* has been used here to indicate the silk cloth.

[3] *Ṣalāḥiya*—derived from *Ṣalāḥ*, the name of Mecca—connotes a kind of cloth, so called because the material of which it is made came from the Hedjaz (*Ḥijāz*) in Arabia.

[4] Zanjān—a town in Iran half-way between Teheran and Tabriz.

[5] 22nd July, 1342 A.C.

Indians[1] choose for their setting out on a journey—inasmuch as they choose to begin their journey either on the 2nd or the 7th or the 12th or the 17th or the 22nd or the 27th of a month.

The first stage in the course of our journey was at the Tilbat[2] station, which lay at a distance of two and one-third of a parasang (*farsakh*),[3] from Dehlī. Then we left for the station of Aou (*avo*)[4] whence we went to that of Hīlū.[5] Afterwards we set out for the city of Bayāna—a large city, with handsome buildings and beautiful streets. Its congregational mosque (*jāmi' masjid*)[6] is one of the most magnificent mosques, its walls as well as its roof being all of stone. The commandant (*amīr*) of Bayāna is Muzaffar, son of ad-dāya, whose mother is the sulṭān's wet-nurse. The governor of Bayāna, who preceded Muzaffar, was Malik Mujīr, son of Abū Rijā, one of the greatest of maliks, who has been mentioned before. He laid claim to Quraish descent, and he was very harsh and had committed many tyrannies. He had killed a large number of the inhabitants of this city and mutilated many of them. I saw one of the inhabitants of this city, a man of handsome appearance sitting at the threshold of his house, both of whose hands and feet had been cut off.

Once the sulṭān paid a visit to this city, and the people complained to him against the aforesaid Malik Mujīr. The sulṭān ordered his arrest and a collar was put round his neck. In this condition he used to attend the assembly-hall (*dīwān*) and would sit in front of the vezir, while the inhabitants put in black and white their complaints against him. The sulṭān ordered him to reconcile them, and he did so by giving them money. After this he was put to death.

Of the principal inhabitants of this city one is the learned prelate (*imām*) 'Izz-ud-dīn az-Zuberī, a descendant of Zubēr *bin* al-'Awwām. May God be pleased with him! He is one of the greatest and most pious jurists. I had met him at Gwalior (*Kuyālyūr*) in the house of Malik 'Izz-ud-dīn al-Bantānī, better known as A'zam Malik.

Then we set out from Bayāna, and reached the city of Koul (*Kūl*).[7] It is a handsome city possessing gardens. Most of the trees are mango

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[1] Till the present day the Indians prefer to begin their journey on certain specified days and dates. This is another instance of Indo-Muslim cultural synthesis. (Cf. p. 57 *supra*.)

[2] *Tilbat* of the *Rehla* was really Tilpat—an old village on the Muttra road in the district of Delhi.

[3] *Farsakh* is the Arabic name of a measure of distance amounting to 18,000 ft.

[4] 'Aou' is the name of an old village in Bharatpur near the Dig fortress. Mžik is of opinion that 'Aou' was Aduh—a *pargana* eight miles west of Bulandshahr (Mžik, p. 249). But surely Bulandshahr was not on the route that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was pursuing.

[5] *Hīlū* of the *Rehla* stands probably for Halena on the Utangan river about 20 miles S.W. of Bharatpur.

[6] *I.e.* the mosque in which the congregational prayers of Friday are performed, so called because it collects the people for a certain time (Lane).

[7] *I.e.* Aligarh.

trees. We put up outside the city on a vast plain. At Koil we saw the pious devotee Shaikh Shams-ud-dīn, better known as Ibn Tāj-ul-'ārifīn. He was blind and very old. Later on, the sulṭān threw him into prison where he died. We have related his story previously.[1]

A fight we witnessed in the vicinity of Koil (Kūl)

As we drew towards Koil we learnt that some of the infidel Hindus had besieged the city of Jalālī[2] and had surrounded it. Jalālī lay at a distance of seven miles from Koil; so we proceeded towards it. We found that the infidels were fighting the inhabitants of Jalālī, who were on the verge of annihilation. The infidels knew nothing about us until we attacked them vigorously, although they numbered about one thousand horsemen and three thousand infantry. We killed them to the last man and seized their horses and arms. Of our companions twenty-three horsemen and fifty-five infantry-men suffered martyrdom; so was martyred the young Kāfūr, the cup-bearer who had been entrusted with the care of the presents. We wrote about his death to the sulṭān and stopped there awaiting the reply. In the meantime the infidels used to descend from an inaccessible mountain in the neighbourhood and raid the suburbs of the Jalālī town. Our companions used to ride every day with the local commandant to help him repulse the enemy.

My hardships in imprisonment and my release from it as well as from the subsequent hardships through the hands of a saint from among the saints of God[3]

One day I got on horseback with some of my comrades, and entered a garden to have our midday nap because it was summer. We heard a noise and mounted our horses and encountered the infidels, who had just attacked one of the villages of Jalālī. We pursued them and they dispersed, and our companions became divided in their pursuit. I was left with five of my comrades. Instantly there sprang upon us from a neighbouring forest a body of horsemen and infantry. We fled on account of their overwhelming numbers. Some ten of them pursued me, but all except three gave up the chase. I found no avenue of escape before me and the ground was full of stones. The forefeet of my horse were caught in the stones; so I dismounted, freed his feet and then remounted it.

It is a custom in India for every man to keep two swords, one hanging from the saddle and known as *ar-rikābī*[4] and the other hanging on his person with the quiver. My *rikābī* sword which was enriched with gold fell out of the scabbard. I alighted, picked it up, put it on and got on horse-

[1] See p. 91 *supra*.

[2] *Jalālī* is now a village about 11 miles south-east of 'Alīgarh.

[3] *I.e.* a real saint and no hypocrite.

[4] *I.e.* sword of the stirrup.

back again. All this while the pursuers were after me. In this way I reached a huge ditch. I dismounted from my horse and went right into the ditch. This was the last I saw of my pursuers.

Then I got into a valley in the midst of a thick grove through which ran a road. I walked along this road not knowing where it led. As I walked, there fell upon me about forty stalwart infidels armed with bows. They surrounded me and I feared they would all discharge their arrows simultaneously on me if I attempted to flee, while I was without an armour. So I threw myself on the earth and invited capture at their hands because they do not kill a person who behaves in this manner. They seized me and robbed me of all my possessions except for a cloak, a shirt and trousers. They took me into the forest right up to the site of their camp by the side of a pond situated in a grove of trees. They brought me some lentel bread, that is, *julbān*[1] which I ate; then I drank some water. I found with them two Muslims who spoke to me in Persian and questioned me as to my condition. I told them a little about myself withholding the fact that I had come on behalf of the sultān. 'They or some others will', said they, 'surely kill you.' 'But here is their chief', they added pointing to one of them. I spoke to him through the interpretation of the two Muslims[2]; and I tried to gain his favour. He put me under the care of three of his men; one of them was an old man, who was accompanied by his son, and the third was a wicked negro. Those three talked to me, and I understood from their talk that they had been ordered to kill me. In the evening they took me to a cavern. God laid the black man low with the ague and he placed his feet over me, while the old man and his son fell asleep. In the morning they held a talk among themselves beckoning me to come down along with them to the pond. I understood that they wanted to kill me. I spoke to the old man and tried to gain his favour. He pitied me. I cut off two sleeves of my shirt and gave them to him in order that his comrades might not call him to account in case I fled.

Towards the decline of day we heard some people talking near the pond. My guards took them to be their own men; so they made signs to me to come down with them. We went down and found that they were quite other people who advised the old man and his son to accompany them. But they refused, and all the three sat before me and I sat facing them. They then placed on the ground a hempen cord that they had with them. Meanwhile, I was watching them and was saying to myself—on setting about to kill me they will bind me with this rope. In this state I remained one hour, when there came three of those of their comrades who had captured me. They concerted among themselves, and I understood that they said to them—'Why have you not killed him?' The old man pointed to the black man as if he wished to excuse himself on the ground of the

[1] *I.e.* bean.

[2] Here is another evidence in favour of the linguistic unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and of the steadily developing cultural synthesis. *Cf.* pp. 57, 152 *supra*.

latter's illness. One of these three was a young man of beautiful countenance. He said to me, 'Do you want me to set you free?' 'Yes', said I. 'Go away', said he. On this I took off the cloak that I was wearing and gave it to him. He gave me his worn out waist-coat, and showed me the road. I set out; but feared lest they should change their mind and overtake me. So I entered a bamboo forest and concealed myself in it until sunset. Then I came out and pursued the way which had been pointed out to me by the youth. It took me to a spring from which I drank water, and then I walked till one-third of the night. I reached a mountain at the foot of which I slept. In the morning I resumed my journey till early in the forenoon I arrived at a high mountain of rocks on which grew the acacia and the lote tree. I plucked the 'nabqs'[1] and ate them until the thorns pricked my forearms, some traces of which still remain.

Then I came down that mountain to a ground which was planted with cotton, and there I saw the castor-oil tree. There was also a *bāin*[2] which is the name given by the Indians to a very wide well lined with a stone wall and provided with stairs by means of which one can descend to the surface of the water. Some of the 'bains' have in their centre as well as on the sides cupolas of stone, halls and seats. The maliks and amirs of a province try to outvie one another in building such 'bains' on the roads where there is no water. Later on we shall describe some of the 'bains' which we have seen. When I reached the said *bāin* I drank water from it and found on it some mustard twigs, which someone had let fall while washing them. I ate some of these and kept the rest and I slept under a castor-oil tree.

While I was asleep there came to the *bāin* about forty horsemen clad in armour. Some of these entered a field and then went away, while God blinded their eyes from seeing me. After their departure there came about fifty armed men, who stopped at the *bāin*. One of them came to a tree opposite to that under which I lay. But he did not perceive me. At that moment I entered a cotton field where I remained the rest of the day. They remained at the *bāin* washing their clothes and playing. At nightfall their voices ceased to be heard, and I thought they had either left or had fallen asleep. I came out then and walked following the footprints of the horses, because it was a moonlit night. I proceeded till I arrived at another *bāin* on which was built a dome. I walked down it and drank water from it and ate some of the mustard twigs which I had. Then I entered the dome and found that it was filled with green herbs which had been collected there by some birds. I slept there and felt in the herbs the movement of some animal which I suspected to be a snake; but I did not mind it, being dead tired.

In the morning I followed a large road which led to a ruined village, but I took another road which proved to be like the first one. Thus I

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[1] *Nabq* is a cherry-like fruit of the lote tree. [2] See p. 187 *infra*.

passed several days, and one of these days I got into a grove of trees in the midst of which was a water pond. The interior of the pond looked like a house, and round about the pond there were plants like the purslane and others. I desired to sit there till God might send someone who should conduct me to a habitation. Then I acquired a little strength and set out to follow a road on which I found the footprints of oxen. I came across an ox loaded with a pack-saddle and a reaping-hook. Since that road was leading into a village of infidels, I took to a different road which led me into a ruined village and there I saw two black men completely naked. I became afraid of them and stopped under the trees in that locality. At nightfall, I entered a village and found a house in one of the chambers of which there lay something resembling a big earthen vessel which is used for storing corn. At its bottom there was a hole through which a man could pass. I entered it and found its interior covered with chaff and in it there lay a stone on which I placed my head and slept. On that earthen vessel was sitting a bird, which flapped its wings for the most part of the night. I thought it was afraid; thus two frightened souls came together.

I remained in this state for seven days, counting from the day I was taken prisoner which was Saturday. On the seventh day I arrived in the vicinity of a thickly populated village of infidels, where there was a water pond and green plantations. I begged of them something to eat, but they refused to give anything. There around a well I found some horse-radish leaves which I ate. Then I entered the village and there I saw a group of infidels who were being guarded by a party of watchmen. They called me; but I did not respond and sat down on the ground. Thereupon one of them came to me with an unsheathed sword, which he lifted in order to kill me but I paid no heed on account of my great fatigue. He searched me but found nothing on me. In the end he seized my shirt—the shirt whose sleeves I had given to the old man who had been charged with watching me.

On the eighth day I felt extremely thirsty and had no water. I arrived at a village which was in ruins, and I did not find any pond there. It is a custom in those villages for the people to construct ponds, wherein collects rain water which they drink the whole year round. I pursued a road which took me to an unbricked well on which lay a cord made of grass, but there was no vessel to draw water with. Consequently, I tied the cloth that formed my head-gear to the cord and sucked the water which it had absorbed; but my thirst was not quenched. So I tied one of my half-boots to the cord; and by means of this I drew water. Still my thirst was unquenched. I tried to draw water again, but the cord broke and the boot fell into the well. I tied my second boot to it and then drank water to my satisfaction. Then I cut the boot and tied its upper part to my foot by means of the cord of the well as well as by means of a piece of cloth which I found lying there. As I was tying the boot and reflecting on my condition I caught sight of some one whom, as I looked, I found a man of black complexion holding in his hand a water-pot and a staff with a wallet

over his shoulder. He greeted me saying, 'My peace be on you' (*Salāmun 'alaikum*).[1] I greeted him in return saying, 'And on you be my peace as well as the peace and blessing of God' (*'Alaikum-us-salām wa raḥmat-ullāh*).[2] He said to me in Persian, '*Che kasī*?'—that is to say, 'who are you?' 'I have', said I, 'lost my way.' 'And I too', said he. Then he tied his water-pot to the cord which was with him and drank water. I also desired to drink water but he asked me to wait. Then he opened his wallet wherefrom he took a handful of black gram roasted together with a little rice.[3] I ate of it and drank water. Then he performed an ablution and said a prayer of two genuflexions. I also performed an ablution and prayed. Then he asked me what my name was. 'Muḥammad', said I. And I asked his name, which he gave out as *'al-Qalb-ul-fāriḥ'*.[4] I regarded it as a good omen and rejoiced.

Afterwards he said to me, 'Will you accompany me in the name of God?' 'Yes', said I. And I walked a little with him. Then I became lax in the joints and was unable to proceed. So I sat down. 'How are you?' said he. 'I was', said I, 'able to walk before I saw you, but I am disabled since I have seen you.' '*Subḥānallāh!*[5] Get on my neck,' said he. 'You are', said I, 'weak and are not strong enough to bear me.' 'God will give me the strength but you must get on my neck', was the reply. So I got on his neck. 'Go on reciting,' said he, '*Ḥasbunallāho wa nī'mal wakīl.*[6] So I kept reciting until my eyes closed in slumber, and I did not wake except when I fell on the earth. As I woke up I saw no trace of the man, and found myself in a village with some population. I entered it and learnt that there lived the Hindū subjects, their ruler (*ḥākim*) being a Muslim. The latter was informed about me; so he came to me. 'What is the name of this village?' said I. 'Tājpura' (*Tājbūra*) said he; it lay at a distance of two parasangs from Koil where my companions were. The ruler took me to his house and served me a hot meal, and I took a bath. 'I have,' said he, 'with me a garment and a turban, which an Egyptian Arab, one of the men of the Koil camp, has left with me. 'Bring them to me' said I, 'so that I should wear them until I arrive in the camp.' He brought them and I found them to be my own clothes which I had given to that Arab on coming to Koil. I was very much astonished at this, and began to reflect on the man who had carried me on his neck. I recalled what the holy Abū 'Abdullāh al-Murshidī had

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[1] *I.e. Salāmun 'alaikum* (سلام عليكم).

[2] *'Alaikum-us-salām wa raḥmat-ullāh* (عليكم السلام و رحمة الله). When a Muslim meets another on the way or elsewhere he greets the latter saying سلام عليكم (my peace be on you!), and the person thus greeted replies as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did.

[3] This appears to have been a kind of boiled and fried rice called *mūṛī* मुड़ि or *murmura* मुरमुरा.

[4] *I.e.* a cheerful heart.

[5] *I.e.* Glory be to God!

[6] A Quranic verse already quoted, see p. 148 *supra*.

foretold me—which I have described in the course of my first journey.[1] He had told me, 'You will visit India before long, where you will meet my brother Dilshād, who will release you from the troubles which would befall you.' I remembered his words when on my enquiring his name he gave it out as *al-Qalb-ul-fāriḥ*, which in Persian means a cheerful heart (*dilshād*). I knew that it was he who had told me about my meeting him and that he was a saint. But I did not enjoy his company longer than I have described.

The same night I wrote to my companions at Koil informing them about my safety. They brought me a horse and a garment and rejoiced to see me. I learnt that the sulṭān's reply had reached them, that he had sent a slave named Sumbul, the superintendent of the wardrobe (*jāmdār*),[2] in place of Kāfūr the martyr and that he had ordered us to prosecute our journey. I also learnt that my companions had written to the sulṭān informing him what had befallen me and that they had regarded the journey as ill-omened on account of the fate which I and Kāfūr had met in the course of it and that they had intended to return. But when I saw the sulṭān's injunctions ordering us to prosecute the journey I pressed them to prosecute it and my resolution was made firm. 'Don't you see', said they, 'what happened in the beginning of this journey? The sulṭān will excuse you; so let us return to him, or let us stay till we receive his reply.' 'It is not possible to stay and wherever we be, the reply will reach us', said I.

So we started from Koil and encamped at Brijpūr (*Burjbūra*),[3] where there was a beautiful hospice (*zāwiya*)[4] held by an old man of good appearance and manners called Muḥammad 'Uryān—because he wore only a cloth stretching from his navel down to his lower parts while the rest of his body remained bare. He was a disciple of the holy and saintly Muḥammad 'Uryān, an inhabitant of Qarāfa[5] in Egypt. May God benefit us through him!

Story of this shaikh[6]

He belonged to the order of saints and was a confirmed celibate. He wore a *tannūra*,[7] that is a garment which covers the body from the navel

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[1] Abū 'Abdullāh al-Murshidi had foretold Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit to India as well as this incident of his journey including his meeting Dilshād, the person described above as *al-Qalb-ul-fāriḥ*. See the first part of the *Reḥla*, Egyptian edition, pp. 16, 17 and Def. et Sang., I, pp. 52-53.

[2] See Appendix K, p. 268.

[3] The parts of Muttra which lie around Gokul and Brindaban bear the name of Braj-maṇḍal; and the whole area was at one time known as Brajpura or Brijpur. Probably the Brijbūra (Brijpūr) of the *Reḥla* is no other than Muttra which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa appears to have visited in the course of this journey. Such is the opinion of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. But I think that Brijpūr was Bhojpūr which according to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* lay in the Sarkār of Kanauj.

[4] See p. 172 *infra*, footnote 1.

[5] Qarāfa is the name of a city in Egypt, where Imām Shāf'ai is buried.

[6] *I.e.* Shaikh Muḥammad 'Uryān of Egypt, the master.

[7] *I.e.* a dress made of leather worn by dervishes from their middle, so called because it is shaped like a *tannūr*—an oven or furnace (Johnson).

downward to the foot. It is said that when he performed the retiring prayer of *'ishā* he would bring out all the bread and *idām*[1] as well as water and distribute the same to the poor and would throw away the wick of his lamp and meet the morrow with no provisions whatsoever. In spite of this he would feed his companions in the morning with bread and beans as a rule. The bakers and bean-sellers competed, each trying to precede the other in reaching his hospice, and he used to take from them as much as was necessary to feed the hospice. And he would ask the man from whom he took the commodity to sit promising that the first offering whether big or small made that day would be given to him.

The following is another story about him. When Qāzān,[2] king of the Tartars, arrived in Syria with his troops and seized Damascus excepting its fortress, al-Malik un-Nāṣir marched to encounter him. The battle[3] took place on the site called Qashḥab, lying at a distance of two days' journey from Damascus. Al-Malik un-Nāṣir was then so young that he had not witnessed any battle heretofore; Shaikh 'Uryān was in his company. The *shaikh* dismounted and catching hold of a chain bound therewith al-Malik un-Nāṣir's horse lest the latter should withdraw from the fight on account of his tender age—which withdrawal would lead to the defeat of the Musalmans. As a result al-Malik un-Nāṣir stood firm, and the Tartars suffered a disastrous defeat. Many of them were put to the sword and many drowned in the water which was let loose on them. Never again did the Tartars invade those Islamic countries.[4] I was told by the said Shaikh Muḥammad 'Uryān, a disciple of the *shaikh* of Egypt, that he was present at this battle and that he was then quite young.

We started from Brijpūr (*Burjbūra*) and encamped near a river called *Āb-i-siah*.[5] Then we journeyed to the city of Kanauj (*Qinawj*)—a large city with handsome and strong buildings. There the prices are low; sugar is found in abundance and is transported thence to Dehlī. The city is surrounded with a huge rampart which has been mentioned already. There lived Shaikh Mu'īn-ud-dīn al-Bākharzī, who entertained us.

[1] *I.e.* 'whatever is eaten with bread'. (Steingass)

[2] *I.e.* Ghāzān Khān, otherwise called Ghāzān Maḥmūd (1295–1304 A.C.), king of the Il-khāni Mongols of Persia. Brought up as a Buddhist, he embraced Islām prior to his accession to the throne. Islām was then adopted as the State religion of the Mongol empire of Khurāsān. (E.I., II, p. 149.)

[3] This battle was fought in 1302 A.C. and ended in a complete defeat of the Tartars.

[4] *I.e.* Syria and Egypt.

[5] *I.e.* the black water which is commonly known as Kālī Naddī. It springs from Muzaffarnagar district under the name of 'Nāgan' flowing as such up to Khurja whence it changes its course and name; then running through a distance of 310 miles *via* Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Etah and Farrukhābād it falls into the Ganges four miles off Kanauj

The commandant of Kanauj was one Fīroz al-Badakhshānī, a descendant of Bahrām Jur,[1] companion of Chosroes (*Kisrā*). There lived a body of learned and accomplished men, famous for their high morals and known as descendants of Sharaf Jahāṅ. Their grandfather[2] was the chief justice (*qāẓī-ul-quẓāt*) at Daulatābād. He was extremely generous and charitable, and ultimately became the spiritual head in India.[3]

A story relating to Sharaf Jahāṅ.

It is said that he was once deposed from the post of *qāẓī*. As he had many enemies, one of them brought a suit against him in the court of the *qāẓī*, who was then installed in his place. The suit was to the effect that he owed him ten thousand dinars. But the plaintiff possessed no evidence and desired that Sharaf Jahān should be made to take an oath. The *qāẓī* sent for him; but the latter said to the messenger, 'How much is the claim against me?' 'The claim', he replied, 'is for a sum of ten thousand dinars.' On this he sent ten thousand dinars to the *qāẓī*'s court, and the amount was made over to the plaintiff. The news about this reached Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn and it was ascertained that the claim was false. As a result, he was pleased to restore Sharaf Jahāṅ to the post of *qāẓī*, and gave him ten thousand dinars.[4]

We stopped in this city for three days, in the course of which came the sulṭān's reply regarding me. It was to this effect—'If no trace of that man[5] can be found, Wajīh-ul-mulk, the *qāẓī* of Daulatābād, should be taken instead of him.'

Then we started from this city and camped at the Hanaul[6] station,

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[1] 'Jur' stands for 'gor'. Bahrām Gor was the name of one of the kings of Persia, so called from his passion for the chase of the wild ass (Johnson). Bahrām Chobīn has also been suggested (Def. et Sang., IV, p 26), and Bahrām Chobīn was the name of a general of King Hormuz, so called from his lankness.

[2] *I.e.* Sharaf Jahāṅ—a title which literally means 'glory of the world'.

[3] *The 'Ajāib-ul-asfār* (p 249) omits this sentence and the इब्न बतूता की भारत यात्रा —a Hindī translation of the *Rehla* (p. 280)—has followed suit. This may be due to an obscurity about Sharaf Jahāṅ And from the French translation (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 26) '*il obtint l'autorité sur les provinces de l'Inde* (he obtained sway over the provinces of India) I differ.

[4] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has not given the much-needed details about this incident which he locates probably in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. But the story as far as it goes is interesting and illustrates how a *qāẓī* could then be sued. It also shows that the emperor could dismiss a *qāẓī* on the charge of his misdeeds and unpopularity; and that 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was kept well-informed through his effective spy system and intelligence department about all kinds of events and occurrences in all parts of his empire.

[5] *I.e.* Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

[6] Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar is of opinion that *Hanaul* or *Hinaul* stands for Indaulī which lies 10 miles S.W. of Mainpurī town and midway between Kanauj and Jalesar, and is a railway station. (See *India and Adjacent Countries Series, Sheet 54*; Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's Library.) But I am inclined to identify 'Hinaul' with 'Hindaun' mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett, II, p. 183) as a Mahal in the Sarkār of Agra.

and subsequently at the Wazīrpūr (*Wazīrbūr*)[1] station, and afterwards at the Bajālṣa[2] station. Later we reached the Mawrī[3] city—a small city with handsome markets and there I met the pious old Shaikh Quṭb-ud-dīn known as Ḥaider al-Farghānī, who was ill. He made me good wishes and provided me with a barley bread. He told me that he was about one hundred and fifty years of age and I was informed by his companions that he fasted constantly and that frequently he did not break his fast for several days running and remained in holy seclusion for the most part. Sometimes he remained in seclusion for forty days feeding himself there on forty dates, taking one date each day. At Dehlī I had seen an elderly man (*shaikh*) named Rajab al-Burq u'ī, who sat in seclusion with forty dates for forty days, and on his coming out thirteen dates had remained unused.

Then we departed and arrived in the city of Marh[4]—a large city most of whose inhabitants are *dhimmī* infidels.[5] 'Marh' is well fortified and it produces excellent wheat, the like of which cannot be had elsewhere. It is transported thence to Dehlī. Its grains are long, deep yellow and thick. A wheat like this I saw nowhere except in China. This city is said to belong to the Mālawa[6]—one of the Hindū tribes who possess huge bodies and are high-statured and beautiful. Their women are extremely beautiful, and they are noted for their agreeableness in privacy. Similar is the case with the Mahraṭṭa (*Marhata*) women and with those of the Maldive islands.

Then we proceeded to the city of 'Alāpūr (*'Alābūr*)[7]—a small city most of whose inhabitants are infidels under the sulṭān's protection (*dhimma*). At a distance of one day's journey from 'Alāpūr there was

[1] The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* mentions Wazīrpūr as a mahal in the sarkar of Agra. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett, II, p. 100).

[2] *Bajālṣa* which also appears in the *Reḥla* as the name of a 'darwāza' in the city of Dehlī stands probably for Jalesar which later became the favourite city of a Tughluq king—Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muḥammad—who named it Muḥammadabād.

[3] There is no mention of *Mawrī*—as there is none of *Hanaul* or *Hinaul* and *Bajālṣa*—in the chronicles of the period. Nor is there any trace of any of these in the gazetteers and the archaeological reports. Yule suggests that Mawrī may be Ūmri near Bhind. (Yule, Sir Henry—*Cathay And The Way Thither*, IV, p. 22.) See map, p. 150 *supra*. I think *Mawrī* should be read as Umarī or Umara Umarī (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*—Jarrett, II, p. 193).

[4] 'Marh' lies in the vicinity of Gwalior due east. See map, p. 150.

[5] On the whole the Hindus enjoyed a status higher than that of the *dhimmī*. See Appendix H. See also Husain, A. M.—*Le Gouvernement du Sultanat de Delhi*, pp. 69–85.

[6] The given sentence وتنسب هذه المدينة الى المالوة in the Arabic text may also be translated as follows: 'The city of Marh takes its name from the tribe of Mālawa.'

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Mālawa is the name of a Hindū tribe while Mālwa is the name of a province.

[7] *'Alāpūr* was a city with a fortress in Gwalior according to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett, II, p. 187). It is now reduced to a village.

called Qatam, who was the king of *Janbīl*.[1] He had besieged the city of Gwalior (*Kālior*) after which he was killed.

Anecdote

This infidel ruler had previously besieged the city of Rāpri (*Rābery*),[2] which was situated on the river Jumna (*Jūn*) and to which were attached many villages and fertile lands. Its commandant was Khattāb Afghān (*al-Afghānī*) who was one of the brave men. This infidel ruler desired help from another infidel ruler called Rajū, whose capital went by the name of Sultānpūr[3] (*Sultānbūr*). Both besieged the city of Rāpri. Khattāb sent for help from the emperor who, however, delayed to send him succour because the besieged city lay at a distance of forty days' journey from the metropolis. Then Khattāb feared lest the infidels should overpower him. He collected three hundred of the Afghans, an equal number of slaves (*mamālīk*)[4] and about four hundred other men. All hung their turbans round the necks of their horses, this being the custom with the Indians when they[5] resolve to die selling their lives to Allāh the exalted. Khattāb advanced along with his party and they were followed by the rest of the troops. About daybreak they opened the doors of the city and fell like one man on the infidels, who were about fifteen thousand in number. With divine help they routed them all and killed both of their rulers, Qatam and Rajū, whose heads they sent to the emperor (*sultān*). Of the infidels none escaped except the fugitives.

Commandant of 'Alāpūr and his martyrdom

The commandant of 'Alāpūr (*'Alābūr*), Badr the Abyssinian, was one of the sultān's slaves (*'abīd*).[6] He was one of those heroes, whose bravery was proverbial. Ceaselessly and quite alone he would fall upon the infidels and would kill them or take them prisoner, so much so that his reputation spread widely and he made a name for himself and the infidels feared him. He was a man of high stature and strong build. He used to eat up a whole sheep at one meal. It was related to me that he used to drink about one and a half *ratl*[7] of ghee after his meal, as it is the custom of the Abyssinians in their country. He had a son, who came up to him in bravery.

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[1] *Janbīl* has been identified by Mžik with the Chambal—one of the tributaries of the Jumna (Mžik, p. 265). Prof. Gibb (p. 363) holds the same view and suggests that the infidel sultān (*Qatam*) might be the raja of Dholpur.

I think that Janbīl was the name of the Hindū ruler of *Qatam*; and *Qatam* stands for *Kosam* which was the name of an old city, now a village, in the district of Allahābād on the Jumna. See map, p. 150.

[2] *Rāpri* is now a village near Shikohābād in the district of Mainpuri on the Jumna. It is mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett, II, p. 182) as a Mahal in the Sarkār of Agra.

[3] Sultānpūr is a small town on the right bank of the Gumtī.

[5] *I.e.* Muslims.

[4 & 6] For the terms '*mamālīk* (plural of *mamlūk*) and '*abīd* (plural of '*abd*) meaning slaves, see p. 101 *supra*, footnote 5.

[7] One ratl is about 8 chataks. (Lane, Bk. I, pt. 3, p. 1102); cf. p. 10, footnotes 2 and 3 *supra*.

One day together with a body of his slaves Badr fell upon a village of the infidels. His horse fell with him into a ditch ; and the villagers thronged about him and one of them struck him with a kaṭārā [1] (*qattāra*) —an iron blade resembling a ploughshare which one wears in one's hand. It covers one's arm leaving the blade about two cubits long for striking and its strokes are fatal. So the infidel killed him with a stroke; but his slaves fought a very hard fight, and they seized the village. They put its male population to the sword and made the womenfolk prisoner and seized everything in it. Then they pulled out Badr's horse safe from the ditch and brought it to his son.

It was an extraordinary chance that the latter mounted the same horse and proceeded towards Dehlī, when suddenly the infidels sprang upon him. He fought them till he was killed. His horse came back to his companions, who gave him to the deceased's family. His brother-in-law rode on that horse, but the infidels killed him also on horseback.

Then we journeyed to Gwalior (*Kālior*), also called *Kiāleer*—a big city with an impregnable fortress isolated on the summit of a mountain. At its gate is the statue of an elephant and mahout carved in stone. This has already been described in the account of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn.

The commandant (*amīr*) of this city is Aḥmad *bin* Sher Khān, an accomplished man. Before this journey he treated me well when I was with him. One day I went to him when he was going to cut [2] an infidel into two halves. I asked him in the name of God not to do it, for I had never seen anyone being killed before me. So he ordered him to be imprisoned and this was the cause of the infidel's escape from death.

Then we left Gwalior and proceeded to the city of Parwan (*Barwan*) [3]— a small city of Musalmans lying in the midst of the territories of the infidels. Its commandant is Muḥammad *bin* Bairam of Turkish descent. In the surroundings of the city there are many voracious animals. One of its inhabitants related to me that a lion used to break into the city in the night although the gates were closed and that he used to molest the people, so much so that he killed many. People wondered how the lion was able to get into the city. One of its inhabitants, Muḥammad at-Taufīrī, who was my neighbour when I lived there, told me that one night the lion broke into his house and carried away a boy from his bed. Another man told me that while he was at a marital house with a wedding-party, one member of the party went out to satisfy a need whereupon the lion killed him. When his companions went to look for him they found him lying in the street and that the lion had sucked his blood but had not eaten his flesh. It is said

[1] '*Kaṭārā* (कटारा) is the corrupt form of *kaṭār* कटार or *kaṭṭār* (कट्टार)—a Sanskrit word for a dagger with a broad straight blade, the hilt of which is grasped by a crossbar in the centre (Platts).

[2] Presumably not on account of religion, Muhammad *bin* Tughluq's appreciation of Hinduism and his kindness to the Hindus being well known. See R.F.M., pp. 175, 201.

[3] Barwan may be Barōī which according to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett, II, p. 190) lay in the sarkar of Nārwār and the province of Agra (*A.A.*, p. 258).

that the lion acts thus in regard to all people. Curiously enough, some one told me that he who did so was not the lion but a man of the magician class called 'jogi' (*jokī*),[1] who assumed the form of a lion. When I was informed about this, I did not believe it although it was related to me by a group of men. We shall now give some account of these enchanters.

Jogī enchanters

These people work wonders For instance, one of them remains for months without food and drink; many of them dig a pit under the earth which is closed over them leaving therein no opening except one through which the air might enter. There one remains for months and I have heard that some jogis hold out in this manner for a year.

In the city of Mangalore (*Manjarūr*) I saw a Musalmān[2] who used to take lessons from the jogis. A small stand had been set up for him on which he held himself for twenty-five days without food and drink. I left him in that state and do not know how long, after my departure, he remained there in that state.

People relate that the jogis prepare pills of which they take one for a specified number of days or months, and that during this period they need neither food nor drink. They give information about hidden things and the sulṭān honours them and takes them into his company.[3] Some of the jogis confine themselves to a vegetable diet; while others—and they are the majority—never take meat.[4] What appears to be the fact about them is that they subject their bodies to hard exercises and that they have no craving for the world and its trappings. Some of the jogis are such that as soon as they look at a man the latter instantly falls dead. The common people say that in such a case—of a man being killed by the mere look—if his chest were cut open one could see no heart which, they say, is eaten up. Such is, for the most part, the practice with women, and the woman who acts in this manner is called *kaftār*.[5]

Anecdote

When in the country of Hindustān (*al-Hind*) there occurred the great famine following the drought, the sulṭān who was then in the province of Telingāna (*Tiling*) issued an order that the inhabitants[6] of Dehlī should be given provisions for daily food at the rate of one and a half *raṯl*[7] per head. The vezir collected the poor and distributed them among the amirs and qazis

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[1] *I.e. yogī* (योगी)—one who has communion with God (Monier-Williams—*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*).

[2] 'Musalmān' is the Persian form of the Arabic word 'Muslim'. Originally it was *Muslimān*, plural in form.

[3] See p. xxxi *supra* and p. 266 *infra*.

[4] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa differentiates a strict vegetarian from one who could take fish, eggs, etc.

[5] *Kaftār* literally means a hyena who digs up and devours dead bodies, hence the woman is metaphorically described as above.

[6] *I.e.* irrespective of caste and creed.

[7] See p. 162 footnote 7, *supra*.

so that they should take charge of feeding them. As for me, I had charge of five hundred people. I built for them sheds in two mansions where I lodged them and gave them five days' provisions every fifth day. One day a woman from among them was brought to me, and I was told that she was a *kaftār* and had eaten the heart of a child who happened to be near her. Then the dead body of the child was brought, whereupon I ordered that the woman should be taken to the *nāib-us-sulṭān*[1] who ordered her to be put to a test. The test was this: four pitchers were filled with water and tied to the hands and feet of the woman who was then thrown into the Jumna (*Jūn*). But she did not drown, whereby it was proved that she was a *kaftār* If she had not floated on the surface of the water, she could not have been a *kaftār*. The *nāib-us-sulṭān* then ordered her to be burnt.[2] This done, the inhabitants of the city, men as well as women, came and took away her ashes deeming that whoever fumigated himself with it was safe for that year from the *kaftār's* enchantment.

Anecdote

While I was still in the capital the sulṭān sent for me. I attended and found him in a private chamber, there being with him some of his favourites[3] and two of the jogis. The latter had wrapped themselves with quilts covering their heads[4] because they remove their hair with the ashes just as people remove the hair of their arm-pits. The sulṭān ordered me to sit. I sat down. He then said to the jogis, 'Verily this illustrious man (*'azīz*)[5] has come from a distant country; show him what he has not seen.' They said, 'Yes.' One of them, then, squatted and lifted himself high up in the air in such a way that he remained over us in a squatting posture. I was astonished at this and became frightened and fell on the ground. The sulṭān ordered that I should be administered a medicine which he had with him. Thus I recovered and sat up, but the jogī was still in the same squatting posture His comrade took a slipper from the bag which he had with him and struck it on the ground as if he were in a fury. The slipper rose and hovered over the squatted man's neck which it began to strike, meanwhile, he descended gradually till he sat with us. The sulṭān said to me, 'The squatting man is the disciple of the owner of the slipper.' Then he added, 'Were I not afraid that you might lose your mental equilibrium, I would order them to show

[1] *I.e.* the vezir, Khwāja Jahān. This should not be confused with the 'sulṭān's nāib' in Telingāna. See p. 104 *supra* and p. 169 *infra*

[2] (Abū Dā'ūd, Delhi, Vol. II, p. 214.) The Prophet forbade the burning of all beings down to an ant. See also Husain, A. M.—*Le Gouvernement du Sultanat de Delhi*, p. 80.

[3] For the favourites of the sultān, see p. 263 *infra*.

[4] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa means to say that the jogis' heads were clean shaven and that the hair had been removed not by a razor but by means of burnt charcoals or ash. This is still in vogue.

[5] '*Azīz*' was the honorific used by Sulṭān Muḥammad to address the foreigners by way of courtesy. This has been explained above. See p. 4, *supra*.

much greater things than you have seen.' I then withdrew from him and was seized with a palpitation of the heart and fell ill. Thereupon the sulṭān prescribed a tonic for me, which cured me of my illness.

Let us return to the description of our journey :

From the city of Parwan we betook ourselves to the Amwārī station (*manzil*), and then to that of *Kajarrā*[1] where there is a great pond about a mile in length near which are temples containing idols which the Muslims have mutilated.[2] In the centre of that pond there are three cupolas of red stone, each of three storeys; and at the four corners of the pond are cupolas in which live a body of the jogis who have clotted their hair and let them grow so that they became as long as their bodies and on account of their practising asceticism their colour had become extremely yellow. Many Musalmans follow them in order to take lessons from them. It is said that whoever is subjected to a disease like the leprosy or elephantiasis lives with them for a long period of time and is cured by the permission of God.

It was in the camp of Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn, king of Turkistan, that I saw these people (*ṭā'ifa*) for the first time. They were about fifty in number, and a subterranean cavern had been dug for them wherein they lived and would not come out except to satisfy their needs. They have a kind of horn which they blow at daybreak, at the close of the day and at nightfall. And their whole condition was extraordinary. One of them made pills for Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn ad-Dāmghānī, king of Ma'bar—pills which the latter was to take for strengthening his pleasure of love. Among the ingredients of the pills were iron filings. Their effect pleased the sulṭān, who took them in more than necessary quantity and died. He was succeeded by his nephew Nāṣir-ud-dīn, who honoured this jogī and raised his rank.

Then we left for the city of Chanderi (*Jandīrī*).[3] It is a big city with thronged market places There lives the chief governor (*amīr-ul-umarā*)

[1] *Kajarrā* or Kajrāo or Khajurāho or Khajrāo was an old city of the Chandel Rajputs of Bundelkhand lying south of Mahoba and north-east of Ujjain. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa *Kajarrā* or *Kajrāo* was a place of Hindū learning and pilgrimage, abounding in idol temples. Kajrāo which is now reduced to a village retains its Hindū characteristics till the present day. It is inhabited mainly by Hindū devotees and is surrounded by temples on all sides.

[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's remark regarding the mutilation of idols by the Muslims may be correct inasmuch as the said temples at Khajrāo abounded in obscene images (Cunningham, A.S.R., II, pp 412-36) and the Muslim soldiery possibly removed the obscene parts in the course of wars. There has been a tendency among the Muslim writers of the Middle Ages to advertise the Muslim rulers as uncompromising iconoclasts (See my paper—*Maḥmūd of Ghazni idolized by 'Iṣāmi* in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 1944, p 281.)

[3] By Chanderī (*Jandīrī*) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa probably means the city of old Chanderi on the Betwa nine miles to the north-west of the present city. Chanderi was conquered and annexed to the empire of Dehlī in 649/1251 during the reign of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. But it was lost to the empire after the death of Balban; and Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was advised by 'Alā-ul-mulk to reconquer it. So it was conquered under the sulṭān's orders by his general 'Ain-ul-mulk Multānī in 1304 A.C. and the latter is said to have simultaneously captured three other cities of Mālwa,

of this province (*bilād*), 'Izz-ud-dīn al-Bantānī usually known as A'ẓam Malik. He is an accomplished man of great virtue. He mixes with men of learning—among them being the jurist 'Izz-ud-dīn az-Zuberī, the learned jurist Wajīh-ud-dīn al-Biānī who originates from Bayāna which has been described before and the jurist and *qāẓī*, better known as Qāẓī Khāṣṣa, and the local imām, Shams-ud-dīn. The governor's deputy in financial matters is Qamar-ud-dīn and his deputy in military affairs is S'aādat of Telingāna (*Tiling*), a prominent hero before whom troops have to pass in review. A'ẓam Malik shows himself only on Fridays and rarely on other days.

Then we left Chanderī for the city of Dhār (*Ẓihār*) which is the capital of Mālwa and the largest district (*'amāla*) of that province. Grain, specially wheat, is abundant there; and from this town betel leaves are transported to Dehlī, the distance between Chanderī and Dehlī being of twenty-four days' journey; and on the road between them there are pillars on which the number of miles showing the distance from one pillar to the other is engraved. When a traveller desires to know the number of miles he has travelled in the course of the day and the remaining distance he has yet to cover in order to reach the next halting station (*manzil*) or his destination, he reads the inscription on the pillars and comes to know it. The town of Dhār is an administrative charge (*iqṭā'*) appertaining to Shaikh Ibrāhīm, who comes from the Maldive Islands.

Anecdote

This Shaikh Ibrāhīm had come to this city and established his residence outside its walls. He cultivated the fallow land there and began to sow melons which produced an extraordinarily sweet flavour equalled by none in that land. On the neighbouring grounds the cultivators (*an-nās*) also sowed melons, but they could not get anything like this. Shaikh Ibrāhīm used to feed the poor and the needy.

When the sulṭān intended to leave for the province of Ma'bar this *shaikh* offered him a melon which he accepted. He was pleased with him and assigned to him the city of Dhār as an administrative charge (*iqṭā'*) and ordered him to build a hospice on a hillock which dominated the city. Accordingly the *shaikh* erected there a very beautiful building where he used to feed the wayfarers and he continued this for years. Afterwards he came to the sulṭān, brought him thirteen lacs of tankas and said, 'This is the balance from the amount out of which I used to feed the people; the public treasury (*bait-ul-māl*) is more entitled to it than myself.' The sulṭān took the money from him but disapproved of his saving the money and not spending the whole in feeding the poor.

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namely Ujjain, Māṇḍū and Dhār. Chanderī was since made a powerful military centre. Seventeen years later Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq drew forces from Chanderī despatching these under the command of his son Ulugh Khān against Telingāna (1321 A.C.). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Chanderī about 1335 A.C. (*Vide* Cunningham, A.S.R., II, p. 403).

In this city the nephew of the vezir Khwāja Jahān intended to assassinate his uncle, to seize his treasures and to go over to the rebel[1] in Ma'bar. His plan reached the ears of his uncle who seized him as well as a number of the amirs and sent them to the sulṭān. The sulṭān killed the amirs and sent back to the vezir his nephew whom the vezir executed.

Anecdote

When his nephew was returned to him the vezir ordered him to be killed in the same way as were killed his comrades. He had a girl whom he loved. He sent for her and served her with a betel-leaf and she in turn served him one; and he embraced her with a view to bid her adieu. He was subsequently thrown to the elephants. Then he was skinned, and his skin was filled with straw. At nightfall the girl came out of the house and threw herself into the well that lay near the place of her lover's execution. On the morrow she was found dead. She was taken out and buried together with her lover's corpse in the same grave, which came to be called '*qubūr (gor)-i-'āshiqān*'.[2]

Then we set out from the city of Dhār and went to Ujjain (*Ujayn*), a beautiful city thickly populated. There lived Malik Nāṣir-ud-dīn, son of 'Ain-ul-mulk. He was one of the accomplished, generous, fine and high-minded men of great learning and had suffered martyrdom in the island of Sandapūr (*Sandabūr*) at the time of its conquest. I visited his grave there as will be related. In this town also lived the jurist and physician Jamāl-ud-dīn, the westerner (*al-maghribī*) who had originally come from Granada (*Gharnāṭa*).

Then we journeyed from the city of Ujjain to the city of Daulatābād.[3] This is a large and very important city which challenges comparison with

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[1] *I.e.* Saiyid Jalāl-ud-dīn Ahsan Shāh, see p. 99 *supra*.

[2] The Arabic text contains an explanation in the Persian phrase—*gór-i-'āshiqān*—which means 'lovers' grave'. It should be noted that the Arabic word *qubūr* is plural of *qabr*, while the Persian word *gōr* is singular in form

[3] 'Daulatabad is a railway station on the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway, being situated 9 miles north-west of Aurangabad, in Lat. 19° 57′ N. and Long. 75° 15′ E. It is the old Hindu capital of Deogarh or Deogiri, identified by some as the Tagara of Ptolemy, which surmise is not unreasonable when we consider that the change from Deogara to Teogara and finally to Tagara is very likely. An old Hindu historian, Hemadri, attributes the foundation of Deogiri to the Yadava Prince, Bhillama I, who ruled in the North Deccan during the last quarter of the twelfth century, but the architecture of the Fort (particularly the style of the scarp) proves it to be of a much earlier date, perhaps of the same period as the earliest caves at Ellora. 'Ala'ud-din Khalji captured the Fort in 1294, and Deogiri subsequently became an important base for operations in South India. Muhammad bin Tughluq conceived the idea of making it his capital and changed its name to Daulatabad. The Fort afterwards belonged successively to the Bahmani dynasty, the Nizam Shahi kings of Ahmadnagar and the Mughals, from whose hands it ultimately came into the possession of Asaf Jah, the first Nizam of Hyderabad.

The Fort is built on a cone-shaped hill rising almost perpendicularly from the plain to a height of about 600 ft. The old city of Daulatabad was situated to the

Moat and the natural scarp (Archaeological Department, Hyderabad).

Ruins of the old palace (Archaeological Department, Hyderabad).

the capital Dehlī in its importance and the extent of its area which falls into three divisions. The first division is Daulatābād which is reserved for the sulṭān's residence and his troops; the second division is called *Kaṭaka* [1] and the third is the peerless fortress which is called Deogīr (*Duwaygīr*) and has no equal in impregnability. In this city is the residence of Khān-i-a'ẓam [2] Qutlugh (*Qatlū*) Khān, the sulṭān's teacher. He is the commandant of the city of Daulatābād and holds the position of the sulṭān's deputy there, in the region of Sāgar (*Ṣāghar*) and in the province of Telingāna (*Tiling*), as well as in the territories which belong to this part of the land. The whole expanse of these, which it takes three months to travel through, is fertile and thickly populated and subject to the rule of Qutlugh (*Qatlū*) Khān, whose lieutenants administer the land. The fortress of Deogīr of which we have spoken is a rock standing alone in a plain. It was cut smooth and on its summit was built the stronghold which is reached by means of a leather ladder which is taken away during the night. There live the mufrads,[3] namely the zimamis,[4] with their children. In the dungeons of the stronghold those who have been guilty of capital crimes are incarcerated and in these dungeons there are enormous rats, larger than the cats which run away from them and are not able to withstand them. The rats would overpower the cats and they could be caught only by certain devices which are adopted against them. I have seen the rats in the fortress and was very much astonished thereby.

Anecdote

Malik Khaṭṭāb Afghān (*al-Afghānī*) told me that he was once incarcerated in a dungeon of this fortress which was known as the 'rat dungeon'. 'The

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east and south of the hill, but it is in complete ruins now. The outer wall which enclosed the City is 2¾ miles in circumference, and between it and the base of the Citadel there are three lines of fortifications. The most remarkable features of the Fort are the *moat*, the *scarp*, and the *spiral passage*, all hewn out of solid rock. The *moat* is about 100 ft. deep; and being always kept filled with water it could be negotiated only by a narrow drawbridge which was raised in time of danger. The *scarp* again is so smoothly chiselled that to escalade it with the help of the contrivances of olden days must have been beyond human agility. Behind the scarp the ascent to the Citadel consists of a spiral passage cut in the heart of the rock in a most ingenious fashion, containing numerous secret chambers for the accommodation of guards. The upper outlet of the passage is fitted with an iron grating on which when necessary a large fire could be kindled to smother the enemy'. (The Archaeological Department, Hyderabad.)

[1] *I.e.* *Kaṭaka* ([illegible])—a Sanskrit word—meaning a royal camp and an army (Monier-Williams—*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*). Here *kaṭaka* connotes a cantonment; and it appears that the second division of the city of Daulatābād was a military town. Yule (*Cathay And The Way Thither*, IV, p. 46) is inclined to identify it with Cuttack in Orissa.

[2] Literally 'the greatest chief'

[3] & [4] Lane (Bk. 1, p. 2365) has '*mufarrid* (مفرد) which means a rider having no other with him or a rider having only his camel with him. According to Dozy, Pt. II, p. 251, *mufrad* or *mufradī* connotes a special body of troops. He quotes Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to

rats', he said, 'assembled round me at night to eat me. I fought them and was tired in the course of the fight. Subsequently I saw in sleep a person who spoke to me, 'Read the Quranic chapter of *al-Ikhlās*[1] one hundred thousand times and God will relieve you.' I recited it and when I had finished I was taken out. The reason for my deliverance was as follows. Malik Mall was incarcerated in a dungeon in my vicinity. He became ill and the rats ate his fingers and his eyes. As a result, he died. When the sultān heard of this he said, 'Let Khattāb be taken out lest the same should happen to him.' In this fortress had sought refuge Nāsir-ud-dīn—son of the above mentioned Malik Mall—and Qāzī Jalāl after the sultān had inflicted a defeat on them.

The inhabitants of the province[2] of Daulatābād belong to the Mahratta (*Marhata*) tribe whose women God has endowed with particular beauty, especially in regard to the nose and the eye lashes. They are very acquiescent in love and exceptionally well-acquainted with diverse acts relating to the union of the two sexes. The heathens of Daulatābād are tradesmen—the most important article of their trade being pearls—and their riches are considerable. These tradesmen are called *sāha*[3]—a word of which the singular is *sāh*; they correspond to the *akārim*[4] of Egypt.

In Daulatābād grapes and pomegranates grow and bear fruit twice a year. It is one of the greatest and most important cities as far as the amount of its revenue and land taxes are concerned and on account of its great population and vast territories. I was told that a certain Hindū undertook for seventeen crores to realize the taxes of the city and of all its

describe the term المفردون, plural of *mufrid* or *mufrad* and observes that it was a special term in India for soldiers inscribed on the list of the army.

I am of opinion that the term *mufrad* applied in part to the Hindū soldiers enlisted in the royal army. In his *Khazāin-ul futūh*, Amīr Khusrav uses the term *mufrad-i-rikāb* to denote a Hindū horseman (*Khazāin-ul-futūh*, p 16) And *mufrad* was synonymous with *zimāmī* which, derived from *zimāma*—a register of the army—,connoted a soldier on the roll (Dozy, Pt I, p 602.)

[1] Literally '*Purity*'—the name of a chapter in the Qu'rān which describes beautifully and concisely the Unity of the Godhead pointing out ' the pitfalls into which men and nations have fallen at various times in trying to understand God ' (A. Yusuf 'Ali —*Translation and Commentary of the Holy Qu'rān*, p. 1806)

[2] *I e.* the province of Deogir. See *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlug*, p 91.

[3] The French scholars explain '*sāha*' giving the Sanskrit equivalent *sarthavaha*, and the Pali equivalent *sattahavaha*, which in Ceylon is pronounced as *sattvahe* or *sattbahe* (Def. et Sang , IV, p 49).

I am of opinion that '*sāha*' is identical with '*sāhū*' which according to Baranī was an honorific then enjoyed by the Hindu capitalists and merchants. See *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. xiv The term *sāhū* or *sāhūkār* is still commonly used as an honorific for Hindū millionaires. *Sāhū* means honest, upright, of good repute, a merchant and a banker. And *Sāha* or *Shāha* still denotes an important business community in Bengal and other parts of India.

[4] *Akārim* was the name of a merchant class of the negroes of Egypt who were principally occupied in import business.

territories; and these territories, as has been mentioned, extend to a distance of three months' journey. And a crore contains a hundred lacs and one lac contains one hundred thousand dinars. But he did not fulfil his obligations and his account showed a debit. Consequently his property was confiscated and he himself was skinned.[1]

Bazaar of the singers

In Daulatābād there is a market-place for male and female singers which is known as Ṭarabābād[2] and is one of the greatest and most beautiful bazaars. It has numerous shops and every shop has a door which leads into the house of its proprietor, the house having besides this door another exit. The shop is decorated with carpets and in the middle of it there stands something like a big cradle on which the female singer sits or lies. She is decked out with all kinds of finery and her female attendants swing her cradle. In the middle of the market-place there stands a large cupola, which is carpeted and decorated and in which the chief of the musicians (*amīr-ul-mutribīn*) takes his place every Thursday after the *'aṣr* prayer in the presence of his servants and slaves. The female singers come in successive crowds, sing before him and dance until dusk after which he withdraws. In this bazaar there are mosques for praying in which the imām recites the *tarāvīḥ* prayer during the month of *Ramaẓān*. One of the Hindū rulers in India alighted at the cupola every time he passed by this market-place and the female singers used to sing before him. Even some Muslim rulers did the same.

Next we went to Nandurbār (*Nadḥarbār*), a small town inhabited by the Mahrattas (*Marhata*). They are a people extraordinarily skilled in manual trades. The physicians, the astrologers and the noble class of the Mahrattas are called Brahmin (*Barāhima*)[3] and also Khatrī (*Katrī*).[4] Their diet is rice, vegetable and sesame-oil, for they do not approve of the torture and slaughter of animals. They bathe before eating like the Muslim bathing on account of a pollution (*janābat*).[5] They do not marry their relatives except when they are in the seventh remove. They do not drink wine which according to them is the worst of vices. It is just the same in the country of India with the Muslims. However, the Muslim who drinks is

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[1] Mžik (p 275) says 'was skinned alive'; but it appears that he was killed and then skinned. This was the usual form of punishment; the criminal's skin, taken off after his death, was filled with straw and paraded or held up to the public view as a deterrent. Skinning a man alive was an unusual and abnormal punishment inflicted in rare cases.

The French translation has '*et lui même fut écorché*'—*i e* and he was even skinned. (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 49).

[2] *I.e.* abode of pleasure.

[3] & [4] The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas are two well-known castes among the Hindus.

[5] *Janābat*—a state of ceremonial defilement—connotes an obligatory bath to be taken immediately after an emission or seminal discharge according to Muslim law.

chastised with eighty strokes of the whip and is incarcerated three months in an underground cell which is not opened for him except at the time of his meal.

From this city[1] we travelled to Sāgar (*Ṣāghar*),[2] a large town on the bank of a large river, which has the same name as the town itself. By the river there are water-wheels for irrigation and orchards in which mangoes, bananas and sugar-canes grow. The inhabitants of this city are just, pious and honourable and all their deeds are praiseworthy. They have gardens containing hospices (*zawāyā*)[3] for the wayfarers. Everyone who builds a hospice dedicates to it also the garden and leaves the administration of it to his children. If the latter die without issue the administration goes to the judges. The population of Sāgar is numerous, and strangers (*annās*) go there to enjoy the hospitality of its inhabitants and also because the town is free from taxes and duties.

From the said Sāgar we travelled to the city of Cambay[4] (*Kinbāya*). It lies on a bay[5] which looks like a valley. The ships enter it and ebb and flow can be perceived there. I saw ships lying at anchor there in mud during the ebb and also floating on the water when the tide came in. Cambay is one of the most beautiful cities as regards the artistic architecture of its houses and the construction of its mosques. The reason is that the majority of its inhabitants are foreign merchants, who continually build there beautiful houses and wonderful mosques—an achievement in which they endeavour to surpass each other. Amongst the grand buildings of the city is the house of Sharīf as-Sāmirī with whom I had the affair of the sweets[6]

[1] *I.e.* Nandurbār on the south bank of the Tapti

[2] Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has studied the relative positions of Sāgar which lies near Shorapur and finds mention elsewhere (R.F.M., p 144) as well as of Sinnar which lies 20 miles south-east of Nasik, of Sagbara which lies 30 miles north-west of Nandurbar, and of Sayar on the Narbada Of all these he prefers Sinor—a town in the Baroda State and described in Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, pp. 552–555. 'Sinor' is a large town on the bank of the Narbada at a place where the Narbada is very broad, being only 30 miles from its mouth; and it lies practically half-way on the route from Nandurbar to Cambay. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar is of opinion that 'Sāgar' was erroneously reproduced in the *Rehla* in place of Sinor. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa enquired on the spot as to the river along which the city lay and the reply given to him was that it lay along a 'big sāgar'—the word *sāgar* being synonymous with a big river or sea.

[3] The term *zāwiya* (زاوية)—*zawāyā* being plural—is applied to a small chapel or building which serves as a hospice or an asylum for poor Muslim students and others (Lane). It was a convent or monastery for Ṣūfī dervishes called *khānqāh* in the east and *zāwiya* in the west. (*Vide* Henri Massé—*L'Islam*, p. 174)

[4] Cambay is a very old mart and harbour and was visited by Marco Polo who named it *Kambaet*. It was then independent or part of the independent kingdom of Gujarat, and was conquered and annexed to the empire of Dehlī under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. It played an important part in the history of the Khaljī-Tughluq period.

[5] *I.e.* *khaur* which literally means an inlet from a sea or a large river

[6] See p. 139 *supra*.

(*ḥalwā*) and to whom Malik-un-nudamā [1] gave the lie. I have never seen stronger pieces of timber than those used in this house. Its gate is like the gate of a town, and adjacent to the house is a large mosque which is named after as-Sāmirī. Among the grand buildings are also included the house of Malik-ut-tujjār [2] al-Kāzerūnī with his mosque adjacent to it and the house of the merchant Shams-ud-dīn, the cap-maker (*kulāh-doz*).

Anecdote

When the rebellion of Qāẓī Jalāl the Afghān, of which we have already spoken, took place, the above-mentioned Shams-ud-dīn and the ship-owner Iliyās—one of the most eminent inhabitants of the town—and Malik-ul-ḥukamā,[3] of whom we have spoken already, intended to defend themselves against the rebel and began to make a trench around the town as it had no wall. But Qāẓī Jalāl got the better of them and entered the town. The above-mentioned three hid themselves in one and the same house and in their fear of being discovered agreed to kill themselves. Consequently everyone of them killed the other with a 'kaṭāra' [4] (*qattāra*), a weapon which we have already described. Two of them died but Malik-ul-ḥukamā survived.

Among the great merchants in Cambay (*Kinbāya*) was also Najm-ud-dīn from Jīlān [5] who was of handsome figure and very rich. He built a large house and a mosque in this city. Subsequently the sulṭān sent for him, nominated him commandant of the city and bestowed the *marātib* [6] on him. This was the cause of his losing his life and property.

The commandant of Cambay at the time of our arrival was Muqbil of Telingāna (*Tiling*), who held a high position at the sulṭān's court. In his suite was Shaikhzāda of Iṣfahān (*Iṣbahān*) who was his deputy in all his affairs. This *shaikh* was uncommonly rich and possessed profound knowledge in matters of state. He continually sent money to his native land and made plots to make his escape. The news of this came to the sulṭān and it was reported that he was planning his escape. The sulṭān wrote to Muqbil to send Shaikhzāda of Iṣfahān and Muqbil sent him by means of the foot-post.[7] He was then presented to the sulṭān who ordered

[1] 'Malik-un-nudamā' (chief of the companions) was the regular title, conferred by the sulṭān on any of his favourite amirs. Neither the German, nor the French scholars mention the original form of the title which I have retained to indicate the origin and significance of the term. The French scholars (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 53) translate it as *le roi des favoris* (king of the favourites) and Mżik as 'the first favourite of the sulṭān'.

The same is the case with Malik-ut-tujjār and Malik-ul-hukamā. Mżik translates the former as 'head of the merchants guild' and the latter as 'head of the medical guild'. No guild system existed then in this country as it did in Europe.

[2] & [3] See footnote 1 above.

[4] See p. 163, footnote 1, *supra*.

[5] *I.e.* Gīlān—a Persian province on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea.

[6] See p. 8, *supra*.

[7] See Chapter 1, p. 3, *supra*.

him to be watched. It is customary with the sulṭān that when he places anybody under watch the latter seldom comes out of it with a whole skin. But the *shaikh* came to an understanding with his guard by means of a sum of money which he gave him and both took to flight together. A reliable man told me that he had seen him in a corner of the mosque of the town of Kalhat[1] (*Qalhāt*), that he had afterwards reached his native land and that he had gathered together his riches and found security against everything which he feared.

Anecdote

Malik Muqbil entertained us one day in his house. Curiously enough, the judge of the city who was blind in the right eye sat opposite a *sharīf*[2] from Baghdād who resembled him closely in figure and in his having only one eye, except that he was blind in the left eye. The *sharīf* began to look at the judge and laughed and the judge scolded him. 'Do not scold me,' said the *sharīf*, 'for I am better than you'. 'How is that?' asked the other. The *sharīf* answered, 'You are blind in the right eye, and I in the left.' On this, the commandant (*amīr*) and those who were present laughed. And the judge was ashamed and was unable to make a reply, because in India the sharīfs are profoundly revered.

Among the virtuous men of this town[3] there was one Ḥājī (*al-Ḥājj*)[4] Nāṣir who came from Diyār Bakr[5] and lived there in one of the alcoves of the congregational mosque. We visited him and ate from his food. It so happened that Qāẓī Jalāl came to see him when he had taken possession of the city of Cambay at the time of his revolt, and it was reported to the sulṭān that he had prayed for the rebel. Consequently, Ḥājī Nāṣir fled lest he should be killed like al-Ḥaidarī.[6] Another man of piety in this city is the merchant Khwāja Isḥāq who possesses a hospice in which he feeds the wayfarers and he spends much money for the poor and helpless; yet his fortune grows and increases in great measure.

From Cambay we went to the town of Kāwā[7] which lies on a bay wherein there is ebb and flow. Kāwā belongs to the state of the heathen raja (*rāi*) Jālansī[8] of whom we shall speak shortly.

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[1] Kalhat or Calatu of Marco Polo lay south-east of Muscat. It was a commercial town and harbour in Oman during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It belonged then to the king of Hormuz. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it in 1331 A.C.

[2] *I.e.* a nobleman and a descendant of the Prophet. See p. 40, *supra*

[3] *I.e.* Cambay.

[4] Ḥājī or *al-Ḥājj* is the honorific used for one who has performed a pilgrimage at Mecca.

[5] Diyār Bakr—the capital of the Turkish province of the same name—is situated on the left bank of the Tigris on the site of the old Āmid.

[6] See p. 92 *supra*.

[7] It has been suggested that Kāwā was identical with Goa (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 57). But it is Sandāpūr which has been identified with Goa. See Introduction and the map, p. 150. Kāwā was a small town near Broach.

[8] 'Jālansī' is connected with the word *Jhāla*—the name of a Rajpūt tribe—and the ruling family of Jhalawar in south-east Rajpūtāna

From here we went to Gandhār[1] (*Qandahār*) which is a large city belonging to the infidels and lies on a bay formed by the sea.

Ruler of Gandhār (Qandahār)

The ruler of Gandhār (*Qandahār*) is an infidel named Jālansī who is subject to the government of Islām and sends to the emperor of India a present every year. When we reached Gandhār he came out to receive us and showed us very great honour. He even left his castle and accommodated us therein. The chief Muslims of his entourage like the sons of K͟hwāja Bohra[2] visited us and among them there was the ship-owner Ibrāhīm who owned six ships meant for his special use. It was at this city that we embarked on sea.

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[1] *Gandhār* was a harbour of some importance throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and lay near the mouth of the river Narbada. Now it is reduced to a village.

[2] See Appendix N, p. 273

CHAPTER XV

ALONG THE MALABAR *(MULAYBĀR)* COAST

An account of our embarkation

We embarked in a ship that belonged to the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm and was called *al-Jākar*.[1] We accommodated seventy horses, which formed part of the present, placing the rest together with the horses of our suite in a ship which belonged to the brother of the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm and was called *Manūrt* Jālansī gave us a ship in which we placed the horses of Zahir-ud-dīn, of Sumbul and of their comrades. He fitted it out for us with water, provision and fodder and sent his son with us to accompany us on a ship named *al-'Ukairī*, which resembled a kind of *ghurāb*[2] except that it was larger. It carried sixty oars and at the time of war was covered with a roof so that the rowers should be struck neither by an arrow nor by a stone I embarked on the *al-Jākar* on which were fifty archers and fifty Abyssinian warriors who are the lords of this sea[3]; whenever one of them is on a ship the Hindū pirates and infidels avoid attacking it. After two days we arrived at the island of Bairam,[4] which is uninhabited and is four miles distant from the mainland. We landed there and drew water from a pond which was there. The reason why it is deserted is that the Muslims had attacked the infidels there and since then it has not been inhabited. Malik-ut-tujjār who has been mentioned before intended to re-populate it, he built its rampart on which he mounted the catapults and settled some Muslims there. Then we left Perim (*Bairam*) and the following day we came to Gogo[5] (*Qūqa*)—a large city with spacious markets. We cast anchor four miles from it because of the ebb-tide. I entered a boat with some of my comrades, while the tide was low in order to reach the town; but the boat ran into the mud when we were still about one mile from land. Thrown in the mud, however, I supported myself on two men of my suite.

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[1] The ship was named al-Jākar or Aldjaguer perhaps after 'jaguer'—a quadruped.

[2] *Ghurāb* means a crow, and is used here to indicate a long-pointed, and low war-ship.

[3] *I e* the Arabian Sea

[4] Bairam or Piram or Perim was an island near the gulf of Cambay.

[5] Gogo—a town in the peninsula of Kathiawar on the gulf of Cambay 103 miles N.W. of Bombay. 'The journey from Perim to Gogo appears to have been motiveless. Unfavourable winds or necessity to supplement provisions might have forced the ships of the embassy into the roadstead of Gogo' (Mzik) But the motive is obvious. The routes to be followed and the places to be visited by the embassy in the course of their journey from Dehli to China had been purposely left undefined by the sultān who wanted thereby to give Ibn Battūta some latitude to enable him to gratify his cherished ambition as a traveller at large Accordingly Ibn Battūta's curiosity to visit any places of any interest or importance—and *Gogo possessed* a historic mosque—directed among other causes the embassy's journey to Gogo and likewise to several other places not directly on the route

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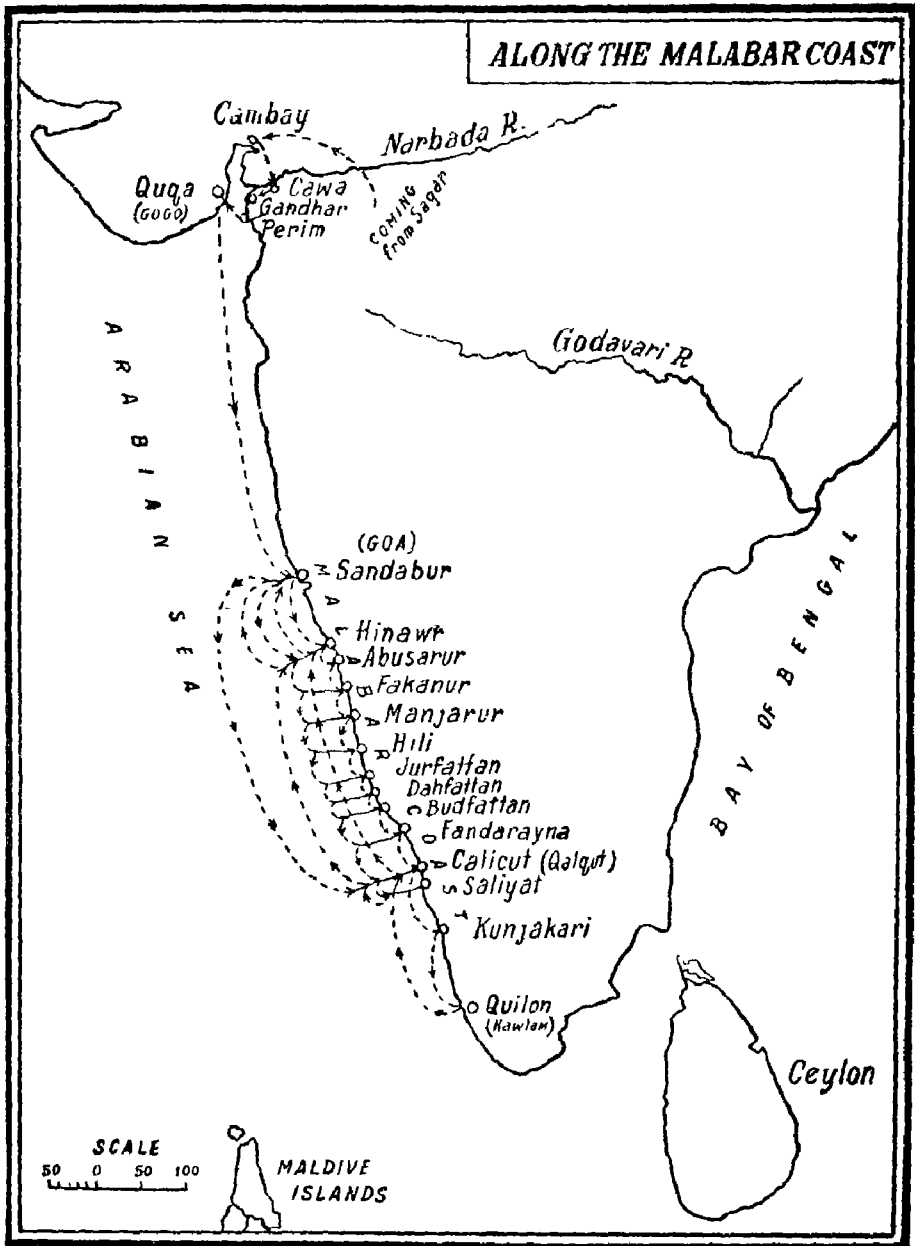
People inspired me with apprehensions about the possible return of the tide before my arrival in the city and I could not swim well. Nevertheless, I arrived at Gogo, visited its bazaar and saw a mosque which is ascribed to Khiẓr and Ilyās.[1] May peace be on them! There I performed the *maghrib* prayer and saw a group of the fakirs of the Ḥaiderī order along with their chief. Then I returned to the ship.

Sulṭān of Gogo (Qūqa)

The sulṭān of Gogo is a heathen named Dunkūl, who had sworn allegiance to the sulṭān of India, but who is in reality a rebel. Three days after we had left the city and set sail we reached the island of Sandāpūr (*Sandābūr*)[2]—an island in the midst of which there are thirty-six villages; and it is surrounded by a creek. During the ebb-tide the water of the creek is sweet and pleasant, but during the flood-tide it is salty and bitter. In the centre of the island there are two cities of which one is old and had been built by the heathens, while the second was built by the Muslims when they conquered this island for the first time. In this city there is a large congregational mosque which bears resemblance to the mosques of Baghdād and was built by the ship-owner Hasan, the father of Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad of Onore (*Hinawr*). The account of Jamāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad will follow shortly, God willing, together with that of my visit to him when this island was conquered for the second time.[3] We left this island behind sailing past it and cast anchor at a small island[4] which lay close to the mainland and in which there were a temple, an orchard and a water-pond. In this island we met a jogi.

Anecdote about this jogī

When we landed on this small island we met in it a jogī who was leaning against the wall of a *budkhāna*,[5] that is a house of idols. He stood in the space between two of the idols and bore marks of self-mortification. We addressed him, but he gave no answer. We looked around to see if he had food with him, but we saw none of it While we were looking around he uttered a loud cry and at his cry a nut of the coco fell before him which

[1] Khiẓr and Ilyās are the two prophets of Islām, and the Muslims believe that they are still alive and will continue to be alive until the Day of Judgment. Their task in this world is to guide those who lose their way on water and land respectively. See E I, II p. 471.

[2] Sandāpūr (*Sandabūr*) is the old name of Goa.

[3] See p 195 *infra*.

[4] This island is, as Yule has shown, Anjidiv, the largest of a group of the same name consisting of five or six small islands. It is five miles from Karwar in the district of North Kanara. On the eastern side there is a small bay on which can harbour a ship up to ten tons. Anjidiv was visited by Vasco da Gama on 20th September, 1498, in the course of his first journey, and his description is in accordance with that of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's even in regard to the jogī (Mžik).

[5] The term *budkhāna* corresponds to *butkhāna*, '*bud*' or '*budd*' being the Arabic form of Persian '*but*' meaning an idol (Steingass).

he handed over to us We were astonished at this and offered him gold and silver coins which he did not accept. Then we gave him provisions which he rejected. Before him there lay on the ground a cloak of camel wool which I turned over in my hand and he gave it to me. I was carrying in my hand a rosary of Zeila [1] (*Zayla'*) which he turned in my hand. So I gave it to him. He rubbed it in his hand, smelt it and kissed it and he pointed to heaven and then made signs in the direction of the *qibla*.[2] My comrades did not understand his signs, but I understood his indication that he was a Muslim and that he concealed [3] his faith in Islām from the inhabitants of that island. He lived on the coco-nut. When we took leave of him, I kissed his hand—an act which my comrades disapproved. He understood their disapproval So he caught hold of my hand and kissed it and smiled and hinted to us to withdraw We withdrew. I was the last of my comrades to go out He pulled at my coat and as I turned round to him, he gave me ten dinars When we got outside, my comrades said to me, 'Why did he pull at your coat?' 'He presented me with these dinars', said I Three of them I gave to Zahir-ud-dīn, and three to Sumbul. And I said to them, 'The man is a Muslim. Did you not see how he pointed to heaven indicating that he knew the exalted God? And did you not notice how he pointed to the *qibla* indicating that he knew the Prophet? May peace be on the Prophet! And this is confirmed by the fact that he took the rosary ' After I had spoken to them thus, they both went back to him but did not find him

We sailed away forthwith, and the following day we reached the city of Hinawr [4] which lies on a large bay where large ships enter But the city lies at a distance of half a mile from the sea During the *bishkāl*, that is, the rainy season, this sea is very stormy and agitated and remains thus for a period of four months so that nobody can embark except for fishing.

On the day of our arrival in this city one of the Hindū jogis came secretly to me, handed me six dinars and said, 'The Brahmin sends this to you.' By the 'Brahmin' he meant the jogi whom I had given the rosary and who had given me the dinars I took the money from him and

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[1] 'Zeila' was a commercial town on the African coast opposite to Aden. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it in 1331.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was convinced that the said jogī was a Muslim under *taqiya*; and a pointer to this was, among other things, the reverence he showed for the rosary which the traveller held in his hand Now, according to Defrémery and Sanguinetti (iv, p. 63) this rosary was made of small cowries (*coquillages*)—perhaps because *zayla'* literally means small cowries - but there was nothing in the cowries to justify rubbing, smelling and kissing on the part of a believer; nor are the rosaries, which Muslims use, made of cowries. It appears that the rosary in question was made of sacred earth to which reverence was shown by means of smelling, kissing and making signs in the direction of the *qibla*, and that it had been obtained by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa from Zeila—a town on the African coast near Aden which he had visited on his way from Aden to Mogdishu.

[2] *I.e.* the west, in which direction all Muslims bow in prayers.

[3] This is *taqiya*, see p. 193 *infra*.

[4] Hinawr—an old seaport, now destroyed, on the western coast of India south of Sandāpūr.

wished to give him a *dīnār* out of it, but he did not accept it and went away. I related the affair to my comrades and said to them, 'If you wish, here is your share of this money.' They refused and were nonplussed at the occurrence. They said, 'To the six dinars which you gave us we added an equal amount and left them between the two idols where we had found that man.' My astonishment was great in regard to his deeds and I preserved the dinars which he had given [1] me

The inhabitants of the city of Hinawr profess the Shāf'aī cult.[2] They are pious, devout and powerful at sea and able to fight naval battles. They became famous through this until misfortune humbled them after they had conquered Sandāpūr We shall relate that later.

Among the devout and religious people I met in Hinawr was Shaikh Muḥammad Nāgaurī (*an-Nāqaurī*) who received me hospitably in his hospice. He used to prepare food with his own hands since he regarded the male as well as female servants as unclean.[3] In Hinawr I also met the jurist Ismā'īl, the teacher of the *book* of Allāh the exalted,[4] an impeccable man of handsome appearance and a noble soul, and also the local judge (*qāzī*) Nūr-ud-dīn 'Alī and the orator (*khatīb*) whose name I have forgotten. The women of this city and of the whole of the coast land do not wear sewn clothes, but only unsewn garments.[5] They form a girdle with one of the extremities of their garments and cover their heads and breasts with the other. They are beautiful and chaste. Everyone of them puts a gold ring[6] in her nose. One of their qualities is that they all know the great Qur'ān by heart. In the city I saw thirteen schools for girls and twenty-three for the boys, the like of which I had not seen elsewhere. The inhabitants of Hinawr

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[1] See p. 192, footnote 2

[2] *I.e.* the Shāfi'ī school of Islamic law founded by Imām Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad *bin* Idrīs, commonly known as al-Shāfi'ī (767–820 A.C.). He is looked upon as an eclectic in faith pursuing the middle course between the independent legal investigation and traditionalism of his time. He is regarded as the founder of the principles and methods of jurisprudence and as a successful teacher of *the uṣūl-ul-fiqh* at Medina, Mecca, Baghdād and Cairo. His cult found a welcome home in Syria, Egypt, and the Hedjaz as well as in Mesopotamia, Central Asia and Khurāsān—where it eventually lost ground. It still remains the popular cult in some parts of Africa and the islands. Also see p. 185 *infra*.

[3] Mžik considers this as an instance of the extent to which the customs of the Hindus had influenced the Muslims of this country. He is of opinion that Shaikh Muḥammad Nāgaurī considered his male and female slaves unclean and did not have his food prepared by them because of his belief in untouchability. But, I think, that the said *shaikh* was a saint of abstemious habits and performed his devotional exercises during which he scrupulously avoided all possibilities of contamination and impurity; hence his apprehensions regarding his servants.

[4] *I.e.* the Qur'ān.

[5] *I.e. sārī* 'साड़ी'.

[6] *I.e.* the *nath* (नथ)—'a large ornamental ring worn on the left nostril '(Bate, p. 359)—being originally a Hindū ornament, it was early adopted by the Muslims in India. It is still in use and forms an essential part of the bride's make-up, and is commonly presented from the bridegroom's side before the marriage is solemnized. This affords another instance of Hindū-Muslim cultural assimilation.

earn their living by maritime trade, since they possess no fields. And the inhabitants of Malabar (*Mulaybār*) send a yearly tribute of fixed amount to Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn, king of Hinawr, for fear of him and because of his overwhelming maritime power and his forces consist of six thousand cavalry as well as infantry.

Sulṭān of Hinawr

The sulṭān of Hinawr, Jamāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, is one of the best and most powerful rulers; but he is subordinate to a heathen raja (*sulṭān*) named Haryab[1] of whom we shall speak later.[2] Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn regularly performs the congregational prayers. He is accustomed to come into the mosque before day-break; then he reads the Qur'ān (*maṣḥaf*) until the first light of morning appears and he prays at the earliest hour.[3] Then he takes a ride out of the city and returns in the forenoon,[4] proceeding immediately to the mosque where he prays. Subsequently he goes to his palace and he fasts during the white days (*bīẓ*).[5] During my stay with him he used to invite me to join him in breaking the fast and I as well as the jurists, 'Alī and Ismā'īl, attended for this purpose. Four small chairs were placed on the ground and while he seated himself in one of them, each one of us sat likewise in a chair.

Order of his dinner

The order consists in this—a copper table is brought up which is known as *khawanja*[6] on which is placed a dish of the same material known as *ṭālam*. Then appears a beautiful girl (*jārīya*) wrapped in silk 'sārī'[7] who has the pots with the food placed before the individual.[8] She holds a large copper ladle with which she picks up a ladleful of rice and serves it

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[1] By 'Haryab' Ibn Baṭṭūṭa probably means Bilāl Deo, the raja of Dwārsamudra.

[2] See p. 228 *infra*.

[3] The Arabic text is يصلي اول الوقت for which the French translation is '*Alors, il prie pour la première fois*' (then he prays for the first time) (Def. et Sang., IV, p 68). 'Then he recites his first prayer', according to Mžik (p. 288).

[4] The original is ضحى—a vague period of time in the forenoon about which the Arabs are not definite. According to the French scholars ضحى is '*vers neuf heures*' (about 9 a.m.) (Def et Sang, IV, p 68).

[5] Or strictly speaking 'the days of the white gleaming nights', *i.e.* from the thirteenth to the fifteenth of every month during which the Prophet observed fast. The French translation (Def et Sang, IV, p 68) includes the 12th also, although the term *bīz* signifies the said *three* nights only. In his *Adab-ul-kātib* (p. 70, Cairo, 1348 A.H) Muḥammad *bin* Qutaiba (213/828–276/889) tells us that the Arabs have given a name to every three nights of their calendar month For instance, the first three are called *ghurar*, *i e* 'beginning'; the next three *nufal* meaning 'increase'; the next three *tusa'* meaning 'nines'; the next three *'ushar* meaning 'tens'; the next three *bīẓ*, *i.e* 'gleaming' and so forth.

[6] *Khawanja* is the Arabic form of the Persian word *khwān-cha*, which is the diminutive of *khwān* meaning tray (Fallon).

[7] *Ṣaub* (ثوب) in the original text stands for 'sāṛī'.

[8] *I.e.* each member of the dinner party consisting of the sulṭān and his guests.

on to the dish, pours gheé[1] over it and adds pickles of pepper, of green ginger, of lemon, and of mangoes. The man eats a little, after which he takes some of the pickles. When the food placed by her on the dish is consumed, she takes a second ladleful of rice and serves a cooked fowl on a plate and the rice is eaten therewith also. When the second course is over she takes another ladleful and serves another variety of the chicken which is also eaten with rice.

When the various kinds of chickens are consumed, fish of various kinds is served with which also one eats the rice. When the fish courses are over, vegetables cooked in ghee and milk-dishes are served with which one likewise eats the rice. When all these courses are eaten, *kūshān*, that is, curded milk is served which finishes the meal. When this is served, one knows that no further dishes are to follow. At the close one drinks hot water, for cold water would harm the people in the rainy season. Another time I put up with this sulṭān for eleven months and in the course of this period I ate no bread, for their food is rice. Similarly I continued in the Mahal islands, in Ceylon (*Saylān*), in Ma'bar and in Malabar for three years in the course of which I ate nothing except rice which I could not swallow but with the help of water.

The clothing of the sulṭān of Hinawr consists of silk stuffs and fine linen Around his middle he binds an apron and wraps himself with two wrappers, one on top of the other, and he plaits his hair and winds a small turban around it. When he rides he wears a cloak (*qabā*) over which he puts two wrappers. Before him trumpets are sounded and drums beaten which are carried by his men.

This time my stay with him lasted three days. Then he gave us provisions for the journey and we took leave of him. After three more days we came to the coast of Malabar,[2] the pepper country. It extends to a distance of two months' journey along the sea coast from Sandāpūr to Quilon (*Kawlam*). The road runs completely in the shade of trees and at every half-mile there stands a wooden house in which there are benches on which the wayfarers, infidels as well as Muslims, sit. Near each of these houses there is a well from which drinking water is taken

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[1] See p. 15 footnote *supra*.

[2] *Māle*—based on the Dravidian word *mala* meaning a hill or mountain—was the name given to the western coast of India by the Arab navigators of the 6th century (522–547 A.C.). In the mouth of their successors who came there in search of pepper and spices in the course of the succeeding six centuries *Māle* became *Malibār*, *Mulibār*, *Manibār*, *Munibār* and *Mulaybār*, *bār* being either derived from the Arabic *barr* meaning a continent or the Persian *bar* meaning a country. Marco Polo picked up the same and writes *Melibār* which later became *Malabar*. The indigenous name is *Malayalam* and *Malayam*, *i.e.* the hill country or *Keralam* *i.e.* the country of Chera, 'Kerala' being another form of Chera. 'Kerala' is also said to have been the ancient name of the western coast prior to the Arab advent.

'Malabar' is, thus, a name given by the Arabs; but it varies in its form with different Arab writers. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa writes *al-Mulaybār*, Qazwīnī writes *al-Malibār*, while Idrīsī and Abu'l Fidā write *al-Manībār*.

and which is entrusted to the supervision of an infidel. He gives the infidels water in vessels and if one happens to be a Muslim he pours water into his hands and leaves off when the latter makes him a sign or withdraws.[1] It is the custom amongst the heathens in the Malabar country that no Muslim should enter their houses or use their vessels for eating purposes. If a Muslim is fed out of their vessels, they either break the vessels or give them away to the Musalmans.[2] When a Muslim enters a place in this country in which there is absolutely no house of the Musalmans, the heathens cook his food for him, place it for him on the banana leaves and pour the soup on it, what remains over is eaten by the dogs and birds.[3] In all the resting-places along this road there are houses of the Muslims with whom the Muslim travellers lodge; from them they buy every thing which they need. These also cook the food for the Muslim travellers. If it were not for them no Muslim could have travelled in this country. Along this road, of which we said that it takes two months to travel through, there is not a span of space uncultivated, let alone larger pieces of land. Every one has his own separate garden with his house in the middle, a wooden fence surrounds the whole and the road leads through the middle of the gardens. Where the road ends at a garden-fence there are wooden steps on which one climbs and another ladder by which one reaches the neighbouring garden. Thus it is all along the distance amounting to a journey of two months. In this country neither one can travel with a beast of burden, nor can there be horses with anyone except the sulṭān. The principal conveyance of the inhabitants is the *dola*, which slaves or labourers carry on their shoulders. Those who do not travel in the *dola* go on foot, whoever they may be. Those who carry with them moveables or merchandise, etc., hire people who carry these on their backs. In these parts merchants are to be seen with one hundred labourers or more, and sometimes less, who are hired to carry their luggage and goods; every one of these carries a thick stick which has an iron tip and on its top a hook made of iron. When he is tired and finds no seat on which to rest he plunges his stick into the earth and fastens his burden to it. When he has rested, he takes it up again without needing anybody to support him and walks away with it. I have not seen any road safer than this one, for they[4] would kill those who steal even a walnut. Should any fruit fall to the ground nobody picks it up until the owner has taken it. I was told that some Hindus went along the road there and that one of them picked up a walnut. This was reported to the magistrate (*ḥākim*) who ordered a stake which was fixed into the earth and sharpened at its upper end. Then a plank was put over it so that the point protruded and the man was laid on the plank and speared

[1] These practices are still in vogue more or less in the same fashion as described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; and being not confined to Malabar alone these can be seen almost in all parts—illustrations of *that untouchability against which Mahatma Gandhi crusaded*. (See Introduction, p. xxxiv.)

[2] & [3] See footnote 1, above.

[4] *I.e.* the Hindus.

on the stake, which penetrated his abdomen and came out at his back. Thus he was left as a warning to onlookers. Such stakes with this spectacle are numerous on the roads of this country, so that the people should see them and take them as a warning.

We used to meet infidels on this road at night; but as soon as they saw us they got out of the way until we had passed. The Muslims are the most respected people in this country except that, as before mentioned, the natives do not dine with them and do not admit them into their houses.

In the country of Malabar[1] there are twelve infidel rulers—some being so powerful as to possess an army of fifty thousand men and some being weak, their troops amounting to three thousand men There is absolutely no dissension amongst them, and the strong one does not endeavour to take away what the weak one possesses. Between the territories of each of these states and the neighbouring state there stands a wooden gate on which is inscribed the name of the ruler whose territory thence begins. This gate is called the security gate of so and so. If a Muslim or heathen, owing to a crime, flees from the territory of one of these rulers and reaches the security gate of another he is safe and the ruler from whom he is fleeing cannot have him arrested, even if he is powerful and possesses numerous troops. The rulers in this land bequeath their sovereignty to the sons of their sisters and exclude their own children. I have not seen anybody who would act in such a way except the Massūfa,[2] who wear the veil (*liṣām*),[3] and of whom we shall speak later on. If a ruler of the Malabar country intends to forbid his subjects to buy and sell, he gives the order to one of his servants and the latter fastens over the shops a branch of some tree bearing its leaves, whereupon nobody buys and sells as long as these branches remain on the shops.

Account of the pepper

The pepper-bushes look like vines. The natives plant them opposite the coco-nut trees around which the pepper-bushes climb like vines; but they have no tendrils (*'aslūj*) as in the case of vines. The leaves of the bush look like leaves of asafœtida and also like the leaves of the blackberry bush. The pepper-bush bears small bunches of fruit, the grains of which resemble those of *abūqinnīna*[4] as long as they are green. When autumn comes the pepper is plucked and exposed on reed-mats to the sun just as is done with grapes when they are turned into raisins. It is continually turned round until it is completely dry and becomes black; then it is

[1] This account of Malabar is confirmed by Barbosa (B., pp. 105-106).

[2] In his account of the Sudan Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions the 'Massūfa' (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 430). They were an African tribe who covered their faces fully or in part with a veil.

[3] *Liṣām* is a veil that covers the face or the lower part of it.

[4] *I.e.* datepalm. *Qinnīna*—a utensil well known to every inhabitant of Sahara—is a hemi-spherical container made of the wood of datepalm and used to draw water. Therefore, the datepalm is known as *abū-qinnīna*.

sold to the merchants. The common people in our country think that it is roasted by the fire, whence the wrinkles on the pepper-grains come. But it is not so, since the wrinkles are caused by the sun. I saw the pepper-grains in the city of Calicut (*Qāliqūṭ*) emptied out into bushels as is done with the millet in our country.

The first city of Malabar which we visited was that of Barcelore (*Abūsarūr*).[1] It is small, lying on a big bay with abundant coco-nut trees. The head of the Muslims there is Shaikh Jum'a known as Abū Sitta, a generous man who used to spend his wealth for the poor and needy until it was exhausted.

Two days after we had left this city we reached Fākanar[2]—a large city on a gulf near which splendid sugar-cane thrives in abundance, the like of which is not to be found in these parts. In Fākanar there is a body of Muslims whose chief is a certain Husain as-selāṭ, and there is one judge (*qāẓi*) and one orator (*khaṭīb*). The aforesaid Husain built a mosque there for the performance of Friday prayer.

Sulṭān [3] of Fākanar

The raja (*sulṭān*) of Fākanar is an infidel named Bās Deo (*Bāsadau*), who has about thirty warships, the commander of which is a Muslim[4] named Lūlā. The latter is a rogue (*mufsid*),[5] who carries on piracy and plunders the merchants' ships. When we cast anchor at Fākanar, its sulṭān sent us his son who remained on board as hostage. And we visited the sulṭān who entertained us handsomely for three days out of his regard for the emperor (*sulṭān*) of India to fulfil his obligations and with a view to the profit which he wished to derive from trading with the passengers of our ships. It is the custom for every ship passing the town (*balad*) of Fākanar always to cast anchor there and to offer the ruler a present which is known as the customs-tax.[6] Whoever does not do that is pursued by the local ships and

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[1] Abūsarūr, the 'Basarūr' of Abul Fidā, has been identified with the town of Barcelore or Baracelore which flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in the seventeenth century there was here a Dutch factory (Yule).

[2] Fākanar may be identified with modern Barkur—a village in South Canara district of Madras.

[3] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses the word '*sulṭān*' rightly but indiscriminately for the Hindū rulers as well as for the emperor of India. Literally '*sulṭān*' means a ruler, a potentate, emperor, king, monarch, sovereign (Johnson).

[4] That a Muslim held the top naval post in a Hindū state affords an illustration of the culture and liberalism attained in the India of 14th century A.C.

[5] Presumably Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was misinformed, else Lūlā could not have held a highly responsible post.

[6] The Arabic phrase حق البندر has been translated into French as '*le droit du port*', harbour-tax (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 79). But Mžik differs. He contends that 'Bandar' in the above phrase has nothing to do with the Persian word Bandar (بندر) for harbour; 'it is a dialectal form of the Sanskrit 'Bhaṇḍāra'—depot, warehouse or treasury. Hence the right of Bandar (Bhaṇḍār) would be the right of the treasury or exchequer, i.e. tax or duty'. This view, I agree, is supported by a passage from the *Rehla*. See p. 200 *infra* and footnote 5.

brought by force into the harbour. They impose on him double the tax and prevent him from travelling further as long as it suits them.

We left Fākanar, and after three days came to the city of Manjarūr[1]—a large city on a bay, called the bay of *'ad-Dumb*. It is the largest bay in the Malabar country, and in this city most of the merchants from Fārs and Yemen (*Yaman*) disembark. And there is an abundance of pepper and ginger there.

Sulṭān of Manjarūr

He is one of the most powerful rulers of this country and his name is Rām Deo (*Rāmadau*). In this city there are about four thousand Muslims, who inhabit a suburb of their own inside the jurisdiction of the city. There is fighting between them and the inhabitants of the city often, but the raja (*sulṭān*) intercedes since he has need of merchants. There is a *qāẓī* in Manjarūr, an accomplished and beneficent man of the Shāf'ai[2] cult named Badr-ud-dīn of Ma'bar who patronizes learning. He came to us on board the ship, and asked us to disembark at his town. 'Not until the ruler sends his son to stay on board our ship,' we replied. 'The sulṭān of Fākanar did this because the Muslims in his town have no power. But as for us, the sulṭān fears us', he rejoined. Nevertheless, we refused to land until the sulṭān had sent his son. Consequently, he sent his son just like the other ruler.[3] Then we disembarked and were treated with great respect and we stayed with them for three days. Then we started for the city of Hīlī,[4] which we reached after two days. It is an imposing city which has been well built and is situated on a large bay in which big ships enter ; and it is to this city that the Chinese ships, which enter only this harbour and those of Quilon and Calicut, are bound. The city of Hīlī stands in high regard with the Muslims as well as with the infidels because of its congregational mosque,[5] which enjoys plenitude of blessings and radiates

[1] *I.e.* Mangalore. (*Vide* B., p. 82.) [2] See p. 179 *supra*. [3] *I.e.* of Fakanar

[4] Hīlī was originally Ēli. Its origin may be traced to Mount Delly or Mount D'elly—a mountainous promontory 855 ft. high and stretching far into the sea. This (promontory) or cape had been a well-known landmark for sailors since the earliest times and was the first Indian land sighted by Vasco da Gama. On the summit of the cape there is a small mosque which is visited on certain holy days by a large number of Moplas (native Muslims from Malabar). Rivers on both sides practically make it an island and the natural strength of its position led to the building of the fort which was occupied successively by the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English troops (*Imperial Gazetteer*). According to Marco Polo and Barbosa (Yule—S.M.P., II, pp. 374–94) 'Eli' was a kingdom about 300 miles from Comari in the neighbourhood of Mount Deli which was famous for producing cardamom, *i.e. elāchī*. Now, *hel* is a Persian word for *elāchī* and *ela* Sanskrit. Thus possibly arose Hīlī—the name of a city which became the seat of the Hindū dynasty called Kolattiri. I do not think the origin of Hīlī can with equal cogency be ascribed to a similar word meaning a rat. (Cf. *Gazetteer of Malabar*, I, p. 7.)

[5] This was one of the nine mosques built in nine different towns of Malabar—Cranganore, Quilon, Hīlī, Jurfattan, Dahfattan, Fandaraynā, Kanyarode, Fākanar and Mangalore—according to the instructions of the famous Cheraman Perumal, the last ruler of the Kerala kingdom of Malabar and progenitor of the present ruler of

the light of heaven. Navigators offer it considerable oblatory presents; so, it possesses a large fund under the supervision of Husain, the orator (*khaṭīb*), and Hasan-ul-wazzān, chief of the Muslims (*kabīr-ul-muslemīn*). In this mosque there are a number of students who learn the sciences (*'ilm*) and get scholarships out of the funds of the mosque. It has a kitchen in which food for the wayfarers, the visitors and the poor Muslims of the town is prepared. In this mosque I met a pious jurist from Mogdishu[1] (*Maqdashaw*) named Sa'īd—a man of handsome looks and fine character. He continually fasted and told me that he had passed fourteen years in Mecca and another fourteen in Medina and that he had seen Abū Nami, the governor of Mecca, and Mansūr *bin* Jamāz the governor of Medina, and that he had travelled in India and China.

Then we left Hilī for the city of Jurfattan[2] which lies at a distance of three parasangs from Hilī. There I met a jurist from Baghdād—a man of great merit known as 'as-Sarsarī' who is said to belong to a town ten miles from Baghdād on the road to Kūfa. The name of that town is just like the Sar-sar of our country in the west.[3] He had a brother in this city,[4] who was very rich and had small children whom he recommended when dying to his care; when I left him he was preparing to take them to Baghdād. It is the custom of the inhabitants of India as with those of the Sudan not to interfere with the property of the dead even when they leave thousands behind them. The money remains in the hands of the chief of the Muslims (*kabīr-ul-muslemīn*) until it is taken possession of by one wh has a legal right to it.

Sulṭān of Jurfattan

His name is Kuwayl, and he is one of the most powerful rulers of Malabar. He possesses many ships which go to Oman, Fārs and Yemen and to his dominion belong Dahfattan and Budfattan of which we shall speak presently.

Travancore. He embraced Islam in 827 A.C. and went on pilgrimage to Mecca and died in Arabia in 831. Even now his memory is cherished at Travancore and at the time of coronation when the Maharaja receives a sword he has to declare, 'I will keep this sword until the uncle who has gone to Mecca returns.' (*Gazetteer of Malabar*, I, p. 231.)

[1] Mogdishu, also written as Makdishū and Mogadiscio,—a town on the Zanzibar coast in East Africa—came into the limelight of history in the tenth century as a joint colony of some Arab and Persian tribes who constituted a federation. In the thirteenth century the federation was replaced by a hereditary sultanate. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Mogdishu in 1331 during the reign of Sultān Abū Bakr. The sultanate was destroyed in the course of the eighteenth century; and early in the nineteenth, it was occupied by the sulṭān of Zanzībār who leased it to Italy in 1889. It is now the chief town of Italian Somaliland (E.I., III, p. 165; E.B. 1946, XX, p. 946).

[2] Jurfattan (Cannanore or Srikandapuram) lay at a distance of three parasangs from Hilī according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

[3] *I.e.* north-west Africa.

[4] *I.e.* Jurfattan.

From Jurfattan we travelled to the city of Dahfattan[1]—a large city on a bay with many gardens. There grow coco-nut trees, pepper, areca-nuts, and betel-nuts; there is also much arum-colocasia,[2] with which the inhabitants of the country cook meat. As for bananas, in no country have I seen more than there and nowhere at a cheaper price.

In Dahfattan there is the largest *bā'īn*[3] five hundred steps long and three hundred broad, and it is walled and covered with red hewn stones. On the sides of it there are twenty-eight domes of stone, in each of which there are four seats built of stone, and the roof of each of these domes can be mounted by means of a stone staircase. In the middle of the water-pond there is a large dome of three storeys with four seats in each storey. I was told that it was the father of Sulṭān Kuwayl who had built this *bā'īn*. Confronting this there is for the Muslims a congregational mosque which has staircases descending into the *bā'īn*, so that people can take water from it for their ablution and bath Ḥusain, the jurist, told me that he who had built the mosque as well as the *bā'īn* was one[4] of the ancestors of Kuwayl, that he had been a Muslim, and that there was a remarkable story concerning his conversion. This we shall relate.

Marvellous tree confronting the congregational mosque

I saw that the congregational mosque stood near a soft and green tree whose leaves resembled those of the fig tree, excepting the fact that they were supple. Round about the tree there was a wall and near it there was a praying-niche where I performed a prayer with two genuflexions. The name of this tree according to the natives is the 'tree of testimony'[5] (*darakht-i-shahādat*). I was informed that a leaf falls from this tree every year in autumn after its colour has turned first to yellow and then to red, and that on this leaf there stands written with the pen of nature—*Lā Ilāhā Ilallāh Muḥammad-ur Rasūl Ullāh.*[6] The jurist Ḥusain and many a reliable man told me that they had seen the leaf and had read the inscription on it. Further, I was told that as the time of dropping of the leaf approached, reliable Muslims and infidels would seat themselves under the tree. As soon as the leaf fell Muslims would take one half of it, while the other half

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[1] 'Dahfattan' might be identical with the modern Dharmapaṭṭam, nine miles south-east of Cannanore. It should be noted that '*fattan*' is the Arabic form of Sanskrit *pattana* (पत्तन) meaning town or port.

[2] A kind of vegetable, the tender leaves of which are cooked and taken as food in the Malaya archipelago.

[3] In his *Bābar Nāma*—the unique manuscript of which at Agra College I have utilized—Babar explains (Fs. 304a–304b) the term *bā'īn* (باين) or *wā'īn*. 'I constructed' says he 'a spacious and chambered-well measuring 10 by 10. It was a large well with flights of steps inside, which goes in India under the name of *wā'īn* (واين).' *Bā'īn* or *wā'īn* is now known as 'bāolī' or 'bāoṛī'.

[4] *I.e.* Cheraman Perumal.

[5] '*Testimony*' is the approximate rendering for the Arabic term شهادة which stands for the Islamic creed.

[6] *I.e.* the Muslim creed—there is no God but God, Muḥammad is His Prophet.

was deposited in the treasury of the heathen ruler (*sulṭān*). The natives consider it a cure for the sick. This tree was the cause of the conversion of Kuwayl's ancestor who had built the mosque and the *bā'in*; he could read the Arabic script and when he read the inscription and grasped its contents he embraced Islām, and became a good Muslim. His story is well-known and current among the inhabitants. The jurist Ḥusain told me that one of the sons of that ruler[1] went back to infidelity after the father's death, and became so perverse as to order the uprooting of that tree and it was uprooted and no trace of it was left. But, later on, it sprang up again and appeared better than before and the said infidel perished before long.

Then we travelled to Budfattan[2]—a large city on a large bay. Outside it there is a mosque near the sea resorted to by foreign Muslims, for there are no Muslims in this city. Its harbour is the most beautiful of its kind, and its water is sweet while the areca-nut is found in abundance and is exported from there to India[3] and China. The majority of the inhabitants are Brahmins, who are revered by the infidels and inspire hatred in the Muslims. That is why there is no Muslim there.

Anecdote

I was told that the reason why they left this mosque unextirpated was that a Brahmin had destroyed its roof in order to make it a roof for his own house. Consequently a fire broke out in his house and he, his children and his goods were consumed. Hence they respected this mosque and from then on harboured no more evil designs against it. They even ministered to it and placed water outside in order that the wayfarers might drink; they also put some trellis before the door to prevent the birds from coming in.

Then we left Budfattan for Panderani (*Fandaraynā*)—a large and beautiful city with gardens and bazaars. There are three Muslim quarters each of which has a mosque, while the congregational mosque lies on the coast. It is wonderful, and has observation-galleries and halls overlooking the sea. The judge (*qāḍī*) and the orator (*khaṭīb*) of the city is a man from Oman, and he has a brother who is accomplished. It is in this town that ships from China winter.

From Panderani (*Fandaraynā*) we travelled to the city of Calicut, one of the chief harbours of the country of Malabar, where people from China, Sumatra (*Jāwa*), Ceylon (*Saylān*),[4] the Maldive Islands (*Mahal*), Yemen and Fārs come, and here gather merchants from all quarters of the globe. And the harbour of Calicut is one of the largest in the world.

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[1] *I.e.* Cheraman Perumal.

[2] Budfattan, or Pudupattana was one of the oldest harbours of Malabar south-east of Mahe. It has also been identified with Valarpaṭṭanam, a village near a river of the same name.

[3] *I.e.* other parts of India.

[4] *Saylān*—meaning a star upon a horse's face or 'spreading from the forehead to the nose' (Richardson)—is the Arabic name for Ceylon, so called because of its peculiar shape. The Portuguese name—Zeylan—from which the modern name, Ceylon, is said

Ruler of Calicut (*Qāliqūṭ*)

The raja (*sulṭān*) is a heathen called Zamorin (*as-Sāmirī*).[1] He is an old man and shaves his beard like some of the Europeans. I saw him in Calicut and shall speak of him later on, God willing. The head of the merchants in this town is Ibrāhīm, the Shabundar (*shāh bandar*)[2] from Baḥrein, an accomplished man of great attributes; at his house the merchants meet and at his *simāṭ*[3] they dine. The judge of Calicut is Fakhr-ud-dīn 'Usmān, a man of learning and high-minded generosity and the keeper of the hospice is Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn of Kāzerūn, to whom are brought the votive offerings which the inhabitants of India and China make to Shaikh Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzerunī. May God benefit us through him! In Calicut lives the ship-master, Misqāl, whose name is widely known. He possesses great riches and many ships for trading purposes in India, China, Yemen and Fārs.

When we arrived in this town Ibrāhīm, the Shabundar, the *qāẓī*, Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn and prominent merchants as well as the deputy (*nāib*) of the heathen ruler named Qulāj came to meet us and they had drums, trumpets, horns and flags on their ships. We entered the harbour amid great ovation and pomp, the like of which I have not seen in these parts. But it was joy which was to be followed by grief. We stayed in the harbour of Calicut in which there were then thirteen ships of China. Afterwards, we disembarked at the city and each of us was accommodated in a house. We stayed three months awaiting the time for departure to China and were guests of the heathen ruler. The China Sea is navigated only by the Chinese ships which I am going to describe now.

to have been derived (E.I., V, p. 179) is a corrupt form of *Saylān*. Ceylon was known to the Arabs from the earliest times on account of its pearl-fisheries and trade in precious stones and spices, and 'Arab merchants had formed commercial establishments there centuries before the rise of Islām'. According to a legend the Prophet is said to have banished to *Saylān* those Arabs who had fled like cowards from the battlefield of Uḥud.

Sarandīp (derived from the Sanskrit *sinhaldvipa*)—which is occasionally treated (E.B., V, p. 180) as the Islamic name of Ceylon—denoted, in fact, only that part in which lay the Adam's Peak The island as a whole was named *Sehīlān* from the native *Sihala* (Aj.H., p. 266) or *Saylān* as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions or as *Sīylān* as Qazwīnī would write (E.I., p. 839). Now, the word *Sīylān* (سيلان) means 'tongue or handle of a sword' (Lane, p. 1486), and it was also used by the Arabs in view of the peculiar shape of Ceylon. *Sīylān* also appears to have been connected with *Sihalam*, the Pali name of Sarandip. Cf. Aj.H., p. 266.

[1] *I.e. Samundrī*, the sea-king.

[2] 'Shāh Bandar'—receiver-general of duties—was the title of the chief officer at the custom-house. With him as the highest authority foreign merchants and captains negotiated.

[3] *I.e.* dinner-carpet.

Description of the Chinese ships

The Chinese ships are of three kinds; the large are called *junūk*,[1] the singular being *junk*; the middle-sized are called *zau*,[2] and the small *kakam*.[3] On each of the large ships there are anything from three to twelve sails, consisting of bamboo canes, which are woven like mats. They are never let down and are turned according to the direction in which the wind blows. When the ships are anchored the sails are left floating in the wind. On each of these ships there serve a thousand men, of whom six hundred are sailors and four hundred warriors. Amongst the latter there are archers, shield-bearers and cross-bow archers, that is, the people who shoot naphtha missiles. To each large ship three small ships are assigned—the *nisfī*,[4] the *ṡulsī*[5] and the *rub'ī*.[6] These vessels are not built except in the town of Zaitūn in China or in Great China (*Ṣīn-kalān*), that is, China of China (*Ṣīn-uṣ-ṣīn*).[7] And the way these ships are built is as follows: two wooden walls are built connected by extremely strong beams which are fastened throughout their length and breadth by means of thick nails. The length of such a nail is three cubits. When the two wooden walls are joined together by the beams the lower deck is built on them and these are launched into the sea. Then they complete the construction. The beams and wooden walls which jointly touch the water enable the people to descend to it and wash and satisfy their needs. By the sides of these beams there are oars which are as large as ships' masts, and at each one of these oars ten to fifteen men come together, and they row standing on their feet. Four decks are constructed on the ship which contains apartments, cabins and rooms for the use of the merchants; and a cabin in the ship contains apartments and lavatories[8] and has a door which can be bolted by the occupant who may take with him his female slaves and women. Sometimes it so happens that a passenger is in the aforesaid residential quarters and nobody on board knows of him until he is met on arriving at a town. The sailors let their children live in these quarters and they sow greenery, vegetables and ginger in wooden tubs. The administrator of the ship (*wakīl-ul-markab*) holds a position like that of a great amīr. When he lands, the archers and the Abyssinians march before him with lances and swords,

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1, 2, 3 These three words are derived from the Chinese *tchouen*, *sao* or *seou* and *hoa-hang* respectively (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 91). It has been contended that *hoachwan*—trading ship—is the origin of the *kakam*.

Yule believes that the *junk* although originally derived from the Chinese word is only the Malay and Javan 'jong'—a *jong* being a large sea-ship. And '*zau*' is the Anglo-Indian *dhow*—the usual term for long swift-sailing ships constructed in the Arab fashion, but the word would hardly be of Arabic origin. (Hobson-Jobson.)

4 *I.e* half-sized.

5 *I.e* one-third sized.

6 *I.e* quarter-sized.

7 The modern name for *Ṣīn-uṣ-ṣīn* is Canton.

8 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses the Hindī word سنڈاس ('sanḍās'), which is still commonly used. Notice the soft 'د' in the word سنداس as written in the *Rehla*. According to Platts (p. 683) 'sanḍās' means a cesspool latrine.

kettledrums, horns, and trumpets. When he has reached his residence they plant their lances in the ground on both sides of his gate and continue to observe these ceremonies as long as he dwells there. There are Chinese who have many ships on which they send their employees to foreign countries and there are no richer people in the world than the Chinese.

How we undertook the journey to China and the fate of that journey

When the time for the journey to China came, the raja Zamorin (*as-Sāmirī*) fitted out for us one of the thirteen junks which lay in the harbour of Calicut. The administrator of the junk (*wakīl-ul-junk*) was named Sulaimān and came from Ṣafad [1] in Syria. I was acquainted with him and said to him, 'I want a cabin for myself because of the female slaves, for it is my habit not to travel except along with them.' He answered, 'The Chinese merchants have hired the cabins for the return jounrey. My brother-in-law has a cabin which I should like to give you, but it has no lavatory (*sandās*); but perhaps it is possible to change it for another.' I gave my men the necessary orders, and they loaded my luggage on the boat, and the male and female slaves boarded the junk. This happened on Thursday.

I remained on land to perform the Friday prayer and then to join them, while Malik Sumbul and Ẓahīr-ud-dīn boarded the boat with the presents. Then a servant of mine named Hilāl came to me on Friday morning and said, 'The cabin which we have taken on the junk is too small and unsuitable.' I informed the captain of the ship (*nākhudā*) who expressed his inability to help in the matter. 'But would you prefer to be on the *kakam*?' he asked. 'On it,' he added, 'there are cabins to suit your choice.' 'Right', said I and gave my people the order. They brought my female slaves and goods on to the *kakam* and embarked on it before the Friday prayer. Usually the waves on this sea rise regularly after the '*aṣr* [2] prayer when nobody can embark. The other junks had already departed and the only one left was the one on which were the presents; and there was a junk whose owners had decided to stop for the winter at Fandaraynā; then there was the above-mentioned *kakam*. We spent Friday [3] night along the shore without being able to reach the *kakam* and the people on it could not come to us. Nothing had remained with me except a carpet on which to lay myself. The junk and the *kakam* were far out of the harbour by Saturday morning. The junk on which the passengers were bound for Fandaraynā was shattered by the sea and broken, and some of them were drowned while some were saved. Among the survivors was a slave girl, who belonged to one of the merchants and was very dear to him. He desired to give ten gold dinars to one who might save her, and she had clung to a piece of wood at the back of the junk. One of the sailors of Hormuz heard her cry and saved her. But he declined to accept the dinars saying, 'I have done that only for the sake of Allāh the exalted.' At nightfall

[1] Ṣafad—a town in Galilee east of Acre in Syria. [2] See p. 128 *supra*.

[3] The Arabic term ليلة السبت —Saturday night—has been translated as Friday night because the night precedes the day according to the Muslim calendar.

the sea shattered also the junk which contained the presents, and all who were on it died. In the morning we looked at the place where their corpses lay and I saw that Ẓahīr-ud-dīn had broken his skull, and his brain had come out, and that a nail had penetrated one temple of Malik Sumbul and had come out at the other. We prayed over their corpses and buried them. Then I saw the heathen ruler (*sulṭān*) of Calicut who wore a large piece of white cloth around his middle from the navel to the knees and on his head he wore a small turban. He was barefooted, and a servant held an umbrella over his head. A fire was lit before him on the coast, and his police officers (*zabāniya*) [1] belaboured the people so that they should not plunder what the sea had cast up.

It is the custom in the country of Malabar that whenever a ship is destroyed whatever is saved from it goes to the treasury. Such is not the custom in this town [2] alone. Here the lawful proprietors collect whatever is thrown up by the sea and therefore the town is flourishing, and great is the influx of foreigners. When the crew of the *kakam* observed what had happened to the junk they set sail and sailed away, taking with them all my possessions and my servants and girls. I remained behind alone on the coast and with me was only one boy, whom I had released. When the boy saw what had befallen me, he deserted me and nothing remained with me except the ten dinars which the jogī [3] had given me and the carpet on which I lay. I was told that the *kakam* must call and anchor at the port of Quilon. Hence I resolved to travel up to Quilon—a distance of ten days' journey from Calicut whether one goes by land or by river. I travelled by river and hired a Muslim porter to carry my carpet.

When Indians travel by this river they disembark in the evening and pass the night in the villages lying along the bank; then they return to the ship on the morrow. We used to do the same. On the ship there was no Muslim except the one I had hired. He used to drink with the infidels after we had landed and used to quarrel with me and this augmented my unhappiness. On the fifth day of our journey we came to Kunjākarī. It lies high on a mountain and is inhabited by the Jews who have their own chief and pay the *jizya* [4] to the sulṭān of Quilon.

Canella and sappan-wood [5]

All the trees which are to be found by this river are canella or sappan-wood trees, which are used there as fuel. We used to light fires of that wood to cook our meals in the course of that journey.

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[1] Lane, Bk. I, Pt. III, p. 1214.

[2] *I.e.* Calicut.

[3] See p. 178 *supra*.

[4] The use of the term *jizya* signifying merely a tax or tribute is worth noting. Read along with the footnote on pages 150, 151 *supra* and the Appendix H, it would be easy to understand the situation and it would be clear why the '*jizya*' was paid by the Jews to a Hindū ruler, the sultān of Quilon being a heathen according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

[5] The sappan-wood also known as brazil wood or red-wood was noted for its red colour.

On the tenth day we came to the city of Quilon.[1] It is one of the most beautiful places in the country of Malabar with magnificent bazaars. The merchants of Quilon are known as 'Ṣūlī'[2] and possess considerable wealth, so much so that one of them buys a ship with everything in it and loads it with the goods in his stock. There live a number of Muslim merchants whose head is 'Alā-ud-dīn al-Āwachī (*al-Āwajī*) from Āwah in the country of 'Irāq. He is a *rāfiżī*[3] and has colleagues who follow his cult, and they profess it openly.[4] The judge of the town is an accomplished man of Qazwīn,[5] while the head of the local Muslims is Muḥammad, the Shabundar (*shāh bandar*), who has a brother—an accomplished and generous man named Taqī-ud-dīn. The congregational mosque of the town is marvellous and has been built by the merchant Khwāja Muhadhdhab.

Of the whole country of Malabar this city of Quilon lies nearest to China, and to it travel the Chinese for the most part. Here the Muslims are honoured and respected.

Sulṭān of Quilon (Kawlam).

He is a heathen called Tīrawarī.[6] He holds the Muslims in high regard and punishes thieves and ruffians severely.

Anecdote

Among the events of which I was an eye-witness in Quilon was this. One of the archers from 'Irāq killed one of his comrades and took

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[1] Quilon (*Kawlam*) was the most important trading centre for trade with China and was known as a place with good drinking water.

[2] Choolia is, in Ceylon and Malabar, a Bohra-Khoja class of Shi'a Muslims so called from the Sanskrit *chūḍā*, the top hair which a Hindū wears and is cut off on conversion to Islām, (Yule). It seems to be the same word as the Ṣūlī of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

[3] *I.e.* a Shī'a Muslim who believes that Ḥaẓrat 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and his eleven descendants were the rightful successors of the Prophet.

This is the popular but erroneous and misleading sense which the term *rāfiżī* is held to signify. Literally *rāfiz* means a deserter, a demurrer and a rebel; and *rāfiza* is a term used in Islamic history to signify a body of soldiers who deserted their commander; *e.g.* a sect of the Shias who after vowing renounced their allegiance to Zaid, the grandson of Hazrat Imām Husain. They became known as *rāfiza*.

Subsequently all the Shias were contemptuously called *rāfiżī* by the Sunnis. But the Shias as a community do not come under the category of *rāfiżī*; because, far from being the deserters, they claim to be the true supporters of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī, as well as of his two sons and their descendants.

[4] Ibn Baṭṭūta means to say that the Shias in question do not observe the *taqīya*—'disguise or dispensation from the requirements of religion under compulsion or threat of injury.' *Taqīya* is a doctrine of Islām; and it is obligatory as such on all the Muslims on certain occasions. But it has had a special significance for the Shias since 'they have almost always been a suppressed minority;' and individually as well as collectively they had in the past to save themselves by observing the *taqīya* (E.I., IV, p. 628).

[5] Qazwīn—a town north-west of Teheran, now a railway station on the Qazwīn-Hamadān Railway.

[6] *I.e.* *tiwārī* which is a sub-caste of the Brahmins; learned pandits enjoying the honorific of 'Tiwārījī' are well known.

refuge in the house of Āwachī (al-Āwajī) and the murderer possessed great wealth. The Muslims intended to bury the murdered man but the officers of the raja (sulṭān) prevented them saying, 'He will not be buried unless you deliver his murderer so that he may be put to death in retaliation.' The body was therefore left on its bier before the gate of Āwachī (al-Āwajī)'s house until the corpse became putrid. Thereupon Āwachī (al-Āwajī) delivered to them the murderer and offered to hand over his fortune in return for which they should spare his life But they refused to accept the money and they killed him. It was then that the murdered man was buried.

Anecdote

I was told that the raja (sultān) of Quilon rode out one day in the environs of the city. His way led between gardens and with him rode his son-in-law, who came of the royal stock. The latter picked up one mango fruit which had fallen out of the orchards. The raja (sulṭān) gave him a look and straightway pronounced the sentence of death. He was cut in two and divided into two halves; one half was nailed to the right of the road on the cross, and the other to the left. The mango fruit was likewise cut into two halves, and one half of the fruit was placed on each half of the corpse. Thus he was left as a warning to the people.

Anecdote

A similar event which happened in Calicut was as follows. A nephew of the raja's (sulṭān's) deputy had usurped a sword of one of the Muslim merchants. The latter complained to the uncle of the criminal, who promised to look into the matter. The deputy sat down before the door of his house and suddenly perceived his nephew girt with that sword. He called him and said, 'This is the sword of the Muslim.' 'Yes', answered the nephew. 'Did you buy it from him?' asked the uncle. 'No', was the reply. The deputy then said to his myrmidons, 'Seize him'; and gave a corresponding order whereupon his head was cut off with the sword in question.[1]

I stayed some time in Quilon in the hospice of Shaikh Fakhr-ud-dīn, son of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-dīn al-Kāzerūnī, who is the head of the hospice in Calicut; but I had no news of the *kakam*. During my stay there the ambassadors of the king of China who had accompanied us and had embarked on one of the above-mentioned junks came to Quilon. Their ship too was wrecked, but the Chinese merchants in Quilon provided them with clothes; and they returned to their native land where I met them later.

I wanted to return from Quilon to the sulṭān of India in order to inform him what had happened to the presents. But I feared lest he should condemn me saying why I separated myself from the presents. So I resolved to go back to Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn of Hinawr and remain with him until I had heard news of the *kakam*. I turned back to Calicut

[1] Presumably the sword was returned to the Muslim owner.

and found there some ships of the sulṭān of India on which he had sent an Arab amīr named Saiyid Abul Ḥasan. The latter was one of the privy door-keepers (*bardadāria*)[1] whom the sulṭān had sent with money to get as many Arabs as possible from the territories of Hormuz and Qatīf[2] (*al-Quṭaif*), for he had a particular predilection for the Arabs. I went to this amīr and found that he had decided to spend the winter in Calicut and then to go to Arabia. I asked him for advice about my return to the sulṭān of India, but he did not approve of it. So I put out to sea with him at Calicut; this was the end of the season for travelling in the sea.

We used to travel during the first half of the day and then lay at anchor till the next morning. On our way we met four warships of which we were afraid, but they did not impede us in any way. Then we arrived at the city of Hinawr, and I went to Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn and offered him my greetings. He quartered me in a house where I had no servant and directed me to say prayers with him. So I sat mostly in his mosque and used to read the Qur'ān from beginning to end every day. Later on, I recited the whole Qur'ān twice daily: for the first time beginning after the morning prayer and finishing about the decline of day when I again performed an ablution, recommenced the reading and finished the Qur'ān for the second time at sunset. I did this without a break for three months, of which I spent forty consecutive days in devotional seclusion.

Our departure for the holy war and the conquest of Sandāpūr (Sandābūr)

Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn had fitted out fifty-two ships with a view to prosecute the war against Sandāpūr. A quarrel had broken out between the raja (*sulṭān*) of Sandāpūr and his son who wrote to Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn inviting him to conquer Sandāpūr and promised on his part to embrace Islām in that case and to marry the sulṭān's sister.

When the ships had been fitted out I felt disposed to accompany them to the war. I opened the Qur'ān to look into it and on the first page which struck my eye stood '*the name of God is often called on, and God will certainly help those who take up His cause.*'[3] I took it as a good omen and when the sulṭān came for the afternoon prayer I said to him, 'I wish to set out also'. 'You will be the leader of the expedition then', he said. I related what had struck my eye on the first page of the Qur'ān. He was pleased and decided to set out in person although he had not deemed it proper at first. He embarked on one of the ships and I accompanied him; this happened on Saturday. On Monday evening we reached Sandāpūr and entered its creek and found the inhabitants ready for the fight. They had already set up catapults. So we spent the night near the town and when morning came drums were beaten, trumpets sounded and horns were blown and the ships went forward. The inhabitants shot at them

[1] *I.e. parda-dār*—a chamberlain or porter of the inner chamber (Steingass).

[2] Qatīf has been previously mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as a town inhabited by the Shī'a Arabs. It lay near Baḥrein.

[3] The Qur'ān, *Sūra* XXII, verse 41.

with the catapults, and I saw a stone hit some people standing near the sulṭān. The crews of the ships sprang into the water, shield and sword in hand. The sulṭān got into an *'ukairī*, that is, a kind of small barque. I myself leapt with all the rest into the water. We possessed two vessels (*ṭarīdatān*) with open sterns in which were the horses. These ships are built in such a way that one could mount a horse and ride inside them and put on his armour also and come out riding. They[1] did the same.

By the grace of God Sandāpūr was conquered, the Muslims being providentially helped. We rushed forward sword in hand. The greater part of the heathens took refuge in the castle of their ruler. We set fire to it, whereupon they came out and we took them prisoner. The sulṭān[2] pardoned them and returned them their wives and children. There were about ten thousand of them to whom he assigned a suburb of Sandāpūr as residence. The sultān took up his quarters in the palace and gave his courtiers houses in adjacent quarters. And he gave me a young female prisoner named Lemkī whom I called Mubāraka. Her husband wished to ransom her but I refused. The sulṭān clothed me with an Egyptian overgarment which had been found among the treasures of the infidel ruler. I remained with him in Sandāpūr from the day of its conquest, that is the thirteenth day of *Jumād-al-'ūla'* until the middle of *Sh'abān*.[3] Then I asked permission from him to depart, and he made me promise that I should return to him.

I travelled by sea to Hinawr, and then to Fākanar, Manjarūr,[4] Hilī, Ju fattan, Dahfattan, Budfattan, Panderani and Calicut successively, of all of which places I have spoken. Then I travelled to the city of Shāliyāt,[5]—one of the most beautiful cities in which fabrics called by its name are manufactured. There I stayed a long time. Then I went back to Calicut, where came two of my servants who had been on board the *kakam* and informed me that the female slave, who had been pregnant and for whom I had been greatly concerned, had died, that the ruler of Sumatra (*Jāwa*) had taken possession of the remaining female slaves, and that my goods had been taken away and my comrades had dispersed over China, Java and Bengal (*Banjāla*).

On hearing this, I returned to Hinawr and then to Sandāpūr which I reached towards the end of *Muharram*. There I remained until the 2nd *Rabī'-ul-ākhir*.[6] The heathen ruler (*sultān*) of the town, who had fled at the time of our conquering it, returned to recapture it. And all the infidels rallied to him. The troops of the sulṭān of Hinawr were dispersed in the villages, and they were cut off from us while the infidels besieged us and harassed us. When the situation became critical I went out of the town which I left behind me in a state of siege and returned to Calicut.

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[1] *I.e.* the horsemen in the said two vessels.

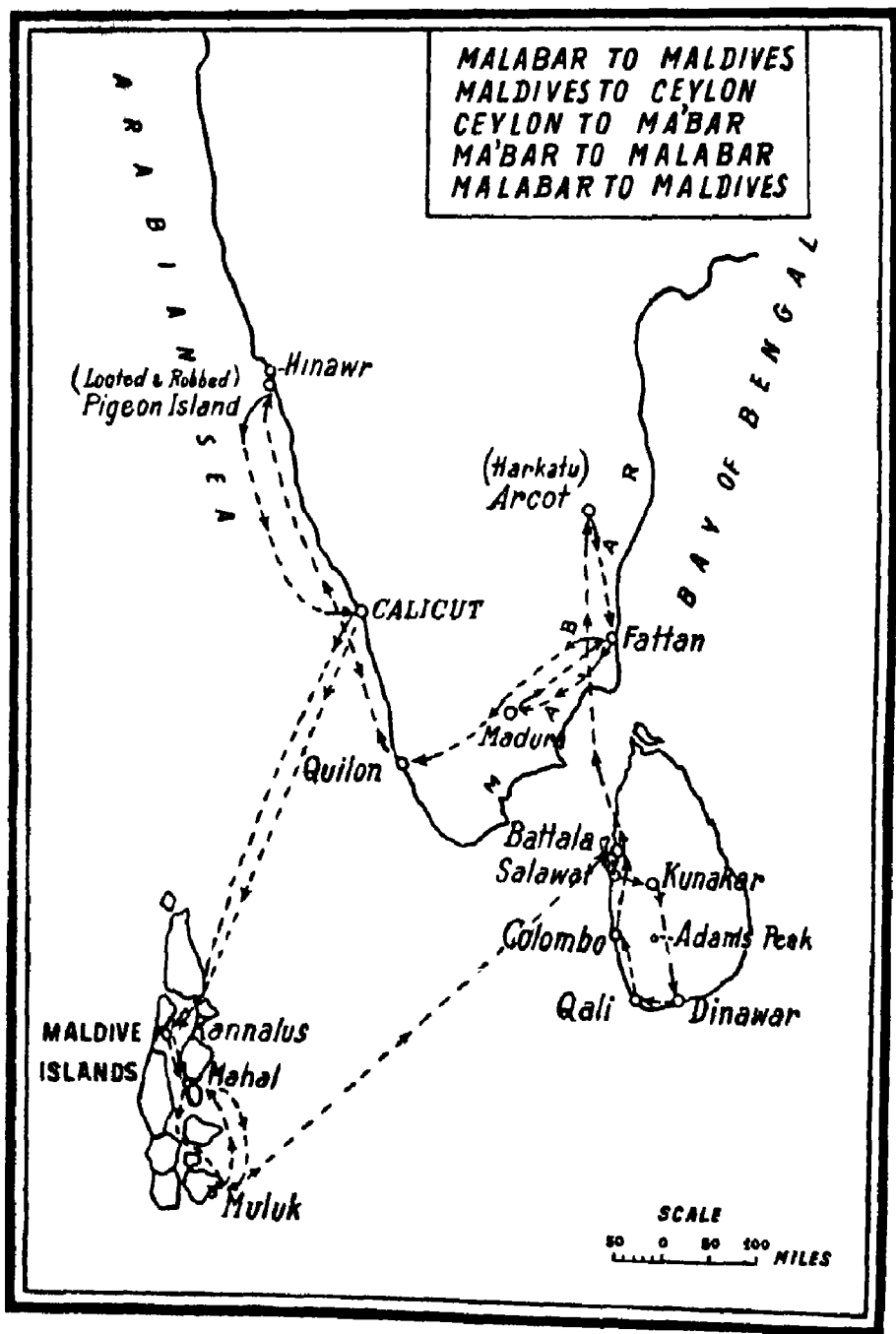
[2] *I.e.* Jamāl-ud-dīn.

[3] That is from 3rd October, 1343 A.C. to 1st January, 1344.

[4] *I.e.* Mangalore.

[5] Shāliyāt or Shālia—a town about seven miles south-east of Calicut which produced the famous shawl.

[6] That is Rabī' II of the year 745.

MALABAR TO MALDIVES
MALDIVES TO CEYLON
CEYLON TO MA'BAR
MA'BAR TO MALABAR
MALABAR TO MALDIVES
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
MA'BAR
(Looted & Robbed)
Pigeon Island
Hinawr
CALICUT
Quilon
(Harkatu)
Arcot
Fattan
Madura
Battala
Salawat
Kunakar
Colombo
Adams Peak
Qali
Dinawar
MALDIVE
ISLANDS
Kannalus
Mahal
Muluk
SCALE
50 0 50 100 MILES

CHAPTER XVI

THE MALDIVE ISLANDS (*DHIBAT-UL-MAHAL*) [1]

I resolved to undertake a journey to the Maldive islands (*Dhibat-ul-mahal*), of which I had heard a lot. Ten days after we had embarked at Calicut we reached the Maldive islands (*Dhibat-ul-mahal*). *Dhibat* is pronounced as the feminine of *dhib*.[2] These islands are to be reckoned as one of the wonders of the world. There are about two thousand [3] of them of which a hundred or less form together a cluster round-shaped like a ring and have an entrance similar to a gate by which alone ships can enter. When a ship comes to one of these islands it is absolutely necessary for her to have a native pilot in order to be able to put in at the other islands under his direction. They are so close to one another that the tops of the palm trees in one island are visible from another [4] when the ship is putting out to sea. And if the ship misses the direction of the islands she cannot reach them, and the wind drives her to M'abar or to Ceylon. All the inhabitants of these islands are Muslims—religious and upright people. And the islands are divided into atolls (*aqālīm*),[5] each of which is administered by a governor (*wālī*) who is called *kardūī*. The atolls are: the atoll (*iqlīm*) of (1) Pālīpur (*Bālebūr*), (2) Kannulūs, (3) *Mahal*—an atoll after which all the islands are named and where resides the rulers thereof, (4) *Talādīb*, (5) *Karāedū*, (6) *Taim*, (7) *Taladummatī*, (8) *Haladummatī*—which is like the preceding word except the initial letter *ha* (ه), (9) *Baraidū*, (10) *Kandakal*, (11) *Mulūk* and (12) [6]

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[1] *I.e.* the island of Mahal. Mahal being the capital, all the islands became collectively known as *Dhibat-ul-mahal*. The modern name—Maldive (*dvipa or island of Mal* that is Mahal)—is another form of the Arabic term—*Dhibat-ul-mahal*.

[2] *I.e.* a 'wolf'. But '*dhibat*' as used here is derived from the Sanskrit '*dvipa*' meaning 'island'.

[3] & [4] The number of these islands varies with different travellers. Sulaimān has 1,900; Masū'dī 19,000; and Marco Polo 12,700. This enormous difference is due to the numerous canals that divide them, 'which are so narrow that the spritsails of the ships strike the leaves of the trees which are planted on both sides. And in some cases, a nimble man may leap into an island from the top of a bough that grows in another'. (*Vide* A.G., II, p. 437).

[5] *Aqālīm* is the plural of *iqlīm*.

[6] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has given 12 atolls (*aqālīm*). Compared with the list given by François Pyrard (A.G., I, pp. 97–99) it appears (i) that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's list is short by one, (ii) that the northernmost atoll '*Taladummati*' or '*Tiladummati*' (A.G., I., p. 453) comes only 7th according to the *Reḥla*, (iii) that four out of the twelve names given in the *Reḥla* tally with the later denominations. For example, *Mahal* tallies with *Mālē*; *Taladummatī* with *Tiladummatī*; *Mulūk* with *Mulakū* and *Suwaid* with *Suadiva*. Other names given in the *Reḥla* find confirmation in the European maps of the 16th century A.C.; *e.g. mappe monde of Henry I of France circa* 1555 A.C. (*Vide* Encyc. Brit., 9th edition, art. 'Maldives').

Suwaid—which lies at the farthest extremity. In all these islands there grows no grain; only in the *Suwaid* region is to be found a kind of grain which resembles *'anlī'*[1] and is exported from there to Mahal. The food of the inhabitants is a fish which is similar to *lyrūn* and which they call *qalb-almās*.[2] Its flesh is red and has no grease and smells like mutton. When it is caught the fish is cut into four pieces, cooked a little, placed in baskets of palm leaves and hung over the smoke. When it is thoroughly dry it is eaten. It is exported from the Maldive islands to India, China and Yemen; it is called *qalb-almās*.

Trees of the Maldive islands

Most of the trees of these islands are those of coco-nut which forms the diet of the inhabitants together with the fish already mentioned. The coco-nut trees are wonderful, and a tree bears yearly twelve racemes of coco-nuts, one raceme every month. Some of the coco-nuts in the raceme are small, some large, some dry, some green, and thus it continues for ever. Milk is made from them as well as oil and honey, as we have described in the course of the first journey.[3] From the honey they make a confectionery (*ḥalwā*) which is eaten with dried coco-nuts. From all this and from the species of fish on which they live the inhabitants acquire a remarkable and incomparable sexual vigour, and the islanders are astounding in this respect. I myself had in this country four wives besides slave girls. Every day I visited all of them and passed the night with one whose turn it was and I remained there in this way for a year and a half.

Other trees of the archipelago are *jumūn*,[4] orange, lemon and colocasia. From the roots of colocasia they prepare a flour from which is made a kind of vermicelli, which is cooked with coco-nut milk and is one of the best foods. I found it very good and loved to eat it.

Inhabitants of these islands and some of their customs and their dwellings

The inhabitants of these islands are upright and religious and are men of right beliefs and good intentions. Their diet is consistent with the Islamic law (*shari'at*) and their prayers are accepted by the Almighty God. When one man meets another he says to the latter, 'God is my lord, Muḥammad my Prophet and I am a poor ignoramus'. Their bodies are weak and they are not used to fighting, and in war their arms are prayer. Once in this country I commanded the hand of a thief to be cut off whereupon several natives who were present in the court fell into a swoon. The Indian robbers refrain from attacking and terrifying them for they know from their past experience that whoever seizes anything

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[1] *I.e.* a kind of millet.

[2] *I.e.* black fish commonly called *cobolly masse*. In Ceylon it is known as *umbalakada*, and in India as *kumbulu*. (*Vide* A.G.—*The voyage of François Pyrard*, I, p. 190).

[3] See pp. xxxiv, xxxv, *supra*.

[4] It is an Indian fruit commonly known as *jāman*. See p. 17, *supra*.

from them meets quickly with a misfortune. When enemy ships come into their territories they seize the foreigners whom they meet, but do no harm to any of them. When an infidel takes anything, even a lemon, the chief of the infidels (*amīr-ul-kuffār*) punishes him with painful blows inspiring fear of the consequences. If it were not so, these people would be easily overcome by any intending attacker because of the weakness of their physique. In every island of the archipelago there are beautiful mosques and for the most part their edifices are made of wood. The inhabitants are clean and abstain from dirty things and most of them wash twice a day to keep themselves clean having regard to the great heat of the archipelago and the great amount of perspiration shed. They use much perfumed oil, that is, the sandal oil and the like, and smear themselves with a kind of musk perfume brought from Mogdishu[1] (*Maqdashaw*). There is a custom in these islands according to which every woman goes to her husband or to her son with a collyrium-case and with rose-water and *ghālia*[2]*-oil* after the performance of the morning prayer. And he applies the collyrium to both of his eyes, and annoints himself with rose-water and the *ghālia-oil*. As a result, his skin takes on a polished appearance and ghastliness disappears from his face.

Their clothing consists of a waist-wrapper; they bind this round their middle instead of the trousers and put round their shoulders an article of clothing called *wilyān*[3] which looks almost like an *iḥrām*.[4] Some put on a turban, while others wear a small kerchief. When any of them meets the judge (*qāẓi*) or the orator (*khaṭīb*) he removes his garment from his shoulders, bares his back and accompanies him thus until the latter reaches his house.

One of their customs is that when any man from among them marries and goes to the house of his wife, she spreads linen cloth in his honour from the door of her house to the wedding-chamber and along the cloth she places handfuls of cowries to the right as well as to the left of his path up to the wedding-chamber at the door of which she herself stands awaiting him. When he comes to her she throws an article of clothing at his feet which is picked up by his servants. In case the wife[5] goes to the

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[1] See p. 186 *supra*.

[2] '*Ghālia*' is a perfume composed of musk and ambergris (*Al-farāid-ud-durriya* Beirut).

[3] This is a local term for 'the waist-cloth worn by Maldivian women commonly and by soldiers on special occasions' (A.G., II, p. 440).

[4] *I.e.* a piece of cloth which the Muslims use during the pilgrimage.

[5] That is, two kinds of marriages—*bina* and *diga* as known in some parts of, modern Ceylon—then obtained in the Maldive islands. According to the *bina* marriage the wife being the owner of the house and lands, the bridegroom was conducted to her house and as such she enjoyed the upper hand at the wedlock as well as on all subsequent occasions and controlled him to the extent of expelling him at her sweet will out of the premises which legally belonged to her alone. In the case of a *diga* marriage the case was the reverse; that is, the husband being the owner of the premises domineered over the wife (*vide* A.G., I, Chs. V–XXIII).

husband's house, it is the husband's house which is floored and bestrewed with cowries. On her arrival at her husband's house the wife throws the linen cloth at his feet. Such is also the custom of these islanders when they greet the sulṭān, and it is absolutely necessary to have a piece of cloth which is thrown down at the time of greeting. We shall speak of it later.[1]

Their buildings are made of wood, and they arrange the floors of their houses high above the ground as a protection against damp, since the earth in their country is moist. The process of construction with them is as follows: they fashion blocks of stone two or three cubits long, place them in rows one above the other and lay upon them beams of coco-nut-wood. Thereupon they raise walls of wood—an art in which they are wonderfully skilled. And they build in the portico of the house a chamber called *mālam*, in which the house-owner sits with his friends. It has two doors, through one of which facing the portico enter the visitors; while through the other at the side of the house enters the owner. Near this chamber there is a large vessel full of water which has a bowl called *walanj*, which is made of the coco-nut shell. It has a handle two cubits long with which one can draw water from the wells since the water is near.

Almost all the inhabitants, high as well as low, walk barefooted and their streets, swept clean, are shaded by trees so that the walker feels he is in a garden. Despite all this every one entering a house must wash his feet with the water to be found in the large vessel at the *mālam*, and dry them on a thick mat of palm fibres, which lies there and then he enters the house. In the same manner acts every one who enters a mosque.

It is the custom in these islands that when a ship puts in there, the *kanādir*, that is, small boats—the singular of the word is *kundura*[2]—sail out to meet it. On these are inhabitants of the island who have with them betel and *karamba*, that is, green coco-nuts. And every one offers these according to his choice to one of the passengers, who thereupon becomes his guest, and he[3] takes his[4] luggage to his house as if he were a relative of his. Any of these guests who wishes to marry can do so. When the time comes for the departure he divorces his wife as women do not leave the country. Whoever does not marry has his food cooked by the hostess in whose house he is staying. She serves him and supplies provisions when he leaves, and she accepts quite a small present as recompense.

The revenue of the treasury, which is there called *bandar*,[5] is derived from the purchase of a certain part of every kind of merchandise on board at a price fixed by the officials, whether the goods are worth this price or more. This is called the law of the *bandar*. And for the *bandar* there

[1] See pp. 205 and 208, *infra*.

[2] *I.e. gundara*—a Maldivian boat (A.G., II, p. 442).

[3] *I.e.* the host.

[4] *I.e.* the luggage of the guest.

[5] *Bandar*, which commonly means a quay or harbour, here signifies the custom-house or treasury either because the custom-house usually lies at the quay or because 'bandar' is derived from Sanskrit *bhaṇḍara* meaning treasury. (Cf. A.G., II, p. 443.) Also see p. 164 *supra*.

is on each island a wooden house called *bajanṣār* in which the governor, who is called *karduvarī*,[1] stores up the goods, sells them and buys them.

The inhabitants of these islands buy crockery, on being imported to them, in exchange for fowls so that a pot sells in their country for five or six fowls. The vessels take from these islands the fish, which has been mentioned before, coco-nuts, waist-wrappers, *wilyān* and turbans made of cotton. And people take from there copper vessels which are abundant with the Maldivians as well as cowries and *qanbar*, that is, the fibrous covering of the coco-nut. This is tanned in pits on the shore, beaten with mallets and then spun by the women. Ropes are made from it which are used to bind the ships together and are exported to China, India and Yemen; these ropes are better than those made from hemp, and with these ropes the beams of the Indian and Yemenite ships are sewn together for the Indian ocean has many rocks. If a ship nailed together with iron nails collides with rocks, it would surely be wrecked; but a ship whose beams are sewn together with ropes is made wet and is not shattered.

All transactions take place in this country by means of the cowrie,[2] which is an animal picked from the sea and deposited in pits on the shore. Its flesh disappears and only the white bone remains. A hundred cowries are called *siyāh*; seven hundred *fāl*; twelve thousand *kutta* and one hundred thousand *bustū*. They are used for buying and selling at the rate of four bustus for one gold dīnār. Sometimes the cowries depreciate, and in that case even ten bustus can be had for one dīnār. They are sold to the inhabitants of Bengal for rice, because the cowries are also current in Bengal,[3] and also to the inhabitants of Yemen, who use these instead of sand as ballast in their ships. The cowrie is also the currency of the Sudanese in their country. I saw one thousand one hundred and fifty cowries sold for one gold *dīnār* in Mālī[4] and Jūjū.[5]

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[1] *Karduvarī* which has been spelt as *kardūī* before (*vide* p. 197, *supra*) seems to be the proper form inasmuch as in the later Maldivian accounts the governor of an island is styled *atolu-veri* or *vāru-verī*. The common suffix 'veri' or 'vari' should be noted (Cf. A.G , II, p. 437).

The term which has been spelt as *kardūī* (see p. 197, *supra*) means 'very high' (Def. et Sang., IV, p. 120).

[2] François Pyrard (A.G., pp. 168–171, 237), who lived about five years (1602–7 A.C.) in the Maldive islands and gives a detailed account of the inhabitants of these islands bears out the observations made by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in broad outline.

[3] The cowries were legal tender in most parts of India till the first decade of the 20th century, and their use for the lowest denominations—*dhelā*, *adhdhī* and *chhadām*—is within living memory. Eighty cowries amounted to a pice (*paisa*), forty to half a pice (*dhēlā*), 20 to one-quarter of a pice (*adhdhī*) and 10 to one-eighth (*chhadām*). The cowries were also legal tender in the Dehlī empire and can be traced back to the ancient times. They were current also in the Mughal and British empires successively (*vide* Edward Thomas—*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehlī*, pp. 110-111).

[4] & [5] These places lie in the Sudan and were afterwards visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

Women of these islands

The women of these islands do not cover their heads, nor does their queen and they comb their hair and gather it together in one direction. Most of them wear only a waist-wrapper which covers them from their waist to the lowest part, but the remainder of their body remains uncovered. Thus they walk about in the bazaars and elsewhere. When I was appointed *qāḍī* there, I strove to put an end to this practice and commanded the women to wear clothes; but I could not get it done. I would not let a woman enter my court to make a plaint unless her body were covered; beyond this, however, I was unable to do anything.[1] The clothes of some of them consisted of a shirt (*qamīṣ*) besides the waist-wrapper and their shirts had short wide sleeves. I had slave girls whose clothing was like that of the women of Dehlī and who covered their heads. But far from being an ornament it looked like a disfigurement since they were not used to putting it on. The female ornaments consist of arm-rings, a certain number of which a woman wears on both forearms in such a manner that the space between the wrist and the elbow is covered completely. These rings are made of silver, while gold rings are not used except by the wives of the sulṭān and his relatives. They wear also ankle-rings called *bāil* and gold necklaces coming down to their breasts called *basdarad*

A strange thing about them is that they seek employment as servants at a fixed rate of five dinars or less getting their keep free from their employers, and they do not consider it a slight. Most of the girls do so, with the result that you will find ten to twenty of them in the house of a rich man, and any utensil broken by a girl is charged up against her. When a girl leaves one house for another, the new employers give her the sum for which she is indebted. She makes it over to the owners of the house whence she came, thus to the extent of this amount she remains indebted to her new employers. The chief occupation of these hired girls is the spinning of coco-nut fibre.

It is easy to marry in these islands because of the smallness of the dowries and the pleasures of society which the women offer. Most people do not even fix any dowry, only the witnesses are recorded and a suitable dowry consistent with the status of the woman in question is given. When the ships put in, the crew marry; when they intend to leave they divorce their wives This is a kind of temporary marriage (*muta'*).

The women of these islands never leave their country, and I have seen nowhere in the world women whose society was more pleasant. A woman in these islands would never entrust to anybody else the serving of her husband, she herself brings him food and takes away the plates,

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[1] Perhaps Ibn Baṭṭūṭa succeeded more than he could appreciate in getting the women clothed. François Pyrard who was in the Maldive islands early in the 17th century found the Maldivian women keeping their breasts covered. But he noticed in some parts of Ceylon that the women walked about 'clothed only from the waist downward' (A.G., II, p. 446).

washes his hands and brings him water for ablution and massages his feet when he goes to bed. One of the customs of the country is for the women not to dine with their husbands and the husband does not know what his wife eats. In these islands I married several women; some of them dined with me after I had tackled them, but others did not. And I was not able to see them eat and no device on my part was of any avail.

Cause of the conversion to Islām of the inhabitants of these islands and the demons from among the genii who molest them every month

Reliable men among the inhabitants of the islands, like the jurist (*faqīh*) and teacher (*mu'allim*) 'Alī, the judge 'Abdullāh,—and others besides them—told me that the inhabitants of these islands were infidels, and that every month a demon of the genii appeared to them; he came out of the sea and had the appearance of a ship full of lamps. It was customary with the islanders that when they saw him, they took a virgin-maid whom they adorned and brought into a *budkhāna*,[1] that is, an idol-house which was built on the sea-shore and had a balcony commanding a view of the sea. They left the girl there overnight and the people, as they returned at daybreak, found her ravished and dead. Every month they cast lots and whoever was chosen gave his daughter. Subsequently a westerner[2] named Abul Barakāt the Berber who knew the great Qur'ān by heart came to them. He put up at the house of an old woman in the island of Mahal. One day as he saw her, he found that she had called her family together and the women were weeping as if they were in mourning. He enquired about their condition but they could not explain it to him. Then there came an interpreter, who informed him that the lot had fallen on the old woman who had no child except one daughter whom the demon was to kill. 'This night', said Abul Barakāt to the woman, 'I shall go in place of your daughter'. And, curiously enough, he had absolutely no beard. He was brought at night into the idol-house after he had performed his ablution. He kept reciting the Qur'ān, and as the demon appeared to him through the balcony he continued his recitation. As the demon drew close enough to hear the recitation he plunged into the water and the westerner continued reciting as before until the dawn. Then the old woman, her family and the islanders came to take away the maiden and burn her as had been the practice. But they found the westerner reciting the Qur'ān; so they took him to their king called Shanūrāza[3] and told him of the news. The king was astonished. The westerner then proposed to the king to embrace Islām and persuaded him to do so. Shanūrāza said to him, 'Stay with us till next month. If you act once more as you have already acted, and if you escape the demon again I shall accept Islām.' He stayed amongst them

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[1] For *budkhāna* see p. 177, *supra*, footnote 5.

[2] The term *maghribī* (مغربی) in the Arabic text literally means a 'westerner' but here it signifies a Moroccan.

[3] *I.e.* sena-raja (सेना-राजा) or the chief commander of the army.

and God opened the heart of the king to Islām and he accepted it before the end of the month; and his wives, children and courtiers followed suit. At the beginning of the next month the westerner was brought into the idol-house but the demon did not appear, while he continued reciting the Qur'ān till morning. Then the king and the people came to him, and they found him reciting. They broke to pieces the idols and razed the idol-house to the ground. On this the islanders embraced[1] Islām and sent missionaries to the rest of the islands, the inhabitants of which also became Muslims. The westerner stood in high regard with them, and they accepted his cult which was that of Imām Mālik.[2] May God be pleased with him! And on account of him they honour the westerners[3] up to this time. He built a mosque which is known after his name. On the railed gallery (*maqṣūra*) of the congregational mosque I read the following inscription carved in wood—*Aslama as-sulṭān Aḥmad Shanūrāza 'alā yadī Abil Barakāt al-maghribī.*[4] And the king assigned one-third of the revenues of the islands to charitable purposes for travellers, since his conversion had taken place through them[5]; and this portion of the state revenue is still disposed of for the same purpose.

Through this demon many of these islands had been depopulated before they were converted to Islām. I had no knowledge of this at the outset when we visited this country. But one night as I was busy with my affairs I suddenly heard the people shouting in a loud voice—'There is no God but God, and God is great,' and I saw the children carrying copies of the Qur'ān on their heads and the women beating copper cups and vessels. I wondered at their behaviour and asked, 'What are you doing?' Some one answered, 'Do you not see the sea?' I looked and saw what seemed to be a large ship full of lamps and torches. 'That is the demon', they said, 'it is customary with him to appear once a month; but when we act as you see, he goes away and does not harm us'.

Queen of these islands

One of the wonders of these islands is that its ruler (*sulṭāna*) is a woman named Khadīja, the daughter of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn 'Umar, son of Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn Ṣāliḥ of Bengal. Sovereignty was exercised first by her grandfather, and then by her father. When the latter died her brother Shihāb-ud-dīn became king. He was still young and the vezir 'Abdullāh son of Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī married the mother of Shihāb-ud-dīn and overpowered him. And it was he who married[6] also this Sulṭāna Khadīja after the death of her husband, the vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn, as we shall relate

[1] The story of this kind of conversion to Islām is still alive in the Maldives (A.G., II, p. 449).

[2] See p. 130 *supra*.

[3] *I.e.* the people of north-west Africa.

[4] *I.e.* the sulṭān Aḥmad Shanūrāza accepted Islām at the hands of Abul Barakāt the Berber of the west.

[5] *I.e.* one of them.

[6] Presumably the mother of Shihāb-ud-dīn was not the mother of Sulṭāna Khadīja.

further. When Shihāb-ud-dīn attained his majority he expelled his step-father—the vezir 'Abdullāh—and exiled him to the Suwaid islands and established his own rule firmly. He then took one of his freed men named 'Alī Kalakī as his minister, whom he dismissed after three years and banished to Suwaid.

It is related about the aforesaid Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn that he often illegally visited at night the harems of his dignitaries and courtiers. He was therefore deposed and banished to the region of Haladutenī,[1] and subsequently a man was sent there who put him to death. The only survivors from the ruling house were his three sisters, namely Khadījat-ul-kubrā, Mariyam and Fāṭima. The inhabitants of the Maldive islands preferred for sovereignty Khadīja and she was the wife of their orator (*khaṭīb*) Jamāl-ud-dīn who became vezir. He took over the reins of government and gave his own position of the orator to his son Muḥammad, but orders were issued in the name of Khadīja only. The orders were written on palm leaves with a bent piece of iron similar to a knife, while paper was not used except for writing the Qur'ān and books of learning. The orator (*khaṭīb*) mentions the queen (*sulṭāna*) in the Friday prayer and also on other occasions. 'O my God!' says he, 'help Thy female slave whom Thou in Thy wisdom hast chosen from all creatures and made an instrument of Thy grace for all Muslims—verily, that is, Sulṭāna Khadīja, the daughter of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn, *bin* Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn.'

It is a custom in the islands that a foreigner coming to the country and going to the council-hall called *dār* must bring two pieces of cloth. He makes an obeisance in the direction of the sulṭāna and throws down one of the said pieces; he then bows before her vezir—who is her husband Jamāl-ud-dīn—and then throws down the other piece. The troops of the sulṭāna who number about a thousand men consist of foreigners, though there are some natives also. They come daily into the council-hall, make obeisance and then withdraw. Their pay is given to them in the form of rice every month from the *bandar*.[2] When the month comes to a close they go into the council-hall, greet the sovereign and say to the vezir, 'Pay our respects to the sulṭāna and tell her that we have come to ask for our pay'; thereupon appropriate orders are given. The judge and the officials who are called '*wuzarā*'[3] also appear daily in the council-hall; they pay their respects to the sulṭāna through the bearers and then retire.

Officials and their duties

They call the grand vezir, who is also the deputy of the sulṭāna, by the name of *kalakī*; and the *qāẓī* as 'Fandayārqālū.' All sentences proceed from the *qāẓī*, who is the most influential man with them, and his orders are carried out like those of the sulṭān or even more punctiliously. He

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[1] *I.e.* Haladummatī, see p. 197, *supra*.

[2] For *bandar*, see p. 200, *supra*.

[3] *I.e.* vezir, 'wuzarā' being the plural of wazīr or 'vezir'.

sits on a carpet in the council-hall and has three islands, the income from which he appropriates for his personal use according to an old custom introduced by Sulṭān Aḥmad Shanūrāza. The orator (*khaṭīb*) is called 'Handījarī'; the chancellor of the exchequer (*ṣāhib-ud-dīwān*) 'Fāmaldārī'; the minister of public works (*ṣāhib-ul-ashghāl*) 'Māfākalū'; the magistrate (*ḥākim*) 'Fitnāyak'; and the admiral (*qāid-ul-baḥr*) 'Mānāyak'—all these [1] officials are styled 'vezir'. There are no prisons in these islands and criminals are locked up in wooden houses which were originally prepared to hold merchandise. Each of them is secured by means of a piece of wood as is done in our country [2] with European prisoners.

My arrival in these islands and the vicissitudes of my condition there

When I reached there I disembarked at the island of Kannalūs, a beautiful island in which there are numerous mosques. I put up at the house of one of its pious inhabitants where I was received hospitably by the jurist 'Alī. He was an accomplished man and had sons who pursued the study of sciences. There I met a man named Muḥammad, a native of Dhofar (*Ẓafār-ul-ḥumūẓ*), who entertained me and told me, 'When you enter the island Mahal the vezir will detain you, for the people there have no judge'. But I had planned to travel from these islands to Ma'bar, to Sarendīb,[3] to Bengal and finally to China. I had reached the Maldive islands on the ship of Captain 'Umar of Hinawr, who was one of the learned pilgrims. After our arrival in Kannalūs he remained there ten days. Then he hired a small boat in order to proceed to the island of Mahal with a present for the queen and her husband. I wanted to travel with him; but he said, 'The boat will not hold you and your comrades. If, however, you intend to travel alone without them you can do so.' I refused to do that and he departed. But the wind was unfavourable and adverse; so he returned to us after four days having endured hardships. He expressed his regret and urged me to travel with him along with my comrades. We sailed in the morning, landed about midday at an island, which we then left, and spent the night on the next island. Thus, after a voyage of four days we arrived in the region of Taim of which the governor was called Hilāl. He greeted me, entertained me, and visited me in company with four men—two of whom carried on their shoulders a stick to which four fowls were fastened, while the two others carried a similar stick to which were tied about ten coco-nuts. I was surprised at the value they put on this miserable gift, but I was informed that they did this only out of respect and esteem. We left these people and disembarked on the sixth day at the island of 'Usmān, who was an excellent man and the best of the lot. He welcomed

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[1] See A. G., p. 210, which contains a comparative study of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's and Pyrard's list of high offices in the Maldives. It will be seen that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's list is borne out on the whole.

[2] *I.e.* Morocco.

[3] *I.e.* Adam's peak (see p. 189, footnote, *supra*) which, here, stands for Ceylon.

us and entertained us. On the eighth day we landed at an island of a vezir named Talmadī and on the tenth day we arrived at the island of Mahal, the headquarters of the sulṭāna and her husband.[1] We cast anchor in the harbour of Mahal. There it is customary that nobody can go inland from the harbour except by their permission,[2] which we obtained and I desired to go to a mosque. But the servants of the vezir who were on the shore prevented me and said, 'It is absolutely necessary for you to visit the vezir.' And I had advised the captain that, if any one asked him about me, he should say: 'I do not know him,' lest any one should detain me. I did not know that an indiscreet person had written to them introducing me as *qāẓī* of Dehlī. When we arrived in the council-hall—that is the *dār*—we sat down in the lobbies near the third entrance. Qāẓī 'Īsā, the Yemenite, came along and greeted me and I greeted the vezir. Then came Captain Ibrāhīm. He brought ten garments, bowed in the direction of the queen (*sulṭāna*) and threw one of the garments down. Then he bowed to the grand vezir and likewise threw another garment down; subsequently he threw the rest. They asked him about me; but he said, 'I do not know him.' Then they brought us betel and rose-water which is a mark of honour with them. The grand vezir lodged us in a house and sent us a repast consisting of a large bowl of rice surrounded by dishes of salted meat, fowl, quail and fish.

The next morning with Captain Ibrāhīm and Qāzī 'Īsā of Yemen, I went in order to visit a hospice at the further end of the island, which the pious Shaikh Najīb had built. We returned by night. Early next morning the vezir sent me a garment and a repast consisting of rice, quail, salted meat, coco-nuts and a syrup which is made from this fruit and which they call '*qurbānī*'[3] meaning sugar-water; they also brought me one hundred thousand cowries for my expenses. After ten days a ship came from Ceylon (*Saylān*) carrying Arab and Persian fakirs who knew me and who acquainted the grand vezir with my affairs. This increased his joy at my being there. In the beginning of *Ramaẓān* he sent for me and I found the amirs and vezirs together with the food served before them on tables[4] at each of which a number of guests were assembled. The grand vezir made me sit by his side and with him were Qāẓī 'Īsā, the vezir Fāmaldārī and the vezir 'Umar *dahard*, that is, the army commander. Their diet consists of rice, fowl, turnstone, fish, salted meat and cooked bananas and subsequently they drink coco-nut syrup mixed with aromatics, which facilitates digestion.[5]

On the ninth of the month of *Ramaẓān* the son-in-law of the grand vezir died. The widow had been previously married to Sulṭān Shihāb-

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[1] *I.e.* the grand vezir.

[2] The existence of this custom can be traced through the successive centuries (see A.G., II., p. 452).

[3] An Arabic form of the Sanskrit words *guṛa-pānīya*. [4] *I.e.* *mā'ida* (مائدة).

[5] This syrup used as an after-dinner beverage may be compared with the *fuqqā'*, mentioned above (see p. 60 *supra*).

ud-dīn, but neither of her husbands had completed the marriage because of her tender age. So her father took her back to his house and he gave me her house which was one of the most beautiful. I asked him for permission to entertain the fakirs who were returning from their visit to Adam's foot. He gave me permission and sent me five sheep, which are very rare in those parts as they are imported from Ma'bar, Malabar and Mogdishu (*Maqdashaw*). He sent me also rice, fowls, butter and spices. All this I sent to the house of the vezir Sulaimān Mānāyak, who had it cooked very nicely for me and added to it on his own behalf. He also sent me carpets and copper vessels, and we broke the fast according to the custom with the grand vezir in the palace of the queen (*sultāna*). I requested him to allow some of the other vezirs to participate in the feast. He said, 'I shall come too.' I thanked him and returned home; but lo! he had already arrived there, and with him came the vezirs and dignitaries of the state. He sat down on an elevated wooden pavilion. And every amīr and vezir who then arrived greeted him and threw an unsewn garment down until about a hundred lay together; these the fakirs subsequently took away. Then dinner was served and consumed; afterwards the reciters read some verses[1] in beautiful voices. Subsequently they began to sing and dance and I had a fire made and the fakirs went in trampling on it with their feet. Some of them ate the glowing charcoals as one would eat sweets (*halwā*) and they did so until the flames were extinguished.

Some of the grand vezir's kindnesses to me

When the night ended, the grand vezir withdrew and I accompanied him. We passed by a garden which belonged to the state. He said to me, 'This garden belongs to you, and I shall have a house built in it as a lodge for you.' I thanked him for this and wished him well. The next morning he sent me a girl and his servant, who brought her to me, affirmed,—the grand vezir sends this message to you, 'If this girl pleases you, she is yours; if not I shall send you a *Marhata*[2] girl.' Since the *Marhata* girls were to my liking I replied, 'I want the *Marhata* girl.' He then sent me one whose name was Gulistān (*Qulistān*), that is, flower-garden; as she knew Persian she pleased me very much, for the inhabitants of these islands speak a language[3] which I did not understand. The next morning he sent me a girl of Ma'bar named 'Ambarī. The following night after the retiring prayer of *'ishā* the grand vezir visited me with a small suite and entered my house in company with two boy-servants. I greeted him, and he enquired after my health, whereupon I expressed my best wishes for him and thanked him. One of the two boy-servants threw down before him a *buqcha* (*buqsha*), that is, a bundle from which he took some silk stuffs and a little box containing a pearl and ornaments. The grand vezir presented me with this saying, 'If I had sent you these

[1] *I.e.* from the Holy Qur'ān.

[2] *I.e.* Mahratta.

[3] They speak a dialect of Sinhalese considerably arabicized.

things with the girl she would have said—this is my property which I have brought from the house of my master. Now, these things are yours. Give them to her.' I prayed for him and expressed my gratitude, which he had so well merited. May God bless him!

Alienation of the grand vezir and my resolve to leave the islands and my subsequent stay there

The vezir Sulaimân Mânâyak had sent me a proposal that I should marry his daughter. I sent word to the vezir[1] Jamâl-ud-dîn seeking his permission for this marriage. The messenger returned saying, 'He does not approve of it for he would like to marry his own daughter to you when her '*iddat*[2] is over. But I declined the offer for fear of the bad omens attaching to her, for she had outlived two husbands before the marriage with either of them had been completed. Meanwhile, I had an attack of fever which prostrated me,—and everyone visiting this island is sure to catch fever; so my resolve to leave the islands was confirmed. I sold some of the ornaments for cowries and hired a ship to take me to Bengal. When I went to take leave of the grand vezir, the *qâḍi* approached me saying, 'The vezir has sent word—if you want to leave, you must return to us what we have given you; then you might go.' I answered him, 'For some of the ornaments I have bought the cowries and they are at your disposal.' But he returned to me with the following message: 'We gave you gold and not cowries.' 'I will sell them,' I replied 'and let you have the gold.' I asked some merchants to purchase the cowries from me, but the grand vezir commanded them not to do so. His whole object was to prevent me from leaving. Then he sent to me one of his special officers who said, the grand vezir says: 'Stay with us and you shall have all you want.' I said to myself, 'I am in their power; if I do not stay of my own free will, I shall be compelled to stay. It is preferable to do it voluntarily.' I said to the messenger, 'All right, I shall stay with him.' Thereupon he returned to the grand vezir, who was delighted at this and sent for me. When I appeared before him, he stood up and embraced me saying, 'We want you to be with us, and you intend to leave us.' I made some excuses which he accepted; then I added, 'If you want me to remain here, I must make certain conditions.' He replied, 'We shall accept them; out with your conditions.' 'I cannot travel on foot', said I. According to the local custom, however, nobody could ride there except the grand vezir. And when they had given me a horse to ride upon and I rode, the people—men and children—followed me struck with amazement until I complained to the grand vezir about this. A *dunqura*[3]

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[1] *I.e.* the grand vezir (*wazîr-ul-kabîr*).

[2] '*Iddat* is according to the law of Islâm a period of about four months which a widow or divorced woman must spend in retirement before she can marry again.

[3] '*Dunqura*' is the Arabic form of the Hindî word *ḍhanḍora* (ढंढोरा). Now *ḍhonḍora* or *ḍonḍî* (डोंडी) is a small drum beaten by a public crier still in usage.

was then beaten and it was proclaimed aloud that no one should follow me. The *dunqura* is a kind of copper plate which is struck with a piece of iron and can be heard from a considerable distance; when it has been struck, a proclamation is made about the thing intended. The grand vezir said to me, 'If you desire to ride in the *dola*,[1] well and good. If not, we have a stallion and a mare; you may choose whichever you may prefer.' I chose the mare which was forthwith brought along with some garments. 'What shall I do?' I asked the grand vezir, 'with the cowries which I have bought'. 'Send one of your comrades to sell them for you in Bengal', he said in reply. 'On condition', I answered, 'that you send some one with him to assist him in the sale'. 'Certainly', said the grand vezir. So I sent one of my comrades, Abū Muhammad *bin* Farḥān, and with him they sent a man named Ḥājī 'Alī. But it so happened that the sea became stormy, and the entire cargo had to be thrown into the waters—even the provisions, the water, the masts and the leather sacks. For sixteen days they remained without sail or rudder or anything. At last they landed on the island of Ceylon after suffering from hunger, thirst and privations. Then came back to me my comrade Abū Muḥammad after a year. He had visited Adam's foot, and he visited it later again with me.

Id I witnessed with them

When the month of *Ramazān* was over, the grand vezir sent me a garment, and we went to the place of prayer. The route to be taken by the grand vezir from his dwelling to the place of prayer was decorated; the ground there was carpeted with cloths, and heaps of cowries lay to the right as well as to the left. Each of the amirs and dignitaries, who had a house on this road, had planted small coco-nut trees, betel-nut trees and banana trees in the ground before it. From one tree to another there were stretched ropes, on which were fastened green nuts. The master of the house stood at the door and as the grand vezir passed, he threw at his feet the silk or cotton cloth which his slaves picked up together with the cowries which were heaped upon the road. The grand vezir went on foot and wore an Egyptian cloak of fine goat wool and a large turban. He was girdled with a scarf of silk and over his head were borne four parasols. He wore slippers whilst other people went barefooted. Trumpets, horns, and drums were sounded before him and soldiers preceded and followed him crying '*Allāh-o-akbar*' until they reached the place of prayer.

The prayer over, the grand vezir's son delivered a sermon. Then a litter was brought, and the grand vezir sat in it. The amirs and vezirs bowed to him, and threw garments at his feet in conformity with the custom. He had not ridden a litter before, since kings alone do so.[2] The litter

[1] See page 122, *supra*.

[2] Although the grand vezir was the queen's husband, he had not the status of a king.

being lifted by the litter-carriers I mounted my horse, and we entered the palace. The grand vezir took his seat on a dais, and near him sat the other vezirs and amirs. The slaves stood by with shields, swords and staves. The repast was brought in, then areca and betel-nuts and finally a small dish containing muqāṣari[1] sandal. As soon as a number of guests had dined they were annointed with it. And I saw that day with some of their meals a fish of the sardine (sardhīn) species salted but not cooked, which had been sent to them as a present from Quilon. This fish is found in large quantities in Malabar. The grand vezir took a sardine, began to eat it and said to me, 'Have some, for it cannot be had in our country.' 'How should I eat it? It is not cooked', said I. 'It is cooked', he answered. I asserted, 'I know it better because it is abundant in my country.'

My marriage and appointment as qāẓī

On the 2nd of the month of *Shawwāl* I agreed with the vezir Sulaimān Mānāyak to marry his daughter. Then I sent word to the grand vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn with a request that the nuptials should take place in the palace in his presence. He gave his consent, and in accordance with the custom betel as well as sandal was brought. The people assembled but the vezir Sulaimān delayed. He was called but he did not come, and when called a second time he excused himself on the ground that his daughter was ill. The grand vezir, however, said to me secretly, 'His daughter refuses to marry and she is absolutely free to have her own way. But since the people are now assembled, would you like to marry the step-mother of the sulṭāna, the wife of her father—that is, the lady whose daughter was married to the vezir's son. 'Yes', I answered. Then the *qāẓī* and witnesses were summoned, and the marriage was solemnized and the grand vezir paid the dower[2]. After a few days she was brought to me. She was one of the best women and her society was delightful to such an extent that whenever I married another woman she showed the sweetness of her disposition still by anointing me with perfumed ointment and scenting my clothes, smiling all the time and betraying no sign of ill humour. After this marriage the grand vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn compelled me against my will to accept the *qāẓī's* post. The reason for this was my criticism of the practice of the then *qāẓī*, who appropriated the tenth part of the bequests when assigning them to heirs. 'You are entitled', I said to him, 'only to the remuneration which might be agreed upon between you and the heirs'. But he was absolutely no good at anything.

When I became *qāẓī* I strove with all my might to establish the rule of law (*sharī'at*). Litigations are not there as in our country. The first of the bad customs which I abolished was that requiring the divorced wives to stay in the houses of their erstwhile husbands. The divorced wife had to stay in the house of the man who had divorced her, until she had married another man. I cut it at the very root. Some twenty-five

[1] See p. 69, *supra*. [2] See p. 82, *supra*.

men were brought before me for acting in that way and I had them whipped and paraded round the bazaars, and I caused the women to be removed from their houses. Then I pressed for the saying of congregational prayers and ordered that men should hurry through the streets and bazaars after the Friday prayer; those who were found not having attended the prayer were whipped and publicly disgraced.[1] I bound the imams[2] and muezzins who were receiving fixed salaries to the strict performance of their duties and sent a circular all through the islands to this effect. Finally I endeavoured to compel the women to wear clothes, but I was not able to get this done.[3]

Arrival of the vezir 'Abdullāh son of Muḥammad al-Ḥazramī whom Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn had banished to Suwaid and the story of what passed between him and myself

I had married his step-daughter—the daughter of his wife—and I loved her very much. When the grand vezir recalled him and restored him to the island of Mahal, I sent him presents and I met him and accompanied him to the palace. He greeted the grand vezir who accommodated him in a splendid house in which I used to visit him. Once it happened that I was in holy seclusion in the month of *Ramaẓān* and was visited by all excepting him. When the grand vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn visited me, with him came also 'Abdullāh for form's sake. Then estrangement sprang between us. When I came out of my seclusion, the sons of the grand vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn as-Sanjarī—who were the maternal uncles of my wife, that is the step-daughter of 'Abdullāh—complained to me. Their father had nominated the vezir 'Abdullāh their trustee in his will and their property was still in his hands, although by law he was no longer their trustee. They demanded his presence in the court. It was customary with me that whenever I sent for one of the party in a suit I sent him a blank or filled in notice. As soon as he saw this he had to hurry to the court of justice, otherwise I would punish him. Accordingly, I sent 'Abdullāh the customary summons. This offended him and he nursed a grudge against me hiding his enmity; then he delegated someone to represent him at the court. But I came to know that he had made some very opprobrious remarks.

It was a custom with the people high as well as low to show the vezir 'Abdullāh the same respect as was shown to the grand vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn. And their salutation consists in pointing the forefinger to the earth, kissing it and putting it on the head. I gave an order to the public crier, who proclaimed in the sulṭān's palace in the presence of all that whoever saluted the vezir 'Abdullāh in the manner prescribed for the grand vezir would be severely punished. And I made him promise that he would no longer permit the people to do so. This augmented his enmity.

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[1] Cf. p. 83, *supra*.

[2] An *imām* is a conductor of prayers.

[3] See p. 202, *supra*.

I again took a wife—the daughter of another vezir who stood in high regard with the people and whose grandfather, Sulṭān Dāūd, was the grandson of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shanūrāza. I then married a woman who had been one of the wives of the deceased Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn and built three houses in the garden which the grand vezir had granted me. And the fourth wife—the step-daughter of the vezir 'Abdullāh—lived in her own house; she was, to my mind, the dearest of all. After I had become connected by marriage with the above-mentioned people, the vezir and the islanders feared me, for they felt themselves to be weak. Slanderous and mischievous reports about me were sent around to the grand vezir mostly through the agency of the vezir 'Abdullāh until a final estrangement broke out.

My separation from them and the reason for it

One day a woman complained to the grand vezir about her husband, one of the slaves of the late Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn and informed him that he used to consort with one of the sulṭān's concubines and had illicit intercourse with her. The grand vezir sent witnesses who entered the concubine's house, found the fellow sleeping with her on the same bed and arrested them both. Next morning when I heard of this I went to the council-hall and took my usual seat without making any statement regarding her case. One of the courtiers came to me and said, 'The grand vezir should like to know if you have any business with him.' 'No', I answered. It was his intention that I should make a statement on the affair of the concubine and the slave; for, as a rule, I would not let any case which had been presented go until it had been decreed by me. After estrangement and dislike had materialized I omitted to do so and subsequently I returned to my house and took my seat whence I delivered my judgments. Soon after came one of the vezirs saying on behalf of the grand vezir, 'Last night such and such occurred in connection with the affair of the concubine and the slave. Deliver a judgment according to the law.' 'That is a case,' I replied, 'on which judgment cannot be pronounced except in the sulṭān's palace.' I therefore went back there and the people assembled. I sent for the concubine and slave and ordered them to be chastised as punishment for their privacy. Afterwards, I let the woman free, while I jailed the slave and returned home. The grand vezir sent some dignitaries to me to secure release of the slave. I said to them, 'Do you intercede with me in favour of the negro slave who has violated his master's harem, while but yesterday you deposed and killed Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn for entering the house of one of his slaves. And I ordered forthwith; accordingly the slave was beaten with bamboo rods which are more painful than whips, and I had him paraded through the island with a rope round his neck. The deputationists then returned to the grand vezir and told him of this. He got up and sat down boiling with anger; then he assembled the vezirs and army leaders and sent for me. I went to him. Usually I showed him the respect due to a ruler, but this time I did not. I said

simply, '*Salāmun 'alaikum*'.[1] Then I said to the bystanders, 'You are my witnesses that I herewith renounce my post as *qāẓī* as I am not in a position to fulfil its duties'. The grand vezir then said something addressing me and I rose up moving to a seat opposite him, and I retorted in sharp tones and the muezzin announced the time for the *maghrib* prayer. Thereupon the grand vezir entered his house saying, 'They say I am a ruler (*sulṭān*). But, look! I summoned this man with a view to making him feel my wrath; far from this, he wreaks his own ire on me.'

It may be recalled that my influential position there was due to the sulṭān of India as my position at the latter's court was well understood. The people feared him even though they were distant from him.

When the grand vezir had returned to his house he sent the deposed *qāẓī* to me, who had a glib tongue. He said to me, 'Our master asks you why you insulted him publicly and you did not bow to him'. I replied, 'I used to bow when I had an affectionate heart for him. When estrangement took place I gave it up. Since the greeting of the Muslims is *salām*, I greeted him thus.' He sent the deposed *qāẓī* to me again saying, 'As your objective is but to leave us, you should pay your wives' dowries as well as your debts to the people; then you might go, if you want to.' On hearing this I bowed, went to my house and paid all my debts.

During my stay here the grand vezir had given me some carpets and household utensils such as copper vessels, etc. He used to give me whatever I asked of him and he had a liking for me and held me in esteem; but his attitude towards me changed, since people had inspired in him fears about me. When he heard that I had paid off my debts and had determined to leave, he regretted what he had said and delayed to grant me permission to depart. I swore with the most solemn oaths that I had to leave and sent my luggage to a mosque on the beach and I divorced one of my wives. For another who was pregnant I fixed a term of nine months in the course of which I might return, failing which she could act as she thought fit. I took with me the wife who had previously been the consort of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-dīn in order to restore her to her father in the Mulūk island. I also took along with me the wife whom I had married first and whose daughter was the sulṭāna's sister. I made a compact with the vezir 'Umar, the army commander (*dahard*) and with the vezir Ḥasan, the admiral (*qā'id-ul-baḥr*), that I should go to Ma'bar the king of which was the husband of my wife's sister and return thence with troops so as to bring back the Maldive islands under his sway and that I should then exercise the power in his name. Also I arranged that the hoisting of the white flags on the ships should be the signal and that as soon as they saw them they should revolt on the shore. Never had such an idea occurred to me until the said estrangement had broken out between the vezir and myself. The grand vezir was afraid of me and used to say, 'This man will certainly force his way to the vezirate whether it be during my lifetime or after

[1] *I.e.* peace be on you.

my death.' He often made enquiries about me and said, 'I have heard that the emperor of India has sent him money to foster a revolt against me.' He feared my departure lest I should fetch troops from Ma'bar. He sent me a message to remain in the country until he had fitted me out a ship, but I refused.

The sulṭāna's sister complained to her about the departure of her step-mother along with me. The sulṭāna intended to prevent her but could not. When she saw her firmly resolved to depart, she said to her step-mother, 'All the ornaments you possess have been bought out of the State money. If you have witnesses to prove that Jalāl-ud-dīn has presented you with all these, all right; if not give these back.' The ornaments were worth much, nevertheless my wife gave them up to these people. Then the vezirs and the chiefs came to me in the mosque and urged me to return. 'If I had not sworn I should certainly return', said I. They said, 'Go to one of the islands to fulfil your oath and then return.' 'Very well', I replied in order to satisfy them. When the night fixed for my departure came, I went to take leave of the grand vezir. He embraced me and wept so much that his tears dropped on my feet. That night he passed guarding the island in person lest my brothers-in-law and my comrades should revolt against him. At last I departed and came to the island of vezir 'Alī. There my wife was attacked by severe pains and she desired to return. So I divorced her and left her there, and I wrote about this to the vezir because she was the mother-in-law of his son. I divorced also the pregnant wife for whom I had set a term [1] and sent for the slave girl I was fond of. We then travelled through the islands from one group to another.

Women with one breast only

In one of these islands I saw a woman who had only one breast. She had two daughters, one of whom likewise had only one breast while the other had two—one large and rich in milk, the other small and without milk. I was amazed at the conformation of these women.

We came to another of these islands which was a tiny one and contained only one house inhabited by a weaver, who had a wife and children, a few coco-nut plants and a small boat by means of which he fished and sailed to any of the islands he liked to visit. This island contained also a few small banana trees; but we saw no land birds there except two ravens which flew towards us, as we put in at the island, and circled round our ship. By God, I envied that man and would have liked the island to belong to me so that I might retire there until my death.

Then I came to the island of Mulūk [2] where lay the ship of Captain Ibrāhīm, the ship in which I had decided to travel to Ma'bar. He

[1] *I.e.* nine months.

[2] Sailing through the midst of the islands from one atoll to another, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived at an island—*Fua Mulaku*—which lies between Huvadū and Addū atolls.' (*Vide* A.G., II, p. 465). This *Fua Mulaku* island is described as *Mulūk* in the *Reḥla*

came along with his comrades to see me and they entertained me to a splendid feast. The vezir had written a letter for me directing that I should be given in this island one hundred and twenty bustūs[1] of cowries, twenty bowls of *atwān*, that is, coco-nut honey and a certain quantity of betel, areca-nuts and fish daily. I stayed seventy days at this island of Mulūk and married two women there. It is one of the most beautiful islands and wears a fresh look. One of the wonders I saw there was that a branch cut off from its tree and planted in the earth or fixed on a wall produced the leaves and grew into a tree. I also saw that the pomegranate there bore fruit continuously all the year round. The inhabitants of this island feared lest Captain Ibrāhīm should pillage them at his departure and wanted to seize the weapons on his ship and keep them until the day of his departure This led to a quarrel; then we returned to the Mahal island but did not enter it. And I wrote to the vezir a letter telling him what had occurred, whereupon he wrote to say that there was no cause for seizing the arms. Then we returned to the Mulūk island, which we left in the middle of *Rabi'-uṣ-ṣānī* 745.[2] In the month of *Sha'bān* of this year,[3] the grand vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn died. May God have mercy on him! The sulṭāna was going to have a baby by him The baby was born after his death and the vezir 'Abdullāh married the sulṭāna.

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[1] See p. 201, *supra*.
[2] *I.e.* 24th August, 1344 A.C.
[3] *I.e.* December, 1344 A.C.

CHAPTER XVII

VOYAGE TO CEYLON (*SAYLĀN*)

We set sail though we had no able captain with us. The distance between the Maldive islands and Ma'bar amounted to three days' journey. We were, however, nine days at sea and landed on the ninth day on the island of Ceylon.

We sighted mount *Sarandīb*[1] rising up into the sky like a column of smoke. When we arrived at the island the sailors said, 'This harbour is not in the country of the king whose territory merchants can enter with security but in the territory of King Ayrī Shakarwatī,[2] a vicious tyrant who owns ships which carry on piracy.' We feared to land in his harbour, but the wind increased in violence and we feared lest we should be drowned. I said to the captain, 'Put me down on the coast and I shall get you a promise of safe conduct from the king'. This he did and let me down on the coast. The infidels came towards us calling, 'Who are you?' Thereupon I informed them that I was brother-in-law[3] to the sulṭān of Ma'bar and his friend and that I was on my way to visit him and what was on the ship was a present for him. They went to their king and told him of this, whereupon he sent for me. I went to him in the town of Baṭṭāla,[4] his capital, a beautiful little town surrounded by wooden walls and wooden towers. The entire coast of the country is covered with cinnamon[5] sticks washed down by torrents and deposited on the coast looking like hills. The inhabitants of Ma'bar and Malabar take them away without paying for them, but in return for this they only make presents of cloth and similar things to the king. Between Ma'bar and this island of Ceylon there is a distance of a day and night's journey.

Here there is plenty of Brazilwood and Indian aloe which is called *kalkhī*, but it is not like the *qamārī* and *qāqulī* which we shall describe later on.

King of Ceylon

His name is Ayrī Shakarwatī, and he is strong at sea. Once when I was in Ma'bar I saw one hundred of his ships, small as well as big, which had arrived there. And in the harbour there lay at anchor eight ships of the sulṭān of Ma'bar bound for Yemen (*Yaman*). The sulṭān ordered

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[1] See footnote, p. 189, *supra*.

[2] *I.e.* Arya Chakravarti.

[3] *Sūf* (سلف) means the husband of the wife's sister, but it has been translated here as brother-in-law for want of a better expression.

[4] Baṭṭāla is otherwise known Puttelam or Patlam.

[5] M. Schumann is of opinion that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was the first Arab to have mentioned the cinnamon of Ceylon and in its transport. But this is untenable. Cf. Aj. H., p. 216.

that preparations should be made, and he collected troops (*annās*) with a view to protecting his ships. Despaired of availing themselves of an opportunity to waylay the ships the Ceylonese said, 'We came here only to protect our own ships which are also bound for Yemen'.

When I came before this infidel king he rose, made me sit by his side, spoke to me very politely and said, 'Your comrades may disembark here safely; they will be my guests until they choose to depart, since friendship subsists between me and the sulṭān of Ma'bar.' Then he ordered that I should be lodged. So I stayed there three days and received great honours which increased every day. He understood Persian, and all that I[1] related to him about kings and countries impressed him. One day I went to him, while there lay about him a large number of pearls which had been brought to him from the pearl-fishery in his dominion. His employees were busy sorting out and classifying the best pearls from the rest. 'Have you seen any pearl-fishery[2] in the countries you come from?' he enquired of me. 'Yes', said I, 'I saw them in the islands of Qais[3] and Kish,[4] which belong to Ibn-us-Sawamlī.' 'I have heard about it', said he. Then he picked up a few pearls out of the lot and said, 'Are the pearls in those islands like these?' 'The pearls I saw', I replied, 'were inferior to these.' He was delighted at this and said, 'These pearls are yours; do not be shy. You can demand of me whatever you desire.' 'There is nothing I desire so much since I have landed here', said I 'as paying a visit to the sacred foot of Adam. Peace be on him!' They call Adam, 'Bābā', and Eve they call 'Māmā'. 'This is easy enough', said he. 'We shall send along with you someone who will take you to the place.' 'This is what I want', said I. Then I added, 'The ship in which I have come shall have safe conduct to Ma'bar, and on my return would you send me in your own ship?' 'Yes', he said. When I related this to the owner of the ship, he observed, 'I shall not depart until you return, even if I have to wait a year for your sake.' I reported this to the king. 'He will be my guest until you return,' said the king. So he gave me a *dola* which his slaves carried on their shoulders. And he sent along with me four jogis, who go as a rule every year on a pilgrimage to the foot—besides three Brahmins and ten from the whole lot of his companions and fifteen porters to carry the provisions. As for the water, it is abundantly found on the way.

That day we encamped by the side of a river which we crossed by means of a ferry-boat made of the lopped off branches of bamboos. Then we left for Manār Mandalī.[5] It is a beautiful city lying at the extremity of

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[1] This is an evidence of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's knowledge of Persian, which he acquired in the course of his travels (*Vide* p. lxxii, *supra*.)

[2] Cf H. Cy., p. 279.

[3] & [4] The island of Qais has been mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the course of his journey about the Persian Gulf (1331 A.C.); and the same is true of Kish. On the site of these islands arose the harbours of Hormuz and Bandar Abbas in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively.

[5] *I.e.* Minneri-Mandel.

the king's dominion. Its inhabitants gave us a splendid feast which consisted of young buffaloes whom they had hunted in the neighbouring jungle and brought alive, besides rice, quail, fish, poultry and milk. In this city we met no Muslim except one from Khurāsān who had been stranded there on account of his illness. He travelled along with us and we left for Bandar Salāwāt.[1] It is a small town whence we travelled to places difficult to pass and with abundant waters. There are numerous elephants[2] there which do not molest the visitors and strangers on account of the blessings of Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh bin Khafīf.[3] May God have mercy on him! He was the first to have opened the way to visiting the Foot. Previously infidels prevented the Muslims from visiting it, vexed them and neither dined with them nor had any dealings with them. When there took place Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh's adventure which we have described in the course of Part First[4] of our journey, that is, when his companions had been killed by the elephants and he himself was saved—an elephant having installed him on his own back—the infidels began from that day onward to honour the Musalmans. They admitted them into their houses, dined with them and would entrust them with their wives and children. And up to this day they profoundly revere the said *shaikh* and call him the 'Great Shaikh'.

Afterwards, we arrived at the town of Kunakār[5] which is the capital of the emperor (*sultān-ul-kabīr*) of this country. The town is constructed in a trench in the midst of two mountains on a great bay which is called the 'Ruby Bay', for rubies are found there. Outside this town there stands the mosque of Shaikh 'Usmān of Shīrāz, known as *Shāūsh*.[6] The ruler of this land as well as the inhabitants visit him and hold him in high esteem. It was he who acted as guide to the Foot. When his hand and foot were cut off, his sons and servants became guides instead. The reason for his mutilation was that he had slaughtered a cow, and the Hindū law which obtained there prescribes that one who slaughters a cow must either be slaughtered in the same way or closed up in the cow's skin and burnt. But Shaikh 'Usmān being held in high esteem by the Hindus, they only cut off his hand and foot and gave him the proceeds of taxes from a certain market.

King of Kunakār

He is called Kunwar (*Kunār*)[7] and possesses a white elephant; and a white elephant I did not see in the whole world except the one which he owns and rides during festivals and on whose forehead he puts large rubies. It

[1] *I.e.* Chilaw. *Vide* H. Cy., p. 284. [2] Cf. H. Cy., p. 256.

[3] 'Khafīf' has also been read as 'Ḥafīf'; see the *Shīrāznāma* (p. 94) of Aḥmad *bin* Abulkhair (Teheran, 734/1333) and the *Tadhkira Hazār Mazār-i-Shīrāz* (p. 30) of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Junaid (Shiraz, 791/1388). See also Appendix D, p. 247

[4] *Vide* Appendix, p. 247. [5] *I.e.* Kurunaigalla or Kornegalle.

[6] *Shāūsh*—the Arabic form of the Turkish word *chāwūsh*—is synonymous with *jāndār*. See Appendix K, p. 268, footnote 2.

[7] See Appendix O, p. 278

happened that the grandees of his kingdom raised a rebellion against him, and they blinded him and installed his son as king, while the blind man is still there.

Rubies

Wonderful rubies[1] called *al-bahramān*[2] are found in this area. Some are collected from the gulf—and these are considered the most precious by the natives—others are dug out from the earth. As for the island of Ceylon, rubies are found in all its parts. There the land is transferable; out of it if one purchases a piece and digs for rubies one finds intertwining white stones concealing rubies in their inside. These stones are taken to the cutters who cut them until the rubies are extracted; some of these are red rubies, some are yellow topazes and some blue sapphires, which are called *nailam*.[3] Their custom is that those of the rubies whose value rises to a hundred fanams are reserved for the king who pays their price and takes them, while those which are of lower price may be disposed of by the respective owners. As for the rate of exchange a hundred fanams are equal in value to six gold dinars.

All women in the island of Ceylon wear coloured ruby necklaces[4] which they also use in place of bracelets and anklets. But the king's slave girls make a network[5] of the rubies which they place over their heads. On the forehead of the white elephant I noticed seven stones, each of which was greater in size than a hen's egg. I saw with king Ayrī Shakarwatī a bowl made of ruby as big as the palm of the hand which contained aloe-oil—a sight which astonished me. Thereupon the king observed, 'In fact, we possess still bigger rubies'.

Then we left Kunakār and halted at a cave called after the name of Ustā Mahmūd Lūrī, who was a pious man. He had dug out the cave at the foot of a hill which lay there adjacent to a small bay. Then we departed from that place and halted near the Būzīna[6] Bay; *būzīna* stands for *qurūd*.[7]

Monkeys

Monkeys are in great abundance in these hills; they are of black colour with longish tails, and their males have beards like men. Shaikh 'Usmān and his son as well as other persons told me that these monkeys have a chief to whom they make obeisance as though he were a sovereign (*sultān*). The chief wears on his head a headband of the leaves of trees

[1] Cf. H. Cy., p. 266

[2] *I.e.* carbuncle—a fiery-red type of rubies

[3] 'Nailam' is the Persian equivalent for the Hindī word *nīlam* derived from Sanskrit *nīlā* (नीला) meaning blue or dark blue: *nīlam* is also known in Hindī as *nīlmān* (नीलमान) (Fallon)

[4] Like Ibn Battūta's other observations this is confirmed also. See H. Cy., p. 281.

[5] *I.e.* a kind of cap.

[6] *Būzīna* is the Persian word for monkey.

[7] *Qurūd* is the Arabic plural of *qird* meaning 'monkey'.

and supports himself on a stick. And four monkeys with four sticks in their hands stand to his right and to his left and when the chief sits, they stand behind him. His female and young ones come and sit in front of him every day, while other monkeys come and sit at a distance from him. At that time one of the said four monkeys addresses her, and then all retire. Afterwards each monkey brings a banana or a lemon or the like and the chief monkey, his young ones and the said four monkeys eat them. One of the jogis told me that he had seen the four monkeys sitting before their chiefess while she was beating a monkey with a stick, and that after the beating she pulled out his hair. Some reliable persons told me that when any one of these monkeys seizes a girl she cannot protect herself from his lust. One of the inhabitants of the island narrated to me that he had such a monkey in his house. Incidentally one of his girls entered some room and was followed by the monkey. She cried but was overpowered by him. 'When we entered', continued the islander, 'we found the monkey busy with her and we killed him.'

Subsequently we left for the Bay of Bamboos whence Abū 'Abdullāh *bin* Khafīf extracted two[1] rubies which he presented to the sulṭān of this island, as has been described in Part First[2] of our journey. Then we travelled to a place called 'the old woman's house', which lay at the extremity of the inhabited area. Thence we journeyed to the cave of Bābā Ṭāhir, who was a pious man, and afterwards to the cave of Sabīk. Sabīk was one of the infidel kings who had retired there for devotion.

Flying leech

Here we saw the flying leech which they call *zulū*.[3] It is found on the trees and weeds near the water and leaps to the person who happens to pass by it.[4] At whichever part of the body the leech settles, great quantity of blood gushes from it. To meet its onslaught people provide themselves with lemons, whose juice being poured over it the leech falls off. Then they scrape the part attacked by it with a wooden knife prepared for the purpose. It is said that a certain pilgrim passed by a place whence leeches sprang at him and settled on his body. He bore it patiently and no lemon juice was poured with the result that his blood gushed forth and he died. His name was Bābā Khūzī. There is a cave which has been named after him.

Then we journeyed to the 'seven caves,' and afterwards to the 'aqba-i-Iskandar', the 'Iṣfahānī cave', the 'water-spring' and the 'uninhabited fortress' successively. Underneath the 'uninhabited fortress' there is a bay called the *ghoṭākāh-i-'ārifān*.[5] There lies a cave which is called the cave of 'bitter orange' and another still which is known as the raja's (*sulṭan's*) cave; and in its vicinity lies the *darwāza*,[6] that is, gate (*bāb*) of the mountain.

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[1] & [2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions *three* instead of two rubies in Part First of his *Reḥla* (Def. et Sang., II, p. 81). *Vide* Appendix D, p. 247 *infra*.

[3] *I.e.* *zālū* which is the Persian word for a leech (Steingass).

[4] Cf. H. Cy., p. 264.

[5] *I.e.* the diving-place of the saints.

[6] *Darwāza* (دروازه) is Persian for Arabic *bāb* (باب) meaning 'gate'.

Mountain of Sarandīb[1]

It is one of the world's highest mountains which we saw from the sea, although we were still at a distance of nine days' journey from it. When we climbed to the mountain we saw the clouds below, which held from our view things underneath. On this mountain there are many trees whose leaves do not fall off; and there are also flowers of various colours, notably the red rose as big as the palm of the hand. It is believed that in the said rose there is some writing in which can be read the name of Allāh the exalted and that of His Prophet. May peace be on him! In the mountain there are two roads which lead to Adam's Foot; one is called the Bābā track and the other the Māmā track, namely the tracks of Adam and Eve Peace be on them!

The Māmā track is easy enough, which the pilgrims follow on their return. But if any one pursues that track for the purpose of reaching the Foot he is looked upon as not having performed the pilgrimage at all. The Bābā track is stiff and difficult to climb. At the foot of the mountain, where lies its gate, there is a cave which is also ascribed to Alexander; and there is a spring of water.

Men of yore have hewn stairs in the mountain by which one could climb, and they have driven in iron pegs from which chains are suspended and these might be caught by the person climbing the mountain. The chains are ten in number—two in the lower part of the mountain where there is the gate, and seven adjacent to these. The tenth chain is the chain of the Islamic creed, and is so named[2] because when a person arrives at it and looks down at the base of the mountain he apprehends a fall to avoid which he recites the creed.[3] After crossing this chain, one finds a road which has been neglected, and from the tenth chain to the Khiẓr cave there is a distance of seven miles. The cave lies in a vast expanse adjoining a water spring full of fish which also bears the name of Khiẓr. No one fishes there and in the vicinity of the cave there are on both sides of the track two reservoirs cut out of a rock. It is at the Khiẓr cave that the pilgrims leave off all their belongings; thence they climb two miles still to the mountain's peak where lies the Foot.

Account of the Foot

This is the mark of the sacred Foot of our father Adam—peace and blessing be on him!—engraved into a black and lofty stone lying in a spacious area. The sacred Foot had imprinted itself in the stone so as to have made its mark; its length is eleven spans. From the old times the Chinese used to visit it; they cut out of it the space of the great toe and the adjacent part and placed it in the temple in the city of Ts'wan-chow-fu (*Zaitūn*) where it is visited by people from the remotest parts. In the

[1] *I.e.* Adam's Peak. [2] Presumably, it was so named by the Muslims.
[3] *I.e.* there is no God but God, and Muḥammad is His Prophet. See p. 187, *supra*, footnote 6.

rock close to the Foot-mark are dug out nine hollows which the pagan visitors fill with gold, rubies and pearls. Consequently it is seen that the poor immediately on their arrival at the Khiẓr cave endeavour to surpass each other in hastening to the said hollows and seizing their contents; but we found nothing except some little pieces of precious stones and gold which we gave away to the guide. And the custom is that the pilgrims remain three days at the Khiẓr cave and that all these days they walk up to the Foot, morning as well as evening. We did the same. The three days being over, we returned by way of the Māmā track. We encamped at the cave of Shaim, namely Shīṣ, the son of Adam. Peace be on them! Then, we journeyed to the Samak[1] bay, and thence to the villages of Kurmula, Jabarkāwān, Dildīnawa and Ātqalanja successively. At Ātqalanja Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh *bin* Khafīf[2] used to spend the winter. All these villages and stations lie in the mountain. And close to the foot of the mountain in this track there is a moving tree (*darakht-i-rawān*), which is a very old tree whose leaves do not fall off; I met no one who had seen them. The tree is also called *māshīa*[3] because he who looks at it from the height of the mountain sees it at considerable distance from himself and close to the foot of the mountain while to him who views it from its base, the tree appears in a reverse position.[4] At the foot of the mountain I saw a number of the jogis who live there looking for the tree's leaves to fall, but the tree lies at a place where it is not possible at all to reach. And they tell many lies about it; for instance, whosoever eats the leaves of that tree will be rejuvenated although he were an old haggard. But this is untrue.

Below this mountain there is a large bay whence rubies are collected, and its waters appear to the eye as deep blue. From that place we journeyed for two days until we reached the city of Dondra (*Dīnawar*). It is a big city lying on the coast and inhabited by merchants. There is an idol called *Dīnawar* lodged in a huge temple in which there live about a thousand of the Brahmins and jogis, besides five hundred or so of Hindū girls who sing and dance the whole night in front of the idol. The city and its revenues are dedicated to the idol, and all those who live in the temple as well as those who visit it live thereupon. The idol is made of gold and is as big as a man, and in place of two eyes it has two big rubies which, I was told, shine in the course of the night like two lanterns.

Then we journeyed to the city of Qālī[5] which is a small city lying at a distance of six parasangs[6] from Dondra (*Dīnawar*). There lives a Musalmān called Captain Ibrāhīm who gave us a treat at his house. Later we departed for the city of Colombo (*Kalanbū*) which is one of the finest

[1] *I.e.* fish.

[2] He lived to an age of 110 or 117 years and died on Wednesday, 23rd *Ramaẓān*, 71 A.H. (22nd March, 982 A.C.). *Vide* the *Shīrāznāma*, p. 96.

[3] *I.e.* marching. [4] *I.e.* at the top of the mountain.

[5] *I.e.* Point de Galle. *Vide* H. Cy., p. 268.

[6] *I.e.* about twenty-one miles.

and greatest cities of Sarendib.[1] In it lives the minister and admiral Jālasti who has with him about five hundred Abyssinians.

Then we resumed our journey, and after three days we arrived at Baṭṭāla which has been described before. We went to its king Ayri Shakarwatī and I found Captain Ibrāhīm[2] awaiting me. Then we sailed for the country of Ma'bar.

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[1] See p. 188 *supra*, footnote 4.

[2] This Captain Ibrāhīm should not be confused with his namesake of Qālī.

CHAPTER XVIII

MA'BAR AND BENGAL *(BANJĀLA)*

In the course of our voyage wind became violent and the water rose so high that it was about to enter the ship, while we had no able captain with us. We then got near a rock, where the ship was on the point of being wrecked; afterwards we came into shallow water wherein the ship began to sink. Death stared us in the face and the passengers jettisoned all that they possessed and bade adieu to one another. We cut down the mast throwing it overboard and the sailors constructed a wooden raft. The land being at a distance of two parasangs [1] from us, I wished to get on the raft. But I had with me two slave girls and two of my companions who said, 'Are you climbing down to the raft leaving us behind?' I preferred their safety to my own and said, 'Climb down both of you along with the girl I love.' The girl said, 'I can swim well; I shall catch hold of one of the raft ropes and swim along.' Thereupon both of my companions climbed down to the raft—one of them being Muḥammed *bin* Farhān at-tūzarī, and the other an Egyptian—along with one girl, while the other girl swam. The sailors tied ropes to the raft and swam with their help. I entrusted to them my valuables—jewels and ambergris—all of which were dear to me and they reached the shore safely, the wind being favourable. I remained in the ship while the captain landed by means of a plank. The sailors began to construct four boats, but the night fell before these were completed and the water came into the ship. I climbed to the stern where I remained until the morning. At that time some infidels came out to us in a boat, and we disembarked along with them on the coast of Ma'bar. We told them that we were friends of their sulṭān under whose protection (*dhimma*) they had been living. They wrote to him about this, the sulṭān having then come on an expedition to a distance of two days' journey. I also wrote him a letter describing all that had happened to me. The said infidels took us to a thick forest and brought us a fruit resembling a melon which was borne by the palmyra-tree (*shajarat-ul-muql*). It contained something like cotton with a sweet juice which people extracted from it and out of this they made sweets (*ḥalwā*) called *tal*[2] which is tasty like sugar. Then the infidels brought us some good fish. We stayed there three days, when there came on behalf of the sulṭān an amir named Qamar-ud-dīn with a body of horse and foot. They brought a *dola* and ten horses. I, my companions, the captain and one of the slave girls rode the horses while the other slave girl was carried in the *dola*. Thus we

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[1] *I.e.* six and a half miles.

[2] *I.e.* 'tala' which is the Sanskrit word for the fruit as well as for the tree. See Apte, p. 536.

arrived at the fort of Harkātū (*Harkātū*) where we spent the night. I left there the girls and some of the slaves and companions; on the following day we reached the sulṭān's camp.

Sulṭān of the country of Ma'bar

The sulṭān of the country of Ma'bar was Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Dāmghānī. In the beginning he was a horseman in the cavalry of Malik Mujīr *bin* Abū Rijā, one of the servants of Sulṭān Muhammad. Then he entered the service of Amīr Ḥājī *bin* Saiyid Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn and later he became king. Prior to his becoming king he was called Sirāj-ud-dīn, but on ascending the throne he assumed the title of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn.

The country of Ma'bar was under the rule of Sulṭān Muḥammad, emperor of Dehlī. Later my father-in-law, Sharīf Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh, rebelled against him and he ruled over Ma'bar for five years. He was then killed, and one of his amirs, namely 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Udaijī, became king who reigned for one year. Then he set out on an expedition against the infidels, acquired enormous wealth and immense booty and returned to his country. In the following year he warred with them again, defeated them and massacred very many of them. On the day of his massacring them he happened to raise his helmet in order to drink water, when from an unknown quarter an arrow pierced him and he died instantly. His son-in-law Quṭb-ud-dīn was raised to the throne, but his character was not appreciated, and he was killed after a period of forty days. Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn was then installed on the throne. He married a daughter of Sulṭān Sharīf Jalāl-ud-dīn, and her sister I had espoused at Dehlī.

My arrival at the camp of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn

When we got near his camp he sent one of his chamberlains to meet us, while he himself was sitting in the wooden tower. It is a custom all over India that no one comes before a sulṭān without socks on. But I had no socks.[1] An infidel gave me socks while there were many Musalmans present on that occasion. I was surprised to find the infidel more generous than those Muslims. However, I appeared before the sulṭān who ordered me to sit. He then summoned the *qāẓī*, Ḥājī Ṣadr-uz-zamān Bahā-ud-dīn, and close to the latter's residence the sulṭān assigned me three tents which the Indians call *khiyām*.[2] He also sent me carpets as well as meals consisting of rice and meat. It is a custom with the Indians to serve curd[3] after the meals, just as in our country.

After this, I had an interview with the sulṭān in the course of which I broached the Maldive affair and proposed that he should send an expedition to those islands. He set about with determination to do so and specified

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[1] It appears that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was then wearing shoes called نعل in Arabic. But what was needed at the moment to enable him to attend the court was a pair of خف that is 'a certain thing worn on the foot' (Lane)

[2] Plural of khaima. See Appendix Q, p. 281

[3] *Vide* the reference to curd, p. 181 *supra*.

the war-ships for that purpose. He also fixed the presents to be sent to the queen of the Maldive Islands as well as the robes and gifts for the vezirs and amirs. He entrusted me with the task of drawing up his marriage contract with the queen's sister, and he ordered three boats to be loaded with alms for the poor of the Maldive Islands. He then told me to go back after five days. But the admiral Khwāja Sarlak [1] informed the sulṭān that no voyage could be made to the said islands until after three months. On this the sulṭān said to me, 'If it is so, you had better go to Pattan (*Fattan*) [2] and stay on until we finish this expedition and return to our capital Madura (*Mutra*); we shall move from there.' I stayed there with the sulṭān; meanwhile, I sent for my slave girls and companions.

Sulṭān's plan of march and his disgraceful conduct in killing women and children

The land we had to pass through was an unbroken jungle of trees and canes so thick and dense that no one had heretofore penetrated through them. The sulṭān ordered that everyone in the army whether high or low should carry a hatchet to cut down the wood. And when the camp was fixed the sulṭān proceeded on horseback towards the thicket along with his troops (*an-nās*) and they cut down the trees from the break of day till its decline. Then meals were served and all the troops dined in successive batches. The meals over, they resumed cutting down the trees and continued to do so until the nightfall. All the enemies (*kuffār*) [3] whom the troopers found in the jungle were taken prisoner; and making stakes sharpened at both the ends, they placed these on the prisoners' shoulders so that they might carry the same, each prisoner being accompanied by his wife and children, if any; in this way they were all brought to the camp. Their custom is to build around their camp a wooden palisade with four gates, which they call '*katkar*'.[4] They build a second *katkar* around the sulṭān's residence, and outside the principal *katkar* they build stone benches half the size of man in height and they light fire the whole night. The slaves as well as the foot-soldiers remain at that place throughout the night, each carrying a faggot of thin reeds. When in the course of the night any of the enemies come to make an attack upon the camp, everyone of the said slaves and foot-soldiers lights the faggot in his hands. Consequently night virtually turns into day on account of the floods of light thus emanating; then the horsemen set out in pursuit of the enemies.

Next morning the enemies who had been taken prisoner the preceding day were divided into four groups, and each group was taken into the *katkar* by a gate; then the stakes which they had carried the preceding

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[1] See note, p. 230 *infra*.

[2] Fattan or Pattan was the chief harbour of Ma'bar. It lay north of Deviapatam near Ramad.

[3] *Kuffār* (plural of *kāfir*, meaning 'ungrateful' or 'impious') here stands for 'enemy'.

[4] *I.e.* enclosure.

day were driven into the earth near the gate. And each prisoner was fixed on the sharpened stake which pierced through his body. This done, their women were slain along with their children, their hair being tied to the stakes; they were left there in the same condition.[1] Afterwards, the camp was pitched and they took to cutting down the trees of another part of the forest, and they treated in the same manner the next batch of the enemies whom they had captured. This was a hideous thing which I have never seen being indulged in by any king. On account of this, God hastened his death.[2]

One day, as the *qāẓī* sat to the sulṭān's right and I to his left and while he was taking meals with us, I saw that an enemy was brought in along with his wife and their son who was seven years of age. The sulṭān beckoned to the executioners ordering them to cut off the enemy's head and then ordered, '*wa zan-i-ōō wa pisar-i-ōō*',[3] meaning 'and his wife and his son'. Consequently their necks were cut off; while this was being done I turned away my eyes from them. When I rose, I found their heads lying on the earth.[4]

One day, while I was with the sulṭān, another enemy was brought in. The sulṭān said something which I could not understand, when all of a sudden several of his executioners pulled their knives. I hastened to rise; but he said to me, 'Where do you intend to go?' 'Let me say the '*aṣr* prayer', I replied. He understood me and laughed; then he ordered that the enemy's hands and feet be cut off. When I returned I found him weltering in his blood.[5]

Defeat that Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn inflicted on the infidels—one of the greatest of Islamic victories

In the vicinity of his dominion there was an infidel king named Balāl Deo[6] who was one of the greatest of the infidel sultans. His army exceeded a hundred thousand men, and he had, besides, with him twenty thousand Musalmans who were scoundrels and criminals and run-away slaves. He desired to conquer the country of Ma'bar, where the strength of the Muslim army was six thousand. Half of these were excellent troops, while the other half were no good at all. The Muslim army met him in battle in the outskirts of the city of Kubbān[7]; but he routed them and they withdrew to the capital city of Madura.

1, 4, 5 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has rightly denounced these atrocities, which Islām had banned. In a chapter on war, the *Kitābu-'sh-sharā'i'* says, '*It is not permissible to kill, out of the infidels, their madmen, their boys, girls and women even if the latter are found to have helped the infidels in war . . . . And it is not permissible to mutilate any of them; nor is it permissible to kill them by treachery and after safety has been promised.*'

[J'afar bin Hasan Hillī Muḥaqqiq-i-awwal—*Kitābu-sh-sharā'i'*, p. 89, Tabriz, 1320 A.H.] The author was born in 1240/638 and died in 1325/725.

[2] That is, the death of Sultan Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn.

[3] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa quotes the Persian phrase '*wa zan-i-ōō wa pisar-i-ōō*' to give the original flavour and the dramatic effect.

[6] See Bilāl Deo in *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, p. 143.

[7] *Vide* next page, footnote 1.

The infidel sulṭān encamped near Kubbān,[1] which is one of their[2] greatest and strongest of cities. He besieged it for ten months, at the end of which period they possessed no food excepting that which might suffice for fourteen days. The infidel sent word to the besieged that in case they vacated the fort and left the city to him they would be safe. But they replied, 'We must explain this to our sulṭān.' He promised them a truce of fourteen days, and they wrote to Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn about their condition. The sulṭān read out their letter to the people on Friday. They cried saying, 'We shall lay down our lives for God. If the infidel takes that city, he will have to besiege us; to perish under the sword is much better for us.' So they resolved to die and set out on the following day. They pulled off their turbans from their heads and placed them on their horses' necks in token of their determination to die. The most courageous and bravest of them—and they amounted in all to three hundred —were placed in the vanguard; to the right was Saif-ud-dīn Bahādūr, who was a godly, pious and brave jurist, and to the left was Malik Muḥammad the arms-keeper (*silāḥdār*). The sulṭān on horseback placed himself in the centre, and along with him there were three thousand men. He put the remaining three thousand under the command of Asad-ud-dīn Kaikhusrav al-Fārisī in the rear-guard. Thus arranged, they sprang on the infidels' camp at the siesta-time while their soldiers were off guard and their horses had been sent out to pasture. As they fell on the infidels' camp the latter mistook them for thieves and came towards them in disorder and battled with them. In the meantime Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn arrived and the infidels were severely defeated. Their raja (*sulṭān*) attempted to mount a horse although he was eighty years of age. But he was captured by Nāsir ud-dīn, nephew of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn, whom he later succeeded to the throne. Nāsir-ud-dīn, not recognizing the raja, intended to kill him. But one of his servants said to him, 'He is the raja (*sulṭān*).' So Nāsir-ud-dīn captured him and took him to his uncle, who treated him apparently with respect until he had wrested from him his riches, his elephants and his horses while promising to release him. After he had stripped him of all his possessions he slaughtered[3] and skinned him. His skin was then filled with straw and was hung up on the wall of Madura where I saw it suspended.

Let us revert to our theme I left the camp and arrived at the city of Pattan. It is a large and beautiful city on the coast with a wonderful port. In it there was a great wooden pavilion erected on huge girders which could be reached by means of a wood-roofed gallery. When the enemy attacks, the boats which lie in harbour are joined to the said pavilion. The foot-soldiers as well as the archers mount up to it, so that the enemy cannot find an opportunity to hurt them.

[1] *I.e.* Koppam. *Vide* Aiyangar, S. K.—S.I.M.I., p. 173.

[2] *I.e.* the Musalmans in Maʿbar.

[3] This is contrary to the spirit and law of Islām. See p. 228 *supra*, footnote.

In this city there is a beautiful mosque built of stone and in it grow grapes in abundance as well as fine pomegranates. There I met Shaikh Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad of Nishāpūr. He is one of those devoted fakirs who let their hair hang over their shoulders. He had a lion whom he had tamed to dine with the fakirs and who squatted by them. The *shaikh* had in his company some thirty fakirs, one of whom owned a gazelle who lived with the lion at one and the same place; but the latter would do her no injury. I put up in the city of Pattan. A jogī had prepared some pills for Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn with a view to augmenting his potency. It is said that the pills contained among other ingredients iron filings, and the sulṭān swallowed them beyond measure; consequently he fell ill. He arrived at Pattan while still ill; I went out to meet him and offered him a present. After he had settled in the city, he sent for Khwāja Sarwar[1] the admiral and said to him, 'Do not occupy yourself with anything except keeping in readiness the vessels meant for the Maldive expedition.' And he wished to pay me the price of the gift I had presented to him. I declined; but I repented later, for Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn died and I got nothing.

Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn stayed at Pattan for half a month, and then left for his capital city. But I stayed there a fortnight after his departure; afterwards, I left for his capital, namely the city of Madura, which is a big city with spacious streets. The first sulṭān who had made it his capital was my father-in-law, Sulṭān Sharīf Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh. He had made it the like of Dehlī and had built it remarkably well.

When I reached Madura, I found that an epidemic was raging there and that the people afflicted with it died in no time. Whoever caught infection died on the morrow, or the day after, and if not on the third day, then on the fourth. Whenever I went out I saw people but diseased or dead. I had purchased a slave girl believing that she was quite sound and healthy, but she died the following day. One day there came to me a woman, whose husband was one of the vezirs of Sulṭān Aḥsan Shāh, together with her eight-year-old son. The son looked noble, sagacious and intelligent. The woman complained of her poverty and I gave some money to her and her son. Both were healthy and sound; but lo! she came the following day soliciting a shroud for her very son who had died instantly. When the sulṭān's life was drawing to a close I saw in his palace hundreds of female servants, who had been brought there to pound the rice used as diet for the inmates other than himself. All of them were sick and had exposed themselves to the rays of the sun.

When the sulṭān entered Madura, he found that his mother, wife and son were ill. He stayed three days in the city; then he went to a river at a distance of one parasang from the city, and by the side of that river there stood a temple of the infidels. I went up to the sulṭān on

[1] The same man has been previously called Khwāja Sarlak (*vide* p. 227 *supra*) (cf. Def. et Sang., IV, p. 204).

Thursday and he ordered that I should be lodged in a tent by the side of the *qāẓī*. When the tents had been pitched for me I saw people hastening along, some shoving the other and reporting that the sulṭān had died, while others declared that his son had died. It was later ascertained that it was the son who had died and it was his only son. His death augmented the sulṭān's malady, and the following Thursday died the sulṭān's mother.

Sulṭān's death and the accession of his nephew and my withdrawal from him

The third Thursday died Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn. On hearing of this, I rushed into the city, since I apprehended a tumult. I met Nāṣir-ud-dīn, the nephew and successor of the deceased, on his way to the camp where he had been called, as the sulṭān had left no son. He desired me to accompany him back to the camp, but I declined and he took this to heart. Before his uncle's accession to the throne this Nāṣir-ud-dīn had been a servant at Dehlī. When Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn became king, the nephew fled to him disguised as a fakir, and fate decided that he should reign after him. When the oath of allegiance to him was taken, poets sang his praises and he bestowed on them abundant gifts. The first man who stood up to recite the praises was Qāẓī Ṣadr-uz-zamāṅ to whom the sulṭān gave five hundred dinars [1] and a robe to boot. The next man was the vezir who was named 'al-Qāẓī' and to him the sulṭān gave two thousand dinars.[2] As for myself, he gave me three hundred dinars [3] and a robe of honour. Then he gave alms to the fakirs and the needy. When the orator (*khaṭīb*) recited the first oration inserting the name of the new sulṭān, dirhams and dinars placed in trays of gold and silver were scattered over him. Afterwards, the mourning ceremonies of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn were performed, and every day the Qur'ān was recited in full at the sulṭān's grave. Next the *'ashshārūn* [4] recited in their turn; after that meals were served, and all dined. Then money was given to everyone according to his position. This continued to be done for a period of forty days, and the process was repeated at each anniversary of the sulṭān's death.

The first act of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn was to dismiss the vezir of his uncle and to demand of him the State money. He appointed Malik Badr-ud-dīn his vezir—the same man whom his uncle had sent to meet me while I was at Pattan. Malik Badr-ud-dīn died before long and Khwāja Sarwar, the admiral, was appointed vezir instead. It was ordered that he should be addressed as Khwāja Jahāṅ, just like the vezir at Dehlī. Whoever addressed him otherwise was fined a certain number of coins (*danānīr*).[5] Afterwards, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn killed his cousin, the son of his parental aunt, and married his wife who was the daughter of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn. It was reported to him that Malik Masʿūd had visited his aforesaid

[1], [2], [3] *I.e.* silver tankas.

[4] *I.e.* those appointed to read the *'ushr* or one-tenth of the Holy Qur'ān.

[5] I think the term *danānīr*—plural of dīnār—is used here in a general sense like *darāhim* used elsewhere signifying 'money, cash or coin in an absolute sense' (Lane). It does not necessarily mean gold coins. Cf. Def. et Sang., IV, pp. 204-5.

cousin in prison before his execution; so he too was executed, and similar was the fate of Malik Bahādūr who was one of the generous and accomplished heroes. And he ordered that I should be supplied all the boats which his uncle had specified for my voyage to the islands. But I was then and there attacked by malignant fever and I felt I would die. God inspired me, however, to taking tamarind which can be had in abundance there. I took about a *ratl*[1] of it, dissolved it in water and drank the same. It caused me motions for three days, then God cured me of the disease. I began to dislike the city of Madura and solicited permission for the journey. The sulṭān said to me, 'How will you set out on the journey[2]? It is only a period of one month left for you to start for the Maldive Islands. Wait until we give you all the provisions which the late *khūnd 'ālam*[3] had ordered for you'; but I refused. He then wrote for me to Pattan to the effect that I should be allowed to travel by whichever ship I liked, and I returned to Pattan I found eight ships bound for Yemen and I embarked on one of them We encountered four war-ships which battled with us for a while and then withdrew We arrived at Quilon while I was still unwell, so I stayed there three months. Then I boarded a ship with a view to proceeding to Sulṭān Jamāl-ud-dīn of Hinawr But the infidels fell upon us between Hinawr and Fākanar.

Infidels robbed us

When we drew closer to the small island[4] lying between Hinawr and Fākanar, the infidels armed with twelve war-ships attacked us; they put up a very hard fight and overpowered us. They seized all my possessions—all that I had hoarded against the day of adversity They seized the jewels and rubies which the king of Ceylon had given me and robbed me of my clothes and provisions with which pious men and saints had favoured me. They left nothing on my body except the trousers and similarly they seized all their belongings from the rest of the passengers And they made us disembark on the coast So I returned to Calicut and entered a mosque One of the jurists sent me a garment, the *qāzī* sent me a turban and a certain merchant sent me another garment. There I came to know that the vezir 'Abdullāh had married Sulṭāna Khadīja after the death of the grand vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn and that my wife whom I had left pregnant had been delivered of a male issue. It occurred to me, then, to go to the Maldive Islands but at the same time I recalled the enmity that had subsisted between me and the vezir 'Abdullāh. So I opened the Qur'ān and my eyes fell upon these words '*the angels will descend on*

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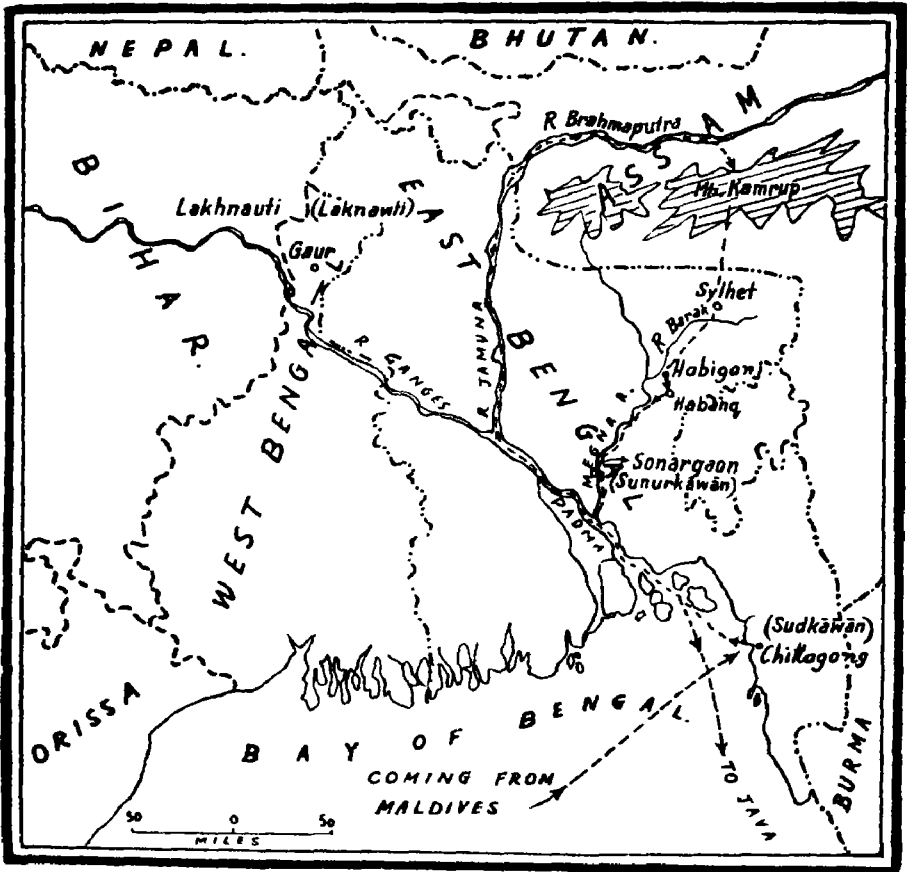
[1] The *ratl* has been explained above (p. xlvii *supra*) as amounting to half an Indian *ser* Here the weight of tamarind taken was something between 30 and 40 tolas.

[2] See p. 227 *supra*.

[3] *I.e.* the late Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-dīn

[4] Perhaps the Pigeon island as it became known later (Yule—*Cathay And The Way Thither*, IV, p. 35). See map, p 225

To face page 233.

MALDIVES TO BENGAL

them and will say to them—do not fear and do not grieve'.[1] Then I consulted God by divination [2] and set sail. After a voyage of ten days I reached the Maldive Islands (*Dhibat-ul-mahal*) and landed in the island of Kannalūs. Its governor (*wālī*), ʻAbdul ʻAzīz Maqdshāvī, welcomed me warmly. He gave me a treat and fitted out a yacht for me. Then I got to Hololi [3] (*Halalī*), an island where the sulṭāna and her sisters go for recreation and swim—and this is called a sea voyage—and they play on board the ship. The vezirs and chiefs send presents and gifts to her when she stays there. There I met the sulṭāna's sister and her husband, the orator (*khaṭīb*) named Muḥammad, son of the grand vezir Jamāl-ud-dīn, as well as her mother who had been my wife. Then the orator visited me and the dinner was served.

Meanwhile, some of the inhabitants of that island went to the vezir ʻAbdullāh and informed him about my arrival. He enquired about me and those who had accompanied me. He was told that I had come to fetch my son, then about [4] two years of age The child's mother [5] came to the vezir and complained about this. The vezir said to her, 'I will not prevent him from fetching away his son.' He constrained me to enter the Mahal island and lodged me in a house which lay opposite the tower of his palace in order that he should keep himself informed about me He then sent me a complete suit of clothes together with betel and rose-water according to their custom. I took to him two silk pieces to be presented to him at the time of my salute. These were taken from me, but the vezir did not come out that day to see me. My son was, however, brought to me and I deemed it fit for him to continue with the islanders; so I returned him to them. I stayed five days in the island and then I considered it advisable to expedite the journey; hence, I solicited permission to depart. Thereupon the vezir called me and I attended. At that time the two silk pieces which had been taken from me were brought to me and I presented the same to the vezir at the time of my salute according to the custom. The vezir made me sit by his side and made enquiries about me. And I took dinner with him and washed my hands with him in the same basin—an indulgence which he allows to none. Then betel was served and I withdrew; subsequently the vezir sent me some clothes and 'bastus' of cowries. And on the whole he acquitted himself extremely well.

Then I set sail, and we were on the high seas for forty-three days, at the end of which period we arrived in Bengal.

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[1] The Qur'ān, *Sūra* XII, verse 30

[2] That is, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tried to find out the will of God regarding his proposed journey. The process by which the believers do this is called *istikhāra* which literally means 'seeking to find out the right course', and the *istikhāra* is performed by invoking God through the Holy Qur'ān.

[3] *I.e. Oluveli* island in North Mālē atoll (A.G., II, p. 467).

[4] The son was born after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had left the Maldive islands at the close of his first visit (1344 A.C.). He had then left his wife pregnant. In 1346 when he paid his second visit the son was about two years of age.

[5] *I.e.* Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's wife.

Bengal is a vast country and abounds in rice. In the whole world I did not see a country where commodities were cheaper than in Bengal. All the same, Bengal is foggy and the Khurasanis[1] call it '*dozakh-i-pur n'imat*', that is, inferno full of gifts. I saw rice being sold in the streets of Bengal at the rate of twenty-five ratls[2] of Dehlī weight for a silver dīnār[3] which was equal to eight dirhams, a dirham[4] of India being equal in value to a silver dirham. As for the *ratl* of Dehlī, it weighed as much as twenty ratls of Morocco (*maghrib*). I heard the people of Bengal observe that that was a high price[5] in their country. Muhammad-ul-Masmūdī, the Moroccan (*al-maghribī*), who was a pious man and an old inhabitant of this place[6] and who died at Dehlī while staying with me, told me that he had a wife and a servant and that a year's living[7] for all three of them he used to buy for eight dirhams,[8] and that he would buy rice[9] in the shell at the rate of eighty ratls of Dehlī for eight dirhams. On being pounded net fifty ratls of rice could be had, and fifty ratls meant ten qintars.[10] I saw a milch cow[11] being sold there for three silver dinars, and it is the buffalo[12] which serves as cow in these parts. I saw fat hens[13] being sold there at the rate of eight for a dirham and young pigeons[14] at the rate of fifteen for a dirham. I saw a fat lamb[15] being

[1] *I.e.* the foreigners. See p. 14 footnote, Chapter II.

[2] The *ratl* of Dehlī was equal in weight to the maund (*mann*) of Dehlī which was 14 'ser' of the present day. See also p. xlvii *supra*.

[3] A silver dinar may be taken as another term for a silver tanka which was approximately an equivalent of modern rupee.

[4] *Dirham* was an Egyptian and Syrian coin, not an Indian one. It was equal nearly to a two-anna piece in modern currency. See p. xlix *supra*.

[5] According to this high price, the cost of a *ser* of rice comes to ·5 or ½ pie and to 3½ pies according to the gold standard Cf. the standard price shown in footnote 7 that follows.

[6] *I.e.* Bengal

[7] *I.e.* the cost of living for 3 adults for a whole year amounted to Re.1 or of one adult to 5 annas and 4 pies. According to the gold standard the figures would be Rs 7 and Rs.2, 5 annas and 4 pies respectively.

[8] Dinars according to another MS, which has *danānīr* instead of *darāhim*; and this makes better sense For dīnār, see p. xlix *supra*.

[9] *I.e.* 1,120 'sers' of paddy could be had for Re.1 or 1 *ser* for 0·17 pie. According to the gold standard the figures would be Rs 7 and 1·19 pie respectively.

[10] 'Qintār' was a quantity of no determinate weight (Lane).

[11] *I.e.* Rs.3; or Rs.21 according to the gold standard.

[12] Buffalo is the animal of water and marsh—the two characteristics of the soil of Chittagong and the riverine areas in East Bengal—and its milk was then possibly in much greater use than that of the cow. In these circumstances Ibn Battūta found the buffalo being used as milch cow.

[13] *I.e.* one fat fowl for 3 pies or 1 pice; and according to the gold standard 1 anna and 9 pies.

[14] *I.e.* a young pigeon for 1⅗ pies or ½ pice; and according to the gold standard 10½ pies or 3½ pice.

[15] *I.e.* 4 annas; or Re.1 and annas 12 according to the gold standard.

sold for a couple of dirhams, and a *ratl* of sugar [1] could be had for four dirhams—the *raṭl* being one of the Dehlī standard. Besides, a *raṭl* of rose-water [2] could be had for eight dirhams, and a *ratl* of ghee [3] (*samn*) for four dirhams and a *raṭl* of seasame [4] oil for two dirhams. I saw a piece of finest thin cotton cloth [5] being sold at the rate of thirty cubits for two dinars, and a pretty slave girl [6] fit to serve as mistress for a gold dīnār, which is equal to two and a half gold dinars of Morocco (*maghrib*). At this rate I purchased a slave girl named 'Āshūrā who was extremely beautiful. And one of my companions bought a good-looking boy [7] of tender age named Lūlū for a couple of gold dinars.

The first city of Bengal that we entered was Chittagong (*Sudkāwān*).[8] It is a vast city on the coast of the great sea, in the vicinity of which the

[1] *I e.* 14 'sers' of sugar for annas 8 or 1 *ser* for 7 pies or 2½ pice. According to the gold standard the figures would be Rs 3 and annas 8, and 4 annas and 1 pie respectively.

[2] *I e.* 14 'sers' of rose-water for Re 1 or 1 *ser* for 1 anna and 1 7 pie. According to the gold standard Rs 7 for 14 'sers'; and 8 annas and 2 pies for 1 *ser*.

[3] *I.e.* 14 'sers' of ghee for 8 annas or 1 *ser* for 7 pies or 2½ pice According to the gold standard the figures would be Rs.3½ and 4 annas and 1 pie respectively.

[4] *I.e.* 14 'sers' for 4 annas or 1 *ser* for 3½ pies. According to the gold standard Re.1 and 12 annas, and 2 annas and 2½ pies respectively.

[5] *I e.* 15 yards-bale of muslin for Rs.2 or 1 yard for 2 annas and 1½ pies; according to the gold standard Rs.14 and 14 annas and 10½ pies respectively.

[6] *I e* Rs 10; or Rs 70 according to gold standard.

[7] *I e.* Rs.20; or Rs.140.

N.B. Either of the two tables of prices hereby drawn should serve as an assessment in terms of modern prices according as silver or gold is taken as the standard. The price of gold which was 10 times that of silver in the days of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has now risen to 70 times; hence the ratio of 10 : 70, *i e* 1 · 7.

See also (i) *History of Bengal*, II, p. 101, edited by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar;
(ii) N K Bhattsali—*Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, p. 144.

For 'rose-water' (*vide* footnote 1) Dr Bhattasali has 'syrup (honey)'. But the original '*julāb*' is the Arabic form of the Persian word '*gulāb*' meaning rose-water.

[8] *Sudkāwān* is an Arab expression for Chāṭgāoṇ or Chatgāṇw which is variously named—Sātjām or Satgāoṇ by the present-day sailors of Arab descent, Choṭṭogrām or Chāṭgāṇ or Chāṭīgāoṇ by the provincials, Chhaṭigāoṇ or Chhaṭgāoṇ by the natives and Chittagong by the English. There has been a dispute about the identity of Sudkāwān with Chāṭgāoṇ or with Satgāoṇ (Satgānw)—an old commercial town, now in ruins, lying north-west of the Hooghly; and arguments have been advanced on each side—between Yule (*Cathay And The Way Thither*, p 458), N K. Bhattasali (*Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, p. 145) on the one hand and the *History of Bengal* (II, p. 100, edited by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar) on the other. I do not wish to add to the list of arguments which is already large. But I feel that the contention (*vide History of Bengal* mentioned above) of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's stressing the letter س instead of چ does not hold good either, firstly because there is no stress as such on any letter of the word 'Sudkāwān' as spelt in the *Reḥla*, and secondly the use of س as a substitute for چ or پ—as will be apparent from the current Arab

river Ganges where the Hindus make pilgrimage and the river Jūn[1] join together and whence they flow into the sea. On the river Ganges there were numerous ships, by means of which they[2] wage war against the people of Lakhnautī (*Laknawtī*).

Sultān of Bengal

He is Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn,[3] surnamed Fakhrā, an accomplished ruler who loves strangers particularly the fakirs and sufis. The dominion of Bengal belonged originally to Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban, it was the latter's son Mu'izz-ud-dīn who became the sovereign of Dehlī. Thereupon Nāṣir-ud-dīn set out to fight his son; they encountered each other on the river Ganges and their interview was depicted as the *liqā-us-s'adain*—the meeting of two happy stars. We have already described it,[4] and we have related how Nāṣir-ud-dīn abdicated the throne of Dehlī in favour of his son and returned to Bengal where he remained until his death. Then his son Shams-ud-dīn ascended the throne. He also died and was succeeded by his son Shihāb-ud-dīn, and the latter was in course of time overpowered by his brother Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Bahādūr Būr.[5] Shihāb-ud-dīn supplicated help of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq, who helped him and took Bahadūr Būr prisoner. Bahādūr Būr was released by Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn's son Muhammad, when the latter ascended the throne in his turn, on his agreeing to share his dominion with him But

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express on Sātjām for Chātgāṇw, Chhatgāoṇ or Chhatīgāoṇ—is in itself a proof that Sudkāwān stands for Chittagong and not for Satgāon

Much has been said about the confluence of the Ganges and the 'Jamuna' near Satgāoṇ as a proof of its being the port meant by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa But it should be noted that the 'Jamuna' referred to by Abul Faẓl (Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 120-121) is but a local stream, still existing as a canal, and is not identical with the great river Brahmaputra (*Jūn*) mentioned in the *Rehla*.

As to the contention that Chittagong is an inland port incapable of serving as a convenient base for naval warfare (*vide History of Bengal*, I', p. 100), edited by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar), it should be noted that Satgāoṅ is no nearer the sea—being 90 miles away inland, while Chittagong is on the coast of the 'biggest sea' (*bahr-ul-a'ẓam*) i.e the Indian Ocean, being only 60 miles from the united waters of the Ganges and Brahmaputra known as Meghna falling into the sea. And a study of the state of war between Lakhnautī and Sudkāwāṅ described in the *Rehla* urges the conclusion that Lakhnautī of West Bengal, which was stronger on land, was invaded by Chittagong (Sudkāwāṅ) of East Bengal which was stronger on water (*vide* the *Reḥla*, p. 237 *infra*). And once it has been established that Chittagong and not Satgāoṅ was the centre of Fakhr-ud-dīn's activities—his connection with Satgāoṅ being but casual and motivated by the war mentioned in the *Reḥla*—the mist of doubt (*vide* Gibb, H. A. R.—*Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 366) as to Fakhr-ud-dīn's connection with Chittagong vanishes.

[1] By '*Jūn*' Ibn Baṭṭūṭa means the Brahmaputra—which is but an oversight on his part.

[2] *I.e.* the Bengalis.

[3] Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn, also known as Sultān Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, was the ruler of Satgāoṇ (*Sudkāwān*), Sunārgāoṇ and Lakhnautī from 1337 to 1349 (*Riyāẓ-us-salāṭīn*, p. 94)

[4] See p. 38 *supra*.

[5] *I.e.* Bhūra See pp 50, 94 *supra*.

he broke his word and Sulṭān Muḥammad fought with him and killed him and appointed his brother-in-law[1] to the government of this province, but the latter was killed by the army. Now 'Alī Shāh, who was at Lakhnautī, seized the government of Bengal. When Fakhr-ud-dīn saw that the sceptre had passed out of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn's house—he himself being an ally of theirs—he raised a rebellion at Sudkāwāṅ[2] and in the rest of Bengal. He consolidated his rule there, but a war broke out between him and 'Alī Shāh. During the winter and in the midst of mud caused by the rains Fakhr-ud-dīn raided Lakhnautī by water on which he was strong. But when the dry season came, 'Alī Shāh invaded Bengal by land, since he was strong on land.[3]

Anecdote

Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn's regard for the fakirs became so profound that he appointed one of them named Shaidā as his deputy (*nāib*) at Sudkāwāṅ. Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn then marched to give battle to one of his enemies; but Shaidā revolted against him intending to make himself independent, and he killed the son of Sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn other than whom the sulṭān had no son. On hearing of this the sulṭān retraced his steps to his capital. Shaidā and his adherents fled and sped into the city of Sunurkāwāṅ[4] which is very strong. The sulṭān sent an army to besiege it. Its inhabitants fearing for their lives seized Shaidā and sent him to the sulṭān's troops. This was reported to the sulṭān and he ordered that the rebel's head should be sent. So his head was cut off and sent, and on account of him a large number of fakirs were killed. When I entered Sudkāwān, I did not see its sulṭān, nor had I an interview with him because he had revolted against the emperor of India and because I feared the consequences, if I did so. I departed from Sudkāwāṅ for the mountains of Kāmarū,[5] which lie thence at a distance of one month's journey. The Kāmarū mountains are a vast expanse ranging from China to Tibet (*Tabbat*), and the musk-producing gazelles are found there. The inhabitants of these mountains resemble the Turks and possess great capacity for strenuous work. One slave from amongst them is worth several times as much as a slave from another stock. They are noted for

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[1] *I.e.* the sulṭān's half-brother Tatār Khāṅ entitled Bahrām Khāṅ who had been his co-adjutor in administration. He is described here erroneously as brother-in-law.

[2] See p. 235 *supra* and footnote 8.

[3] For the light thus thrown by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa on this part of the history of Bengal, hitherto confused, see (i) J.A.S.B., 1873, pp. 278–281, (ii) Bhattasali, N. K.—*Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, pp. 9, 143, (iii) *History of Bengal*, edited by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, vol. II, pp. 100–103, (iv) *'Ajāib-ul-asfār*, pp. 370–374.

[4] *I.e.* Sonārgāon.

[5] *I.e.* Kāmrūp in Assam having Bhutan as its northern extremity and the Khasi hills in the south. It was annexed completely to the empire of Dehlī about 1256 A.C. although Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn *bin* Bakhtiyār Khaljī had overrun it in 1204 and tribute was realized from some parts of it early in the reign of Iltutmish by Ḥisām-ud-dīn 'Iwaẓ (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 16, B.I.).

their devotion to and practice of magic and witchcraft [1] My object in **going to these** mountains [2] was to meet one of the saints living there, **namely Shaikh** Jalāl-ud-dīn [3] of Tabrīz.

Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn

This *shaikh* was one of the great saints and one of the unique personages He had to his credit miracles (*karāmāt*) [4] well known to the public as well as great deeds, and he was a man of hoary age. He told me—may God have mercy on him!—that he had seen Caliph al-Musta'sim Billāh al-

[1] Kamrup or Kamakha-Kamrup (কামাখ্যা—কামরূপ) is still considered the home of magic and witchcraft (যাদু), and people go there to learn the black art. In his *Āīn-i-Akbarī* Abul Fazl describes Kamrup as a place noted for its magic and beauty. See also the *'Ajāib-ul-asfār*, p 377

[2] The site visited by Ibn Battūta was probably Sylhet in Assam bounded by the Khasi, Jaintia and Tippera hills. See map, p. 225, showing the route.

[3] Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn of Tabriz, who has also been mentioned as belonging to Shīrāz (Def et Sang, IV, p 287) and Yemen (J.A S B., 1873, p. 281)—places which he is said to have visited—was the famous Shāh Jalāl—the conqueror of Sylhet He should not be confounded with Shaikh Jalāl Mujarrad Turkistānī mentioned in the *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS R.A.S.B , f 41) And his identity should not suffer because of the fact that his tomb is pointed out at more than one place, namely at Sylhet (Assam District Gazetteer, II, pp. 81-82) and at Pandua ((i) A.A K.—*Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p 99; (ii) A A , pp 377-378) It may be noted that great saints and martyrs about whom contemporary history is silent have given rise to popular stories, and monuments have been raised in their honour sometimes in the shape of replica tombs bearing identical names

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa went to see Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn; and the visit having taken place towards the close of 746/1345, the date of the saint's death (747/1346) can be conveniently traced since he died shortly after Ibn Battūta's withdrawal; the latter heard of it the following year in China. He lived to a long age of 150 years according to Ibn Baṭṭūta, and calculating back on the basis of this information, 1199 A C. (596 A.H) would appear to be the date of his birth The *Akhbār-ul-akhiyār* (p 52) describes him as the contemporary of Khwāja Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī of Dehlī.

Bhattasali emphasizes the rôle played by Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn in bringing about the Muslim conquest of Sylhet which took place in 703/1304. The story which has been built up on the basis of local Bengali traditions runs as follows:—

Burhān-ud-dīn, a solitary Muslim inhabitant of Sylhet, was punished by Raja Gauda Govinda for the offence of sacrificing a cow. Burhān-ud-dīn appealed to the sulṭān of Bengal, Shams-ud dīn Fīroz Shāh, son of Nāsir-ud-dīn Bughrā Shāh. Shams-ud-dīn sent his sister's son Sikandar Ghāzī to occupy Sylhet and drive out Gauda Govinda. Sikandar was thrice defeated by Gauda Govinda. When Shams-ud-dīn came to know of this he sent a man of saintly character called Nāsir-ud-dīn *sipahsālār* to succour Sikandar. Burhān-ud-dīn, in the meantime, had secured the aid of Shāh Jalāl and his 360 followers, and he joined Nāsir-ud-dīn at Triveni near Satgaon. They marched forward and joined forces with Sikandar; and Gauda Govinda was defeated at last and Sylhet was occupied. (*Vide* (i) Bhattasali, N. K., p. 151 ; (ii) Dacca Review, August 1913.)

[4] *Karāmāt*, plural of *karāmat*, means extraordinary deeds, the performance of which is beyond the powers of ordinary human beings. A *karāmat* is of less value and consideration than a *mu'jiza* which a prophet alone can perform.

ʿAbbāsī at Baghdād, and that he was there at the time of his murder.[1] His companions told me subsequently that he died at the age of one hundred and fifty and that he observed fasts for about forty years during which he would break no fast of his until he had continued it for ten consecutive days. He owned a cow with whose milk he broke his fast. He stood performing his prayers throughout the night, and he was thin, tall and scanty-bearded. The inhabitants of these mountains had embraced Islām at his hands, and for this reason he stayed amidst them

A miracle[2] of this shaikh

Some of his disciples told me that he called them one day before his death, charged them to fear God and said, 'I shall leave you tomorrow, God willing, and I leave you to the care of Allāh, other than whom there is no God.' When he performed his *zuhr* prayer the following day he expired in the course of its[3] last prostration (*sijda*). By the side of his cave was then discovered a grave already dug out and equipped with the shroud and *ḥanūt*.[4] So the dead body of the *shaikh* was given an ablution and shrouded. Funeral prayer was then recited and he was buried; may God have mercy on him!

Another miracle[5] of this shaikh

When I intended to visit the *shaikh* four of his disciples met me at a distance of two days' journey from his residence and informed me that the *shaikh* had said to the fakirs in his company, 'A traveller from the west has come to you; go to receive him.' They said that they had accordingly come to receive me under orders of the *shaikh*, who knew nothing about me heretofore; yet this had been revealed to him. I went along with them to the *shaikh* and arrived at his hospice which lay outside the cave. There was no habitation whatever in its vicinity. The inhabitants of that locality, Musalmāns as well as Hindus, come to visit the *shaikh* and bring him presents and gifts which the fakirs and visitors consume. As for the *shaikh* he contents himself with a cow with whose milk he breaks his fast of ten consecutive days as we have already mentioned When I visited him, he rose to receive me and embraced me. He enquired of me about my country and journeys of which I gave him an account. He said to me, 'You are a traveller of Arabia ' His disciples who were then present said, 'O lord![6] he is also a traveller of the non-Arab countries.' 'Traveller of the non-Arab countries!' rejoined the *shaikh*. 'Treat him, then, with favour.' Thereupon they took me to the hospice and entertained me for three days.

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1 Al-Mustaʿṣim Billāh al-ʿAbbāsī, the last of the Abbāsid caliphs at Baghdād, was put to death by Hulākū Khān or Hulāgū after the destruction of Baghdād in 1258 A.C See p. 7 *supra*, footnote 5

2 5 *I.e* *karāmat*. See p. 238 *supra*, footnote 4.

3 Every genuflexion (*rakaʿt*) of Muslim prayer ends with two prostrations.

4 *I e*. fragrant herbs.

6 Literally 'our lord'

A striking story containing an account of his miracles [1]

The day I visited the *shaikh* I saw on his body a mantle of goat's hair which I liked and I said to myself, 'Would that the *shaikh* had given it to me!' When I saw him with a view to taking leave of him he rose to the corner of the cave; and removing his mantle he put it on me together with a cap of his own. As for himself he wore a garment with patches all over. The fakirs told me that the *shaikh* did not ordinarily wear the said mantle, that he had put it on at the time of my arrival and that he had said to them, 'The Moroccan will desire this mantle, which a pagan sulṭān will snatch from him and give it to our brother Burhān-ud-dīn of Ṣāgharj (*aṣ-Ṣāgharjī*)[2] to whom it belongs and for whom it has been made.' When the fakirs told me this, I said, 'I have obtained the saint's benediction inasmuch as he has clothed me with his own garment and wearing this mantle I shall not go to see any sulṭān, be he an infidel or a Muslim.' Then I withdrew from the *shaikh*.

After a long time since, I happened to visit China (*Ṣīn*) and went up to the city of Hang-chow-fu (*Khansā*). My companions were separated from me on account of the huge crowds and I had then on my body the said mantle. While I was in a certain street the vezir happened to pass with great retinue. His eyes fell on me and he called me and caught me by the hand and enquired about my arrival. And he did not leave me until I had reached the sulṭān's palace in his company. Then I proposed to withdraw, but he would not let me go and he introduced me to the sulṭān, who enquired about the Muslim sultans. I replied his queries, and while I did so, he looked at my mantle which he appreciated. The vezir advised me to put it off and I could not do otherwise. The sulṭān took the mantle; but ordered that I should be given ten robes instead and a well-equipped horse as well as money in cash. My mind was upset on account of this. Then I recalled the *shaikh*'s words to the effect that the mantle would be seized by a pagan sulṭān and I was very much astonished at this. The following year I entered the palace of the emperor of China at Peking (*Khān Bāliq*). Then I went to the hospice of Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn of Ṣāgharj. I saw that he was reading a book wearing the same mantle. I was astonished at this and turned the mantle sideways with my own hands. He said to me, 'Why do you turn it like this? You know what it is.' 'Yes! It is the same mantle which the sulṭān of Hang-chow-fu (*Khansā*) had seized from me,' I replied. 'This mantle', he said, 'was made for me by my brother Jalāl-ud-dīn who wrote to me saying—the mantle will come to you at the hands of such and such a person.' Then he produced the letter which I read and I marvelled at the firm conviction of the *shaikh*. At that time I related to him the beginnings of the story and he said to

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[1] See p. 239, footnote 2, 5.

[2] *Ṣāgharjī* as given in the Arabic text is a compound word consisting of (i) *Ṣāgharj* and (ii) *jī*, *Ṣāgharj* being the name of a place near Samarqand and *jī* being the Arabic form of *chī* which signifies connection like 'of' in English.

me, 'My brother Jalāl-ud-dīn was capable of performing even greater things than these. He possessed powers to effect changes in the universe, but he has died May Allāh have mercy on him!' Then Burhān-ud-dīn of Ṣāgharj said to me, 'I understand that he performed his morning prayer every day at Mecca and that he made a pilgrimage every year inasmuch as he vanished from the people's sight on the days of the 'Arfa and 'Īd and nobody knew whither he had gone.'

Let us revert to our theme When I bade adieu to Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn I journeyed to *Habanq*[1] which is one of the most glorious and beautiful cities. It is traversed by a river which springs from the mountain of Kāmarū and bears the name of *Nahr-ul-azraq*.[2] The way to Bengal and Lakhnautī lies through this river, and along the bank of this river to the right as well as to the left there are water wheels, gardens and villages such as those along the banks of the Nile in Egypt The inhabitants of *Habanq* are infidels under protection (*dhimma*) from whom half of the crops which they produce is taken, besides they have to perform certain duties.[3] For fifteen days we sailed down this river passing through villages and orchards as though we were going through a mart There are innumerable boats there and each boat contains a drum When two boats confront, each beats its own drum and thus the sailors transmit their mutual greetings The said sulṭān Fakhr-ud-dīn had ordered that no freight should be realized from the fakirs along this river and that provisions should be supplied to those who possessed none. Accordingly, when a fakir arrives in this city he is given half a dīnār.[4]

After fifteen days of our voyage in the river as we have related, we arrived in the city of Sunurkāwān[5] It is the inhabitants of this city who had seized a fakir named Shaidā on the latter's taking refuge in it. On our arrival there we found a junk bound for Sumatra (*Jawa*) which lay thence at a distance of forty days' journey. We embarked on this junk, and after sailing for fifteen days we arrived in the country of Barahnakār[6] the inhabitants of which have mouths like those of dogs[7] This is a tribe of

[1] The town of Habanq, now called Habang Tilā and reduced to ruins, lies some ten miles to the south of Habiganj.

[2] *I e.* blue river which may be taken to mean the Meghna—the term *megh* (মেঘ) meaning 'clouds' (See map, p. 225.)

[3] It should be noted that the practice of the levy of *jizya* falling fast out of use (*vide* p. 150, footnote 5 *supra* and Appendix H), the *Rehla* takes no cognizance of the term *jizya* in this instance. The State demand from the zimmis here in question was surely a local administrative measure. Moreover, in view of the Prophet's injunctions regarding duty towards the *dhimmī* and there being then no Muslim population at Ḥabanq, the question of 'unenviable lot of the Hindū population' and of 'mulcting' (*History of Bengal*, II, p. 102), does not arise.

[4] *I e.* half a rupee in terms of modern currency.

[5] *I.e.* Sonārgāoṅ.

[6] Barahnakār or Barah Nagar lay on the coast of Arakan near the Negrais island; Yule (*Cathay And The Way Thither*, IV, p. 93). Its inhabitants possessed coarse features and protruding lips characteristic of the Indo-Chinese. Hence Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's remark that 'the Barahnakār people have mouths like those of dogs'.

[7] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was a great connoisseur and had a feeling of repulsion at the sight of peculiar protruding lips on uninviting faces of which Yule (iv, p. 94) gives a picture.

uncultured people who belong neither to the Hindū religion, nor to any other. Their dwellings are but reed huts roofed with dry grass along the seashore, and they have banana, areca and betel trees in abundance.

Their men possess a figure resembling ours, except that their mouths are like those of dogs. But their women are not so, and they possess dazzling beauty. Their men are naked and wear no clothes except a pouch of painted reeds which is suspended from their waists and is used occasionally as a covering for the genitals; while their womenfolk cover themselves with the leaves of trees. With these people there live a certain number of Muslims from Bengal and Java who dwell in separate quarters.

They informed us that these people copulate publicly like animals, and each man keeps thirty wives more or less. But they do not commit adultery, and any one committing it would be punished. The man is crucified to death or gives some one else, his slave or friend, to be crucified instead, in which case he is released; as for the woman the king orders all his servants to rape her in turn in his presence until she dies, and is thrown into the sea. It is for this reason that these people do not allow any of the voyagers to stop with them, unless the latter might have been domiciled in their midst. Accordingly, they carry on business with the foreigners on the coast and take drinking water to them on elephants, since the drinking water lies at some distance from the coast and the voyagers are not allowed to fetch water for fear of the fact that the native women cast covetous eyes on handsome men. There are numerous elephants in this country, but none can afford to have them except their king from whom they are then bought in exchange for clothes.

Their language is strange which none can understand except one who lives with them and visits them frequently. When we reached their coast they came towards us in small boats, every boat being shaped out of a single plank of wood and they brought us bananas, rice, betel, areca and fish.

Their king

Their king came to us riding an elephant draped in a kind of saddle cloth made of skin, and the king's dress was a garment made of goat's skin, of which the hair were turned outside. On his head there were three pieces of head-gear made of variegated silk. And in his hand he held a bamboo javelin. He was accompanied by about twenty of his relations mounted on elephants. We sent to him a present consisting of pepper, ginger, cinnamon and big fish—which is found in the Maldive islands—and some clothes from Bengal. These people do not wear garments, but they clothe their elephants at their festivals. Every ship which anchors in his dominion has for the king a male and a female slave, clothes for the elephant and gold ornaments for his queen which she wears round her waist and her toes. A ship which makes no such offerings is placed under a spell of magic, as a result of which the sea becomes stormy and the ship either sinks or verges on destruction.

APPENDIX A

CALIPH'S LETTER OF INVESTITURE[1]

Shaikh Sa'īd[2] had heard from the emperor[3] of India that he intended to announce in his empire the religious sovereignty of the Abbasids as had been done previously by Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish (*Lalmish*) and his son Nāṣir-ud-dīn as well as by Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīroz Shāh and Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Balban, and the robes used to come to these rulers from Baghdād. Shaikh Sa'īd went to Caliph Abul 'Abbās, son of Caliph Abū ar-Rabī' Sulaimān the Abbasid, in Egypt and acquainted him with the matter. The caliph wrote in his own handwriting a letter investing the emperor with powers to rule over India on his behalf. Shaikh Sa'īd took the said letter and went to Yemen where he purchased three black robes and set sail for India. When he reached Cambay, which lies at a distance of forty days' journey from the capital Dehlī, the news officer wrote to the emperor intimating the arrival of Shaikh Sa'īd and that he had got with him the caliph's letter of investiture The emperor ordered that he should be sent to the capital with due honour. When he drew closer to the capital the emperor sent the amirs, qazis and jurists to welcome him; later he himself came out to receive him. When he met him he embraced him, and Shaikh Sa'īd gave him the caliph's letter of investiture. The emperor kissed it and put it on his head as a mark of great esteem. Shaikh Sa'īd then gave to the emperor a box containing the robes. The emperor carried it on his shoulder and walked a few steps. He wore one of the robes and clothed Amīr Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Muḥammad *bin* 'Abdul Qādir *bin* Yusuf *bin* 'Abdul 'Azīz son of Caliph al-Mustanṣir the Abbasid—who was then with him—with another. The remaining robe he gave to Amīr Qabūla entitled Malik-ul-kabīr who stands behind the emperor to drive away the flies. Then the emperor ordered and accordingly Shaikh Sa'īd as well as his attendants were robed. Subsequently Shaikh Sa'īd was installed on an elephant—in which state he made his entry into Dehlī, the emperor riding his horse in front and the aforesaid two amirs clad in the Abbasid robes riding to his right and left. The city was highly decorated, and eleven pavilions of wood were raised, each comprising four storeys and in each storey there was a group of singers—men, women and girl dancers, all being the royal slaves. And the pavilions were

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[1] The *Reḥla:* (i) MS. 2287, F. 42.
(ii) Def. et Sang., I, pp. 363–370.
(iii) Pt. I, p. 113, Egyptian edition.

Vide R.F.M., pp. 168–175.

[2] Shaikh Sa'īd, who is also called Ḥājī Sa'id or Ḥājī Sa'id Ṣarṣarī (*vide* R.F.M., p. 169), has been described in the *Reḥla* as a saint who lived along with other saints for some time at a Meccan hospice known as *rabāṭ*.

[3] *I.e.* Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq.

decorated on the top and bottom inside as well as outside with embroidered silk clothes. In the midst of each pavilion were placed three large vessels (*ahwāz*) [1] of buffalo-hide full of sherbet (*mā'*) [2] mixed with rose-water which any visitor could drink, none being prevented. Whoever drank from these reservoirs was subsequently given a packet of fifteen betel-leaves together with betel-nut and lime to be chewed. This gives an aromatic breath and makes the face and gums ruddier, repelling biliousness and helping digestion.

When Shaikh Sa'īd rode the elephant, silk cloths were spread from the gate of the city to the royal palace so that the elephant stepped over the same. The *shaikh* was lodged at a house near the royal apartments and the emperor gave him enormous wealth. All those cloths with which the pavilions had been carpeted and decorated as well as those which had been spread for the elephant to walk over were not returned to the emperor but were taken away by the singers and other professionals who had erected the pavilions and by the reservoir attendants and others, such being the practice whenever the emperor returned from a journey. He ordered that the caliph's letter be read from the pulpit every Friday between the two sermons. And Shaikh Sa'īd stopped for a month at Dehlī. Then the emperor sent along with him certain gifts for the caliph. Shaikh Sa'īd arrived at Cambay and halted there until he could arrange for his voyage.

It may be pointed out that before Shaikh Sa'īd's arrival the emperor had already sent to the caliph a special envoy named Shaikh Rajab al-Burqu'ī—one of the leading sufis and a native of the city of Krim (*Qirim*) in the Qipchaq plain. Through him he sent for the caliph gifts, one of which was a ruby stone worth fifty thousand dinars, and he wrote to the caliph asking for a letter of investiture appointing him his deputy in Hind and Sind or to invest anyone else whom the caliph considered fit to rule these territories Such was the text of his petition which was made out of his good-will for, and faith in, the caliphate.

Shaikh Rajab had in Egypt a brother called Amīr Saif-ud-dīn al-Kāshif. When Rajab presented himself to the caliph, the caliph declined to read the petition and receive the presents except in the presence of king Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl, son of king Nāṣir Thereupon Saif-ud-dīn al-Kāshif advised his brother Rajab to sell the said ruby stone and he sold it accordingly. He realized three hundred thousand dirhams as its price with which he purchased four precious stones. Then Rajab came to king Ṣāliḥ and presented him the petition together with some of the precious stones, giving the rest to his amirs. They decided that the desired letter of investiture be written for the emperor of India, and they sent some witnesses to the caliph in whose presence he declared solemnly that he had appointed the emperor as his deputy in the country of Hind and Sind (*mā yalīhā*).[3] King Ṣāliḥ then sent on behalf of the caliph to the emperor of India a messenger, namely the

[1] Literally 'reservoirs'
[2] Literally 'water'.
[3] Literally 'the adjoining territories'.

shaikhu-sh-shuyūkh[1] of Egypt, Rukn-ud-dīn al-'Ajamī, with whom Shaikh Rajab and a group of sufis proceeded to India. They boarded the ship in the Persian Gulf at Ubulla[2] sailing up to Hormuz which was under the rule of Quṭb-ud-dīn Tahamtan, son of Ṭūrān Shāh, who received them warmly and placed at their disposal a boat to take them to India. They reached the city of Cambay while Shaikh Sa'īd was there. And the commandant (*amīr*) of Cambay then was Maqbūl of Telingāna, one of the courtiers of the emperor. Shaikh Rajab met this amīr and said, 'Verily Shaikh Sa'īd has duped you and the robes which he has presented he has purchased at Aden.' You should seize him and send him to the emperor. The amīr replied, 'Shaikh Sa'īd is held in great esteem by the emperor, and no such step can be taken against him except under a royal order. But I am sending Shaikh Sa'īd along with you so that the emperor may decide about him whatever he likes.' And the amīr wrote the whole matter to the emperor; so did also the news officer. The emperor felt annoyed and hated Shaikh Rajab because he had talked about these things in public in spite of his knowledge of the warm reception the emperor had extended to Shaikh Sa'īd. So the emperor refused to see Rajab and accorded still greater honour to Shaikh Sa'īd. When the said *shaikhu-sh-shuyūkh* called, the emperor got up, embraced him and held him in great esteem, and whenever he called, the emperor stood up for him. And Shaikh Sa'īd remained in India enjoying great honour and esteem. I left him there in the year forty-eight.[3]

[1] *I.e. shaikh-ul-Islām*, F.F., p. 67.

[2] 'Ubulla' lay near modern Baṣra.

[3] *I.e.* 748 A.H. (A.C. 1347).

APPENDIX B

AMĪR BAKHT SHARAF-UL-MULK[1]

Once Amīr Bakht entitled Sharaf-ul-mulk al-Khurāsānī, who has been previously mentioned, fell ill at the capital of the emperor[2] of India, and the emperor came to see him. When he entered, Amīr Bakht wanted to stand up out of respect for him. The emperor asked him on oath not to move from his bed (*kat*). And they placed for the emperor a divan which is called 'monhṛa' (*mora*). He sat down on it. Then he called for the scales and gold. These being brought, he ordered the patient to sit on one tray of the scales. 'Your Majesty!' said the patient, 'if I knew you would do this I would have put on many clothes' 'Put on, now, whatever clothes you have got,' said the emperor. So he clothed himself with garments filled with cotton and prepared as protection against cold. Then he sat on one tray of the scales and was weighed against gold until he was outweighed. The emperor said to him, 'Take all this gold and give it away in charity for your recovery.' Then the emperor withdrew.

APPENDIX C

'ABDUL AZĪZ ARDWELĪ[3]

The jurist 'Abdul 'Azīz Ardwelī arrived to see the emperor. He had acquired the science of the Prophet's sayings (*ḥadīs̱*) and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) at Damascus. The emperor fixed for him a daily allowance of a hundred tankas (*dīnār darāhim*) which are equal to twenty-five gold dinars. One day the jurist attended the emperor who asked him about a *hadīs̱* He narrated many hadises of identical context. The emperor was astonished at his memory and said, 'I conjure you by my head not to move from your place until you see what I do.' Then His Majesty came down from his seat and kissed the feet of the jurist and ordered a gold tray which resembled a small bird (*ṭaifūr*) to be brought and he ordered that a thousand gold dinars be put into the tray. Then taking hold of it with his own hands he scattered it over the jurist's head and said, 'This money and the tray are for you.'

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[1] The *Rehla* (i) MS. 2287, F. 58.
(ii) Def. et Sang., II, p. 74.
(iii) Egyptian edition, Pt. I, p. 157.

[2] *I.e.* Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq.

[3] The *Rehla*: (i) MS. 2287, F. 58.
(ii) Def. et Sang., II, p. 75.
(iii) Egyptian edition, Pt. I, p. 157.

APPENDIX D

SHAIKH ABŪ 'ABDULLĀH *bin* KHAFĪF [1]

Abū 'Abdullāh *bin* Khafīf or Abū 'Abdullāh *bin* Ḥafīf is a misnomer, for his father's name was neither Khafīf nor Ḥafīf but Isfikshār. He was called Ibn Khafīf because he ate very little and fasted through the year, his only meal in the night amounting to eight raisins.[2] As a result he was much reduced in weight and was called 'Ibn Khafīf',[3] 'khafīf' meaning 'of little weight'. His name was Muḥammad; his patronymic was Abū 'Abdullāh. Ibn Khafīf or Khafīf or Ḥafīf[4] was his epithet, Ḥafīf[5] or Ḥafīfa[6] being also the name of a Ṣūfī cult which he is said to have founded.[7]

He died in 332/943 at Shīrāz where his tomb[8] is still visited. Lee located his tomb[9] erroneously in Ceylon on the basis of a spurious Kufic inscription of Ceylon bearing the date 337 Hijra/948 A.C. The proximity of date—there being a difference of only five years—and the fact that Ibn Khafīf visited Ceylon in 317/929 led Lee to conclude that his tomb lay in Ceylon. But the said inscription makes no mention of Ibn Khafīf; on the contrary it contains a different name, *i.e.* Khālid *ibn* Abū Baqāya.[10] The account of Ibn Khafīf contained in the *Reḥla* runs as follows:

Among the other shrines of Shīrāz is that of the chief mystic and saint—Abū 'Abdullāh *bin* Khafīf known to the local people as *shaikh*. He was a religious leader of all Persia, and his shrine is respected by the people. They come to it morning and evening and get blessed by touching his grave, and I saw Qāẓī Majd-ud-dīn come and kiss the shrine.

Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh *bin* Khafīf is a famous personality among the saints. He is the person who showed the way to Adam's Peak in the island of Ceylon which is a part of India.

[1] The *Reḥla:* (i) MS. 2287, F. 58.
(ii) Def. et Sang., II, pp. 75–77.
(iii) Egyptian edition, Pt. I, p. 158.

[2] 'Attār, F., *Tazkirat-ul-auliyā*, II, p. 125.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[4] See (i) p. 219 *supra*, footnote 3.
(ii) Mirzā Aftāb Beg, *Tuḥfat-ul-abrār*, p. 3.

[5] & [6] 'Ḥafīf' means sound or noise; and the Ḥafīfa cult was possibly so called because of the noisy devotions performed by its adherents.

[7] (i) 'Abdullāh *bin* 'Alī aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb al-Lum' fi 'l Taṣawwuf*, p. 298.
(ii) Mirzā Aftāb Beg, *Tuḥfat-ul-abrār*, p. 4. From the *Kashf-ul-maḥjūb* of 'Alī *bin* 'Usmān (London, 1911) it appears that he was also the founder of the Khafīf order of the Sufis.

[8] Jāmī, *Nafḥāt-ul-uns*, p. 262.

[9] Lee, Samuel, *The Travels of Ibn Batūta*, p. 42.

[10] *Transactions* of R.A.S., p. 546.

A miracle of this shaikh

It is related that he went one day to Adam's Peak together with some thirty fakirs and on the way to the Peak where there was no habitation they experienced great hunger and lost the way. The fakirs asked the saint's permission to seize one of the baby elephants who were in large number there and used to be taken to the capital of the Indian emperor. The *shaikh* prohibited the fakirs from doing so; but hunger having overpowered them, they disregarded the *shaikh's* prohibition and caught a baby elephant and slaughtered and ate him. But the *shaikh* declined to eat. In the night, when the fakirs slept, the elephants gathered from all quarters and coming to them began to smell each man and kill him until they finished them all Then they smelled the *shaikh*, but did him no harm. And one of the elephants lifting him by his trunk placed him on his own back and brought him thus to the inhabited area. When the people of that area saw him they were amazed and proceeded to ascertain the matter. When they came near the elephant, he raised the *shaikh* by his trunk and stretched him flat on the ground in such a way that the people could see him. They came up to him and touched him and taking him to their king they narrated the story to him It was these infidels in whose midst the *shaikh* lived for some time. And that place is situated near a river (*khaur*) known as the river of bamboos (*khaur-ul-khizrān*), *khaur* means a river.

There is a pearl-fishery there. It is said that one day the *shaikh* dived in the presence of their king and came out with both of his hands closed. Then he said to the king, 'Choose the contents of either of the hands.' The king chose the contents of the right hand. Thereupon the *shaikh* cast up to him the contents, namely three matchless ruby stones which are set in the crown of their kings who inherit the same in succession.

APPENDIX E

SHIAS AT DEHLĪ [1]

In the course of the first three centuries of Islām the Shias [2] fell under five groups which were divided into many sects and sub-sects, due *firstly* to the fact that the essence of Shiism—adherence to Ḥazrat 'Alī and his house—gave a momentum to the forces of rebellion and lent itself easily as a weapon in the hands of scheming politicians, *secondly* the controversy about the law of succession and the right of primogeniture in the imāmat, *thirdly* the different outlook of the dissenters towards the imāmat, and *fourthly* their divided loyalty to those [3] who were looked upon as the Mahdī. By the middle of sixth century, however, the number of the said groups diminished from five to three, namely Imāmīya, Zaidīya and Ismā'īlīya, the remaining two—Kīsānīya [4] and Ghulāt—having practically disappeared. But the Imāmīya who were also called Iṣnā-'asharīya, were divided into three sects—Aṣūlīn,[5] Akhbārīn [6] and Shaikhīya,[7] the last-named being added in the course of the last century. Then the Shaikhīya developed a sub-sect known as Bābīya [8] which unfolded itself into another, now famous as Bahaism [9] The Zaidīya [10] were divided into three sects—

[1] The *Reḥla:* (i) MS. 2287, F. 49.
(ii) Def. et Sang., I, pp. 421–429.
(iii) Egyptian edition, Pt. I, p. 131.

[2] R.F.M., p. 168.

[3] *E.g.* Muhammad *bin* Ḥanafīya (700/81), Zaid *bin* 'Alī *bin* Ḥusain (742/125), Muḥammad *bin* 'Abdullāh (762/145) and Yaḥyā *bin* 'Umar (864/250).

[4] So called after Kīsān, a slave of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī. He is said to have roused Mukhtār *bin* 'Ubaid Ṣaqafī to wreak vengeance upon the enemy for Imām Ḥusain's blood. Mukhtār acted accordingly and earned the nickname of 'Kīsān'. His followers who subsequently formed a sect became known as Kīsānīya

[5] *I.e.* 'sound reasoners' who laid down some elaborate principles for classifying and sifting the available evidence about the reputed 6,000 sayings of the Prophet.

[6] *I.e.* 'dogmatic traditionists' who have no such arrangement for classifying and sifting the traditions. They are called 'traditionists' because they insist that whatever has been heard from the Prophet and the imām must be cherished as an article of faith, and they employ no reasoning. They believe that every Muslim should conform his actions according to the tradition which must be consistent with the Qur'ān. These sub-sects arose after the great retreat—'ghaibat-i-kubrā'—of Imām Mahdī in 326/937. D.Mb., p. 340.

[7] So called after Shaikh Aḥmad Aḥsā'ī, a Persian theologian of the 19th century, who gave a rational interpretation of Shiism.

[8] & [9] These emerged in Persia in the course of the 19th century and being eclectic have since grown considerably. E.R.E., XI, p. 487.

[10] The Zaidīya are so called after Zaid *bin* 'Alī *bin* Ḥusain. They believe in the continuity of the imāmat in the house of 'Alī and Fāṭima but do not believe in the right of primogeniture. A candidate belonging to this house and possessing high qualifications in learning and war is appointed imām by means of *shūrā*. History records two Zaidī States—(1) in Ṭabaristan near the Caspian Sea which was

Jārūdīya, Sulaimānīya and Batirīya; and the Ismā'īlīya[1] split into four—Mubārakīya, Mahdawīya, Fāṭimīya and Qarāmiṭa. The last two sects, namely Fāṭimīya and Qarāmiṭa, developed eight sub-sects, most of which went under the name of Bāṭinīya.[2] The most important of these eight—the Hashāshīn or Assassins also called Fidāwīya—arose in the sixth century Hijra/twelfth century of the Christian era; and after a noisy career of over a hundred years were destroyed at the hands of Hulāgū Khān in 654/1256. However, two of the Ghulāt[3] sects—Nuṣairīya[4] and 'Alawīya[5]—have survived till today though they are not recognized by the Shi'a world of the Imāmīya Iṣnā-'asharīya who denounce all the Ghulats as 'kāfir'. They are equally rejected by the Sunnis inasmuch as

extinguished by the Samanids after a life of two hundred and sixty-four years (864–928 A.C.); and (2) in Yemen which was founded in 892 and has continued till the present day.

[1] See Appendix N, p. 273.

[2] The Qarāmita as well as their eight sub-sects are called Bāṭinīya which is a comprehensive term being also applied sometimes to the Ismā'īlīya and the Malāḥida —a sect of the Ghulāt.

[3] 'Ghulāt' is a plural of ghālī, i.e. one who holds an exaggerated view. This term is applied to some twenty-four sects (M.Is., p. 171) because they adhere to an exaggerated belief in the divinity of the imams.

[4] Etymologically indistinct the term Nuṣairī—possibly a diminutive of Naṣrānī meaning Christian—is said to be the Arabic form of Nazerini, the erstwhile Christian tribe of Syria inhabiting the valley of the Orontes and the hilly tracts north of the Lebanon. Modern research has discarded the theories which attribute the origin of Nuṣairī to (1) Muḥammad *bin* Nuṣair Fahrī, a follower of the 11th imām, Ḥasan 'Askarī (2) Nusair, an adherent of Haẓrat 'Alī, and (3) the *anṣār* of the Prophet. It was probably towards the close of the fourth century Hijra and the beginning of the eleventh century A.C. that the Nuṣairī religion was established under the joint influence of Christianity and Islām; and the Nusairis have survived till the present day 'not merely as a sect but as a nation'. In 1922 their State called 'the State of the Alawis' was recognized with its capital at Latakia ((*Ladhāqia*), a Syrian harbour opposite Cyprus, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭā visited in the last week of July 1326 on his way from Jabala—the Nusairī stronghold—to Damascus. He observes that the Nusairis believe in the divinity of Haẓrat 'Alī, that they neither pray nor fast and that they neglect their mosques, allowing them to deteriorate into cow-sheds and inns. (Def. et Sang., I, p. 176.)

The Nuṣairī doctrines are much influenced by the Ismā'īlīya cult. Like the Ismailis the Nusairis also believe in seven imams, but they believe that Haẓrat 'Alī *ibn* Abī Ṭālib was not begotten; he is unique, immortal and has existed from all time; his essence is the light; from him the stars shine; he is the light of lights. Although deprived of all attributes he cleaves rocks, drives back seas and directs affairs; it is he who destroys empires. He is hidden, not enveloped; that is to say, he is hidden by the nature of his divine essence, not by a covering. He is mind (*ma'nā*).

It should be noted that 'Ma'nā' meaning 'reality, spirit and essence' and corresponding to 'Word', the biblical epithet for Jesus, is the Nuṣairī epithet for Haẓrat 'Alī.

See (1) *Kitāb-ul-Majmū'*—a Nuṣairī book and its French translation by Dussaud; (2) E.R.E., IX, p. 418.

[5] The 'Alawīya, also called 'Alī-ullāhī', cherish beliefs similar to those of the Nuṣairī and are found in parts of Persia, 'Irāq, Syria and India. M.Is., p. 171.

they hold an exaggerated belief in the divinity of the imams and believe also in the transmigration of souls.

In the course of his travels through the Hedjaz (*Ḥijāz*), Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Syria, Egypt and India, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met some of the Shias whom he puts down as the Imāmīya Iṯnā-'asharīya,[1] Ismā'ilīya,[2] Fidāwīya,[3] Nuṣairī, Rāfiḍī,[4] Arfāḍ,[5] Rawāfiḍ,[6] 'ṣinfun min-ar Rawāfiḍ'[7] and Rāfiḍīya Ghulāt.[8] He uses the term Shī'a to designate the Sufis at Najaf[9] as well as a colony of the Arab emigrants at Dehlī. He says:

There lived in the holy city of Medina—may God enhance its glory!—under the care of his uncle Manṣūr *bin* Jamāz, commandant of Medina, a certain Sharīf Abū Ghurra[10] who devoted himself in the beginning to the pursuit of knowledge and adoration of God and became well-known on this account. Later he left Medina and adopted 'Irāq as his home, and in that country he stayed at Ḥilla. When Qiwām-ud-dīn *bin* Ṭāūs the chief (*naqīb*) died, the inhabitants of 'Irāq agreed to raise Abū Ghurra to that dignity (*niqābat-ul-ashrāf*). And they wrote to this effect to Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd who confirmed the same issuing a commensurate and confirmatory firman in his favour. Then were sent to him robes, banners and drums as is customary with the naqibs in 'Irāq.

After this, Abū Ghurra became worldly-minded and giving up his worship and piety he misappropriated the public money in a disgraceful manner. This was reported to the sulṭān. When Abū Ghurra came to know this he planned to embark on a journey pretending to make a pilgrimage at the tomb of 'Alī[11] *bin* Mūsā at Ṭūs, although he intended really to run away. The pilgrimage over, he came to Herāt the farthest outpost of Khurāsān where he informed his companions about his intention to go to India. Thereupon most of them stayed away; and he proceeded through Khurāsān to Sind.

When he crossed the river Sind known as the Panjab (*Banjāb*), he beat his drums and trumpets which frightened the villagers who thought that the Mongols had come to plunder them, and they fled in panic to the city of Uch conveying to its commandant (*amīr*) what they had heard The commandant marched at the head of his troops and prepared for war. He sent advance-guards who met about ten horsemen and a group of footmen and merchants from among the fellow-travellers of the *sharīf*—all with

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[1] *I.e.* believers in twelve imams. Def. et Sang., II, p. 97.

[2] & [3] Def. et Sang., I, pp. 166-167.

[4] See p. 193 *supra*, footnote 3.

[5] & [6] 'Arfāḍ' and 'Rawāfiḍ' are plural forms of 'Rāfiḍī'. Def. et Sang., I, p. 166.

[7] Literally 'a kind of Rāfiḍī'. Def. et Sang., I, p. 145.

[8] *I.e.* 'Alawīya. Def. et Sang., I, p. 247. [9] *Ibid.*, I, p. 130.

[10] He was a saiyid as the term 'sharīf' signified (*vide* p. 40, footnote 1 *supra*); and had Shī'a friends at Dehlī.

[11] The famous eighth imām of the Shias and a direct descendant of the Prophet. He was born in 765/148 and was martyred in 816/201. His tomb at Meshed (*Ṭūs*) is the most popular shrine in Iran.

their drums and banners. The advance-guards made enquiries about them and were told that the *sharīf*, a chief of 'Irāq, had come as a visitor to the emperor of India. Then the advance-guards returned to the commandant and informed him about the matter. He considered the *sharīf* as weak-minded for his raising the banners and beating the drums in a foreign country. However, the *sharīf* entered the city of Uch and stopped there for some time while the drums were beaten at his door morning and evening, for he was fond of this.

It is said that while he was a chief of the saiyids (*naqīb-ul-ashrāf*) [1] in 'Irāq the drums were beaten close to him and whenever the drums stopped beating he said, 'O drum-beater! strike once more (*zid naqra yā naqqār*).' And this phrase which was used so frequently by him became his nickname. The commandant of the city of Uch wrote to the emperor of India informing him about the *sharīf* and his beating the drums on the way and at his door morning and evening as well as about his flying the banners.

It is a custom in India that no one can fly a banner or can beat a drum except the recipients of the same from the emperor. And they do not do so except when they are travelling; when they stay at home the drums are beaten at the gate of the royal palace only. This Indian custom is different from that of Egypt, Syria and 'Irāq where the drums are beaten at the doors of the amirs.

When the news about the *sharīf* reached the emperor he disapproved of his action and deprecated it taking it to heart. Then Amīr Kishlū (*Kishlī*) Khāṅ [2] set out for the capital Dehlī—and this *khān* is the highest of the Indian amirs and resides at Multān, the capital of Sind, and is highly honoured by the emperor. The emperor addresses him as uncle for he was one of those who had helped his father Sulṭān Ghīyaṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh in his war against Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusrav Shāh. When Kishlū Khāṅ came near the capital the emperor went out to receive him, and it so happened that the *sharīf* also arrived the same day being ahead of Kishlū Khāṅ by a few miles, and he arrived with his usual drum-beating. No one impressed him except the emperor in his cavalcade, and he came nearer and saluted him. The emperor enquired about his welfare and the reason of his coming, which he explained. Then the emperor proceeded till he met Amīr Kishlū Khāṅ and returned along with him to his capital paying no heed to the *sharīf* and ordered for him neither a dwelling nor an allowance. This took place on the eve of his departure for the city of Daulatābād which is also called Kataka and Deogīr (*Duwayqīr*) and lies at a distance of forty days' journey from the capital Dehlī. When he started on his journey he sent to the *sharīf* five hundred tankas (*dīnār darāhim*) which are equal

[1] In his account of Najaf which contains the sacred tomb of Hazrat 'Alī *ibn* Abī Ṭālib, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says: 'This town has no governor but is under the sole control of the *naqīb-ul-ashrāf*—keeper of the register of the descendants of the Prophet—who holds the status of the chief military officer with banners and kettle-drums; and military music is played at his gate every morning and evening.'

[2] *Vide* R.F.M., pp. 145, 146, 151.

to one hundred and twenty-five gold dinars of the west (*maghrib*) with the following message, 'If you intend returning to your country, this is your provision; if you intend to travel with us this is your travelling allowance; and if you intend to stay at the capital till we return, this is for your day-to-day expenditure till we come back.' The *sharīf* was much aggrieved for he had expected that the emperor would give him enormous gifts in the same way as he had been giving to others of his status; he chose to travel in royal company. He attached himself to Vezir Aḥmad *bin* Aiyāz entitled Khwāja Jahān. Such was the title given him by the emperor who addressed him thus, and so do all for it is customary with the Indians that when the emperor gives anyone a title inflected with the term *mulk*, for instance 'Imād-ul-mulk, Ṣiqat-ul-mulk or Quṭb-ul-mulk or a title inflected with *jahān*—for example Ṣadr-i-jahān, etc.—the emperor as well as all others address the person in question by the title thus conferred; whoever addresses otherwise renders himself liable to punishment. The bond of friendship strengthened between the *sharīf* and the vezir who did him much good and raised his position and spoke so nicely about him to the emperor that at last the emperor changed his opinion and granted him two villages from among those of Daulatābād and ordered that he should reside there.

The vezir was a man of virtue, generosity and good character. He was kind and benevolent towards the foreigners and was on the whole charitable, and he fed the people and liked to build hospices. As for the *sharīf* he resided there eight years taking the income of the two villages and made a great fortune. Then he wanted to leave India; but he could not because a person who is in the emperor's service cannot leave the country without his permission. The emperor is fond of foreigners and hardly permits any of them to leave the country. Hence the *sharīf* desired to run away by the sea side, but he was sent back. He arrived at Dehlī and approached the vezir requesting him to arrange for his departure from the country. The vezir handled the matter so nicely that he obtained the royal permission for the *sharīf's* departure from India. The emperor gave him ten thousand dinars of Indian money equivalent to two thousand and five hundred gold dinars of the west (*maghrib*). He brought the money in a leather-bag and kept it under his bed and slept over it for he liked money immensely and rejoiced to feel it, and he was afraid lest any of his companions should extract anything from it inasmuch as he was a miser. He developed a pain in his ribs on account of his sleeping over the money; his pain augmented while he was preparing for the journey and he died twenty days after receiving the money and made a will that the money be paid to Sharīf Ḥasan al-Jarānī who distributed the whole amount to a *group of the Shias residing at Dehlī*. These were originally inhabitants of the Hedjaz (*Ḥijāz*) and 'Irāq.

It is customary with the Indians not to attach the property of the deceased for the public treasury; they neither seize the property belonging to the foreigners, nor do they inquire about it however much its amount.

APPENDIX F

ṬARMASHĪRĪN KING OF TRANSOXIANA[1]

'Alā-ud-dīn Ṭarmashīrīn is a great king. He is very powerful and possesses huge armies and troops with an extensive dominion, and he is a mighty and just ruler. His country is situated between the dominions of the four great emperors of the world, namely the emperor of China, emperor of India, emperor of 'Irāq and emperor of the Ozbek. All these respect him highly and hold him in great esteem and exchange presents with him. He succeeded his brother Chaghatāī (*Jakṭi*) to the throne. And this Chaghatāī was an infidel who had become ruler after his eldest brother Kabek, also an infidel; but he was conscientious and just in his awards and equitable to the oppressed. He treated the Musalmans with regard and consideration.

Having stayed several days at the camp which is called *urdū* I went one day to the mosque for the morning prayer as was my wont. When I had performed the prayer some people told me that the king was in the mosque. When he got up from his prayer-mat I advanced to salute him. Shaikh Ḥasan and Ḥisām-ud-dīn al-Yāghī the jurist came forward and introduced me to him and told him that I had been there for several days. He addressed me in Turkish[2] saying, 'How are you? You are an excellent man. You are welcome.' At that time he was wearing a green garment with a head-wear of similar colour, and he set out for the court on foot. As he walks, the people present him on the way their petitions which he stops to receive from every petitioner whether big or small, male or female. Then he sent for me, and I attended. He was in a tent outside which the people were standing to the right as well as to the left, and the amirs were seated on chairs with their attendants standing in front and in rear. All the soldiers, viz. the sentries sit in rows, each with his arms in front and they continue sitting there until the afternoon ('*aṣr*) when another batch comes to take their place and remains there till the end of the night. And shelters made of canvas were set up there for the sentries to stay in.

When I attended the king inside the tent I found him seated on a chair resembling a pulpit and draped in silk embroidered with gold while the interior of the tent was draped in gilded silk and a crown studded with pearls and rubies was suspended over the king's head at a cubit's height. While the grandees sat in the chairs to the king's left and

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[1] The *Reḥla* · (i) MS. 2287, F. 103–105.
(ii) Def. et Sang., III, pp. 31–46.
(iii) Egyptian edition, Pt. I, pp. 283–288.
Vide R.F.M., pp. 100–108.

[2] خش میسن بخشی میسن قطلو ایوسن

right the maliks' sons with fly-whisks in their hands stood in his front; and at the door of the tent were posted the *nāib*, the vezir, the chamberlain and the insignia officer—all being designated as *āl-ṭamgha*, 'āl' meaning red and 'ṭamgha' meaning insignia. All these four persons stood up for me at the time of my arrival and accompanied me to the interior. I saluted the king who questioned me—and the insignia officer was acting as an interpreter—about Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem—may God enhance the sanctity of each!—about Hebron (city of Khalīl—peace be on him!)—about Damascus and Egypt, about king an-Nāṣir, and about Kūfa and Baṣra (*'Irāqain*) and their respective kings as well as about the Persian territories. Then the muezzin announced the call for the *ẓuhr* prayer, and we left. We used to attend prayer-services with the king during those days of severe, biting and deadly cold. And he never failed to attend the morning and night prayers with the congregation; after the morning prayer he used to sit for recitation in Turkish till sunrise while everyone in the mosque approached him with extended hands which he took amidst his own. They acted in the same manner after the *'aṣr* prayer. In case a present of raisins or dates is made to the king at the mosque—and dates are very dear there and are considered auspicious—the king gives a part of the same with his own hands to everyone present.

Anecdote

The following is from among the good deeds of this king. One day as I attended the *'aṣr* prayer, the king having not yet arrived, one of his pages brought a prayer-mat and spread it close to the *imām's* stand where the king used to perform his prayers. The page then said to Imām Ḥisām-ud-dīn al-Yāghī, 'His Majesty desires that you should wait a little for him till he makes his ablutions.' The imām got up and said in Persian,[1] 'Prayer is either for God or for Ṭarmashīrīn!' Then he ordered the muezzin to announce the commencement of the prayer (*iqāmah*). By the time the king arrived two genuflexions had been already performed. He joined the congregation at the gate of the mosque where the people take off their shoes, and made the remaining two genuflexions after which he completed those genuflexions that he had missed. This done he, smiling, approached the imām to shake hands with him and he sat confronting the *miḥrāb* by the side of the revered imām while I was on the other side of the imām. Then the king said to me, 'When you reach your country you should tell the people that an ordinary Muslim fakir behaves to the king of the Turks in this manner.'

When I intended to depart after my stay with this king for fifty-four days he gave me seven hundred tankas (*dīnār darāhim*) together with a sable fur worth one hundred tankas which I had asked of him on account of cold. He gave it to me as soon as I approached him and he caught hold of my sleeves and kissed them by way of honour, courtesy and good manners. And he gave me two horses and two camels; when I

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[1] نماز برای خدا یا برای طرمشرین

intended to bid him adieu I met him on his way to hunt. It was freezing cold. I swear by God I could not utter a word owing to bitter cold. He understood this and smiled advancing his hand towards me, and I left.

Two years after my arrival in India we heard that some of his tribal leaders and amirs collected in a remote outpost of his dominion bordering on China where most of his troops were stationed and they swore allegiance to his cousin Būzūn Oghle—*oghle* being the form of address used by the Turks for the princes. Būzūn Oghle was a Muslim but he was corrupt and immoral. And the reason for their swearing allegiance to him and for deposing Ṭarmashīrīn was that Ṭarmashīrīn had violated the ordinances of their ancestor, the accursed Chingiz (*Tankez*) who had ruined Muslim countries and has been mentioned before.[1] Chingiz had compiled a book of his ordinances called *yasāq*; and it was obligatory according to the local custom to depose the king who had violated the said *yasāq*.

One of its provisions is that people assemble on an annual day called *ṭawī* meaning 'day of entertainment' when the descendants of Chingiz and amirs come from all parts of the country and important ladies and leading army chiefs attend. In case their king has altered any provision of the *yasāq* the army chiefs get up and address him saying, 'You have altered such and such a provision and committed such and such an offence: you should be deposed on that account'! Then catching him by the hand they dethrone him and instal another descendant of Chingiz in his place. Should any of the great amirs commit a crime in his jurisdiction they inflict on him condign punishment. Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn had violated the *yasāq* relating to the said day and had abolished the conventional assemblage; so they took serious notice of this. They denounced him; and they also disapproved of his four-year stay in places adjacent to Khurāsān with the result that he could not reach the parts bordering on China while the custom required that the king should visit these parts—the nucleus of their dominion—every year and examine also the condition of the country and troops, their capital being the city of *al-Māliq*.[2]

When they swore allegiance to Būzūn Oghle, the latter marched at the head of a large army against Ṭarmashīrīn who considered his position unsafe fearing his own amirs whom he did not trust. He left with fifteen horsemen for Ghazna which was a part of his dominion and was governed by one of his principal amirs called Barantīya who was one of his confidants and loved Islām and the Muslims to such an extent that he had built in his jurisdiction about forty hospices with provisions for the visitors, and he held command over a large army. I have not seen a human being bulkier than him in the whole world.

After Ṭarmashīrīn had crossed the river Oxus (*Jayḥūn*) and taken the road to Balkh, a Turk—an attendant of his nephew Yanqī *bin* Kabek—recognized him; and whereas Ṭarmashīrīn had killed his aforesaid brother

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[1] See p. 7 *supra*.

[2] It lay near Kulja on the Ili river.

Kabek whose son Yanqī had stayed in Balkh, the Turk informed him about Ṭarmashīrīn. Yanqī said, 'Ṭarmashīrīn must have been fleeing on account of some mishap.' Saying this he pursued him along with his party and caught him and imprisoned him. When Būzūn reached Samarqand and subsequently Bukhārā and the inhabitants swore allegiance to him, Yanqī brought Ṭarmashīrīn to him. It is said that on his reaching Nasaf, an outpost of Samarqand, Ṭarmashīrīn was killed and buried there and that his grave was looked after by Shaikh Shams-ud-dīn *gardanburida* whom I saw subsequently in India; *gardan* means 'neck' and *burida* means 'cut'. And he was so-called because he had a cut in his neck. It is also said that Ṭarmashīrīn was not killed as will be mentioned later.

When Būzūn's position became stable Bāshī Oghle (*Bushāi Ughl*), son of Ṭarmashīrīn, ran away along with his sister and her husband Fīroz to the emperor of India. The emperor received them warmly and accorded them due honour in view of the friendship and correspondence and exchange of presents that he had had with Ṭarmashīrīn whom he used to address as 'brother'. Then somebody appeared in Sind claiming that he was Ṭarmashīrīn, but his identity was disputed. The news reached 'Imād-ul-mulk Sartez [1]—a slave of the emperor and governor of Sind entitled *malik 'arẓ*, that is, an officer before whom the troops of India have to pass in parade and who is also their controller; his residence is at Multān, the capital of Sind. He sent some Turks who knew Ṭarmashīrīn to ascertain the truth. They returned and informed him that the man in question was Ṭarmashīrīn really. Thereupon Sartez ordered that a camp (*afrāj*) should be erected outside the city: and all preparations befitting the royal visitor were made. Then he personally went out to welcome him. And as soon as he saw him he dismounted and saluted him and escorted him on foot to the camp which Ṭarmashīrīn entered on horseback in right royal manner nobody doubting his identity. This was then communicated by Sartez to the emperor who deputed the amirs to receive him and entertain him at feasts.

The emperor's chief Indian physician who had previously been in the service of Ṭarmashīrīn suggested to the emperor saying, 'Let me go and I shall ascertain the truth about him since I have treated him for a boil under his knee which has left its scar: I can easily recognize him thereby'. His suggestion was accepted, and he came along with other amirs deputed to meet Ṭarmashīrīn. He was admitted to his presence and remained with him by virtue of his previous connection. Then he began to feel his legs and exposed the scar. Ṭarmashīrīn rebuked him saying, 'You want to see the scar of the abscess which you have treated: here it is.' Saying this he pointed it out to the physician who was satisfied about his identity. He returned to the emperor of India and acquainted him with it.

Subsequently the vezir Khwāja Jahāñ Aḥmad *bin* Aiyāz, and the chief amir Quṭlugh (*Qaṭlū*) Khāñ who had been the emperor's tutor during

[1] See p. 3 *supra* where he is remembered by the suffix 'sartez'.

his boyhood had an audience with the emperor and submitted saying, 'O ruler of the world! this king Ṭarmashīrīn has arrived in this country and his identity has been established; here are about forty thousand of his nationals, his son and son-in-law. Have you realized the consequences that will follow if they rally to him?' This submission produced the expected effect on the emperor's mind and he ordered that Ṭarmashīrīn be produced immediately. When he arrived at the court he was compelled to bow like other visitors, no special consideration being shown to him. And the emperor said to him, 'O son of a prostitute (*Ay*[1] *mādar kūnī*)'!—which is a filthy abuse—'how could you lie and say that you are Ṭarmashīrīn whereas Ṭarmashīrīn has been killed and here is with us the guardian of his grave. By God I would have killed you had it not been a matter of disgrace for me. Well, give him five thousand tankas and let him be taken to the house of Bāshī Oghle and his sister, the children of Ṭarmashīrīn with the message that this liar pretends to be your father.' He met the children who recognized him; and he passed a night with them under surveillance of the guards. Next day he was taken out and the children fearing lest they should be killed on account of him disowned him. He was expelled from Hind and Sind, and he travelled through Kij and Makrān getting rosy receptions and entertainments on the way everywhere from the people who even exchanged presents with him. Thus he reached Shīrāz where its king Abū Isḥāq welcomed him and fixed a decent allowance for him. On my return from India when I arrived at Shīrāz I was told that he was still there. I desired to see him but made no attempt because he was in a house where he could not be visited without permission from Sulṭān Abū Isḥāq. I feared the consequences but later regretted having not seen him.

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[1] The text has 'yā' (يا) which should have been 'ay' (اي)

APPENDIX G

OTHER NATIONS EMBRACED ISLĀM ONLY WHEN THE ARABS USED THEIR SWORDS AGAINST THEM' (IBN BAṬṬŪṬA)[1]

Leoni Caetani[2] has condensed in one word—*inaridito*—the causes underlying the Arab surge ascribing to hunger and desiccation of the land, the building-up of an Islamic world empire, the driving force being economic. Further, he says 'The military conquests of the Arabs are only one stage in the history and development of the expansion and migration of the Semitic tribes.' Considering this particular Islamic expansion as a part of the whole he observes 'Islam or no Islam the Arabs would have expanded any how as Islamic conquests were only one wave in the great storm'. Finally, he claims to have repeatedly proved that 'Muḥammad never left any political, military or perhaps even religious programme to his companions since his measures and rules always aimed at the present and never at the future'. And 'Alī 'Abdur Razzāq,[3] the famous research scholar of modern Egypt, tells us that the mission of the Prophet of Arabia was solely spiritual and had nothing to do with the expansion and conquests subsequently made.

It may be recalled that the great expansionists in the early history of Islām, namely Khālid *bin* Walīd, Sa'd *bin* Waqqās, Abū 'Ubaida al-Jarrāḥ and 'Amr *bin* al'Āṣ were essentially conquerors; they were neither spiritualists nor missionaries. Spiritualists and religious-minded persons like 'Abdullāh *bin* 'Abbās, Abū Dhar, Salmān and 'Abdullāh *bin* 'Umar were no expansionists. And the Prophet's death (632/11) was followed by an upsurge of reaction against Islām in Arabia. The task of recovery entailed wars; and Abū Bakr, the first caliph, had to send many punitive expeditions against the reactionaries and false prophets. Abū Bakr died (634/13) while the task of recovery was yet incomplete. It was completed by 'Umar whose caliphate of ten years (634/13–644/23) witnessed the 'Arab dash'. This is the background of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's vainglorious statement, the kind which Von Kremer[4] has fully exploited supporting the general contention that the 'need for a destructive war and universal conquest for imposing the faith is rooted in Islām'.

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[1] See p. 128, *supra*.

[2] Caetani, L.—*Annali dell' Islām*, II, p. 844.

[3] 'Alī Abdur Razzāq—*Al Islām w-al-uṣūl-ul-ḥikam* (Egypt, 1925, pp. 48–62). See also Husain, A. M.—*Le Gouvernement du Sultanat de Delhi* (Paris), p. 14.

[4] *Ibid.*

APPENDIX H

QĀẒĪ KILLED TO SAVE THE HINDUS

The emperor killed the *qāẓī* of Koil[1] because he had charged the Hindus with rebellion, and for similar reasons he became angry with the saint and *muḥtasib*[2] of Koil. He imprisoned the former and blinded the latter for he had suspected both of a conspiracy with the *qāẓī*. Further the conduct of the saint's sons having tended to implicate the Hindus they[3] also suffered. This attitude of the emperor is confirmed by 'Iṣāmī's remark that 'the sulṭān destroys the Muslims in the attempt to patronize the Hindus'.[4]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭā makes no remark of this kind but his *Reḥla* brings out into full relief the position of the Hindus in the empire; it was much higher than that assigned to the zimmis in the *Hidāya*[5] and that conceived by Qāẓī Mughīṣ-ud-dīn of the 'Alāī period. The Hindus were decidedly free from all restrictions in point of dress and equipage as also in regard to the public worship of idols; nor were they compelled to wear any distinctive marks—a fact which Baranī deplores in his *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*[6] wherein he depicts the so-called ideal king of Islām and advises him to learn and practise sound statesmanship saying,

> '....The real administrator and ruler of the world is the Almighty Creator; all others are the temporal rulers and administrators who are the playthings of Destiny (that is, they temporize complying with the time and occasion and yield to circumstances)......
>
> '......O sons of Maḥmūd! it behoves you to attach the greatest importance to sound statesmanship and not to take it lightly since it is an art the attainment of which can lead to the capture of the entire world and the failure to attain which may result in the destruction and distraction of the world......

[1] See p. 91, *supra*. [2] *Idem*.
[3] *I.e.* the saint's sons were murdered.
[4] Iṣāmī—*Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn*, vs. 11, 434; 11, 444; 11, 448; 11, 449.
[5] *Vide* Charles Hamilton—*Hidāya*, II, p. 220. *Hidāya fil furū'* (literally the guide in particular points)—a well-known work on Muslim jurisprudence—was compiled by Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn 'Alī commonly known as al-Marghīnānī because he was born and died at Marghīnān in Farghāna, the dates of his birth and death being 1152/530 and 1197/593 respectively. Although the *Hidāya* was supposed to contain an abstract of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa's opinions it contained on many points the compiler's own views. It should be noted that his views in regard to the restrictions upon the zimmis in point of dress, equipage etc. were not heeded by Sulṭān Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq although the latter had made a profound study of the *Hidāya*. Nor had these been heeded by the great 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. See R.F.M., pp. xii–xiv.
[6] Ms. F. 120.

'......Should the kings consider the payment of a few tankas by way of *jizya* as sufficient justification for their allowing all possible freedom to the *infidels* to observe and demonstrate all orders and details of infidelity, to read the misleading literature of their faith and to propagate their teachings, how could the true religion get the upper hand over other religions and how could the emblems of Islām be held high......

'..........*Now, the fact is that the (Muslim) kings consider and believe the realization of a few tankas from the infidels and pagans by way of jizya as the highest service of theirs to Islām, as amounting to holding aloft the emblems of Islām, to doing justice to truth, to bringing honour to the cause of righteousness and to increasing the light of Islām every hour: they do not even dream of extirpating the infidels and pagans. Far from this, they hold the infidels and pagans in the greatest respect and esteem and honour them highly by considering them as d̲h̲immī and k̲h̲arājī, believing that as payers of jizya and k̲h̲arāj they are the protected people. In view of this they concede to the infidels and pagans the insignia—the drums, standards, tight tunics, bejewelled and brocaded and well-equipped horses; they also confer on them responsible offices including governorship of provinces;......further they allow and like (to see) that in their own capital cities—the loftiness of the emblems of which keeps aloft the emblems of all the cities of Musalmans—the infidels and pagans should raise their palace-like lofty houses, that they should wear robes of brocade, that they should ride steeds equipped with gold and silver saddles, that they should be furnished with complete paraphernalia of greatness, and enjoy all luxuries employing Musalmans as their servants and keeping them in attendance before their horses, that poor Musalmans should come begging at their doors and that the infidels and pagans should in all honour and respect enjoy the honorifics of Rāi, Thākur, Sāhū, Mahant and Pandit.*

'..........Further if the Muslim kings agree that all philosophers of paganism, who are really the enemies of Islām and the Prophet, should carry on an unrestrained and open propaganda of their books; if the Muslim kings concede that Greek philosophy which is antagonistic to the teachings of all the prophets....should be called the science of reason and that the literature of the *shar'iat* be called the science of tradition, and as a result of all this if such misbelievers establish themselves in the metropolis of the Muslim kings in all honour and dignity and disseminate their teachings preferring pagan philosophy to Islamic literature, how can Islām get the upper hand....and how can truth rise to its legitimate place..........?

'..........O Sons of Maḥmūd! sound statesmanship consists in ....recognizing and appreciating the truth and in relieving the subjects at the outbreak of famine by reducing the *k̲h̲arāj* and the *jizya* and by further advancing loans and by completely abolishing the *k̲h̲arāj* and the *jizya* if the famine grows rigorous and by

directing the nobility to undertake to feed as many of the poor as possible.'[1]

The *Rehla* makes it clear that the above distinctions and restrictions urged by Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī were never imposed on the Hindus—a fact which is also borne out among others[2] by the testimony of Bābar[3] who would have us believe that the Hindus in the State occupied no humble position. And the Brahmins were held in such high esteem through the ages that according to the Muslim criminal law that remained in force in India until the beginning of the 19th century *a Brahmin could not be sentenced to death.* The heirs of a murdered man who alone could claim blood for blood according to the *shari'at* 'were always disinclined to make such a claim against a Brahmin'.[4] Charles Hamilton, the famous translator of the *Hidīya*,[5] also testifies to this saying, 'In one particular, indeed, the conduct of the conquerors naturally differed from what has been generally considered in Europe as an invariable principle of all Musalman governments; namely a rigid and undeviating adherence to their own law not only with respect to themselves but also with respect to all who were subject to their dominion. In all spiritual matters those who submitted were allowed to follow the dictates of their faith and were even protected in points of which with respect to a Musalman the law would take no cognizance. The Hindus enjoyed under the Musalman government a complete indulgence with regard to the rites and ceremonies of their religion as well as with respect to the various privileges and immunities, personal and collateral, involved in that singular compound of allegory and superstition.'

Read in the light of the above, all that Qāzī Mughīs-ud-dīn is reported to have said to Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī[6] regarding the degradation of the *dhimmī* falls to the ground. None can believe—and surely Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī did not heed—the absurd statements of Qāzī Mughīs-ud-dīn, *i.e.* 'to keep the Hindus in abasement is specially a religious duty because they are the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet and because the Prophet has commanded us to slay them, plunder them and make them captive saying, 'Convert them to Islām or kill them, enslave them and spoil their wealth and property....' The sultān smiled at this and said, 'I do not understand any of the statements thou hast made; but this I have discovered that the Hindū chiefs ride upon fine horses, wear fine clothes, shoot with Persian bows, make war upon each other; but of the *kharāj, jizya, karī*[7], and *charī*[8] they do not pay a *jītal*. They levy separately

[1] Translated by me from the I.O. manuscript.
[2] R.F.M., pp. ix–xiii and 241–247.
[3] Bābar Nāma (Agra College Ms.F. 295b.) Cf. Beveridge, II, p. 518.
[4] Cf. *Bengal, Past and Present* 1949, p. 30.
[5] Hamilton—*Hidāya*. Introduction.
[6] Baranī—*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, B.I., pp. 289–297.
[7] *I.e.* house tax.
[8] *I.e.* pasture tax.

the landowners' share from the villages, give parties and drink wine and many of them pay no revenue at all either upon demand or without demand......'.[1]

Such was the enviable position[2] of the Hindū zimmis in spite of the *jizya*. Emperor Muḥammad considered it preposterous to say that the Prophet was harsh to the Hindus and believed that nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, the Prophet *never contacted* any of them. As such Qāẓī Mughīṣ-ud-dīn could have done no greater injustice to Truth than by accusing the Prophet of Islām of unfriendliness and unkindness to the Hindus or to any of God's creation.

The emperor was aware that, regarding the zimmis, the prophet had said, 'Whoever wrongs a *ḏhimmī* and lays on him a burden beyond his capacity I shall be his accuser'; and again, 'he who torments the zimmis torments me'.[3] He was aware of the injunctions issued by 'Umar, the second Caliph, to 'Uṣmān—'I recommend to your care the zimmis of the Apostle of God. See that the agreement with them is kept, and they be defended against their enemies and that no burden is laid on them beyond their strength'.[4] He was also aware of the stress laid by 'Alī *ibn* Abī Ṭālib on the protection of the zimmis and of the injunctions[5] issued to this effect to Muḥammad *bin* Abū Bakr, governor of Egypt in 656/36.

The upshot is that the mentality of the qāẓī of Koil who was humiliated and killed by Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq was similar to that of Qāẓī Mughīṣ-ud-dīn whom 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī had tolerated and humoured. This was gall and wormwood to emperor Muḥammad who denounced[6] his Khaljī predecessor.

E.D., III, pp. 184, 185.
See R.F.M., p. xii
Cf. Ameer 'Ali—*The Spirit of Islam*, p. 638.
Ibid. [5] *Ibid.*
R.F.M., p. 172.

APPENDIX I

IBN KHALDŪN REALIZED THAT HE HAD BEEN WRONG IN DISBELIEVING IBN BAṬṬŪṬA.[1]

In his *Prolegomena* Ibn Khaldūn says, 'Most of the people entertain ideas far from the actual state of things with a view to amuse their listeners by indulging in exaggerations. During the reign of Sulṭān Abū 'Inān of the Marīn dynasty an eminently learned man from Tangier known as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived in Morocco. He had travelled in the east during the past twenty years and toured the countries of 'Irāq, Yemen and India. He went to Dehlī, the capital of India and the regnant emperor Muḥammad Shāh received him with distinction and made him a *qāẓī* of the Mālikī school in his empire. Then he returned to Morocco and was admitted into the presence of Sulṭān Abū 'Inān. He set himself to narrate the stories of his travels and the wonders he had seen describing for the most part the wealth of the emperor of India and attributing to him things which were hardly believable. For instance he said, 'Whenever the emperor of India intended to set out from the capital he counted the inhabitants—men, women and children—and allotted them six months' maintenance out of his own purse. And on the day of his return and entry into the capital—which was a very prominent day—all the inhabitants went out of the city into a neighbouring plain to welcome him and pay their homage, and from the catapults carried (on the back of the elephants along with the procession) purses of gold and silver were thrown to the people. And this continued until the emperor reached his palace. Thus were narrated similar other stories which, the courtiers whispered to one another, were a parcel of lies.'

One of those days, added Ibn Khaldūn, I met the renowned Fārs *bin* Wadrār, the sulṭan's vezir, and discussed the matter with him and expressed doubts about the veracity of that man on account of the popular disbelief in his stories. Vezir Fārs advised me not to discredit the stories about the states which I had not seen personally, and if I did I would be classed with a vezir's son who had been brought up in a prison where he had seen nothing but a mouse. This vezir was imprisoned by his king and he remained for years in the prison where a son of his who was with him grew to manhood attaining wisdom and discretion. One day he enquired of his father about the *viande* that had been served to them. When the father replied, 'It was the flesh of sheep that had been served' the son asked what could be the sheep. When the father gave in reply a full description of the sheep, the son enquired saying, 'O father! is it

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[1] The *Reḥla* : Cf. (i) Egyptian edition, Pt. I, pp. 303-304.
(ii) Def. et Sang., III, pp. 464-465.

like the mouse?' The father replied in the negative saying, 'How could a sheep be compared with a mouse?' And a similar talk was occasionally held about the flesh of cow and that of camel. Having not seen anything except a mouse in his prison the son imagined that all kinds of animals sprang from the stock of mouse.

'One should adhere to certain principles and exercise absolute self-control using one's own intellect and discretion to differentiate between the "possible" and the "impossible". The possible may be accepted and the impossible should be rejected. By "possible" I do not mean possible in the abstract which covers everything rendering it impossible to discriminate the fictitious from the real. What I mean by the term "possible" is the actual and practical aspect of a thing. If a thing be examined in its fundamentals—and if its nature, intrinsic qualities, causes and effects be investigated thoroughly—then a true opinion might be formed and a correct judgment made. And say, O Lord! increase my knowledge!'[1]

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[1] The Qur'ān, *Sūra* X, verse 113.

APPENDIX J

PHILOSOPHERS AT THE COURT OF MUḤAMMAD *bin* TUGHLUQ

'I have seen' says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 'at the court of the Indian emperor Sulṭān Muḥammad philosophical matters alone being discussed everyday after morning prayer.'[1] The *Reḥla* gives no name of the philosophers with whom the emperor discussed the 'philosophical matters', but occasional references are not wanting.[2] These combined with the suggestive verses in the *Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn*[3] and the emperor's own confessions in his fragmentary autobiography[4] leave no doubt as to their identity. Disappointed by the 'ulamā he had turned to the Hindū philosophers and welcomed them at his court. 'The 'ulamā', says he, 'believing in the saying that necessity renders permissible forbidden things, refrained from speaking the truth, and on account of their bias extended the hand of evil out of the sleeve of godlessness. In their greediness for lucrative posts they marched hand in hand. So the lustre of divine sciences had completely disappeared from among them. However, as the people are naturally in search of science they cannot feel composure without that search. By chance I met some philosophers and thinking that they might be on the right path I mixed with them . . . .' These philosophers were no other than Jinaprabha Suri, Jinadeva Suri, Sinhakirti and other saints and jogis described in the Jain contemporary poems[5] of the Kharataragachchas at Bikaner. Although mere panegyrics of the Jain saints, these contain genuine historical material of the first-rate importance. We are told that the emperor Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq highly revered and honoured the Hindū saints of the Jain order. They came to Dehlī on being invited by the emperor in the opening years of his reign. 'On Saturday the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Paus in V.S. 1385 (1328 A.C.) he (Jinaprabha Suri) visited the court of Muḥammad Shāhī Asapatī at Dehlī. The sulṭān treated him with respect, seated him by his side, offered to give him wealth, land, horses, elephants, etc., which the

[1] MS. 2287 F. 194. The *Reḥla*, Egyptian edition, Pt. II, p. 220. Def. et Sang., IV, p. 343.

[2] 'These people', says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in his account of the jogis, 'work wonders . . . They give information about hidden things and the sulṭān honours them and takes them into his company.' (See p. 164, *supra*.)

[3] 'Iṣāmī denounces Sulṭān Muḥammad for his revolt against Islām. He urges a general rebellion against him because he had made common cause with the Hindus and mixed privately with the Hindū saints and was at heart an infidel.' (*Vide Futuḥ-us-salāṭīn* (Agra), verses 11,239–11,272.)

[4] *Vide* R.F.M., p. 172.

[5] Cf. [illegible]—श्रीजिनप्रभसूरि अने सुलतान महम्मद printed and published at [illegible] ([illegible])

saint declined, but took some clothes ultimately. The sulṭān praised him and issued a firman under the royal seal for the construction of a rest-house for monks (*upasraya*). A procession started in his honour to the *posadhasala* to the accompaniment of varied music and dance of young men; and the saint was seated on the state elephant (*pathathi*) surrounded by maliks.[1] Jinadeva Suri was then made to participate in the philosophical discussions at the court and his *pattadhara* named Jinaprabha Suri made a discourse. Pleased with his discourse the emperor ceremoniously installed at Dehlī the image of Mahavira which had been brought from the south. Then Sinhakirti—a great Jain logician who was invited by the emperor from South India—distinguished himself at the court of Dehlī by defeating dialecticians and scholars of Buddhism.'

Such were the philosophers—the royal favourites—with whom the emperor mixed and discussed the 'philosophical matters', and to these may be added the Muslim thinkers like Sa'd, the metaphysician and Najm-ud-dīn Intishār and others who in the words of Jinaprabha Suri 'had come from many countries'.

Jinaprabha Suri secured from the emperor firmans protecting the Svetambara order of the Jains from harm, and protecting also the Jain shrines or tirthas. Subsequently Jinadeva Suri worked at Dehlī in place of his master Jinaprabha Suri, the latter having left for Deogīr. And the emperor was pleased to grant to Jinadeva Suri another firman which 'secured the "chaityas" of Pethada, Sahaja and Acala from molestation by the Turks.' Jinadeva Suri is said to have continued participating in the philosophical discussions at the royal court and he distinguished himself highly by 'crushing the pride of his opponents in disputation'. One day in the course of the discussions when some doubts arose and could not be resolved the emperor recalled the learning and merits of Jinaprabha Suri saying, 'Had he been present here he would have resolved my doubts'. A royal summons was immediately sent in the name of Jinaprabha Suri at Daulatābād who came over to Dehlī and met the emperor.

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[1] *Aitihasik Jain Kavyasangraha* compiled by Agar Chand Nahta and Bhanwar Lal Nahta and published in Calcutta, V.S. 1994.

APPENDIX K

JĀMDĀR AND JĀNDĀR

The orthography of the terms 'jāmdār' (جامدار) and 'jāndār' (جاندار) being closely allied, these have been occasionally confused [1] although each bears a different meaning. While 'jāmdār' means keeper of the wardrobe, 'jāndār' means a sword-bearer or guard; the former acted as a palace official while the latter as a soldier and body-guard or as a military officer.[2] Before his accession to the throne of Dehlī, Iltutmish [3] had acted as 'jāndār' and the same was the case with Shāista Khān,[4] later Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī. And distinguished amirs are known to have acted as jandars successively during the reigns of Mui'zz-ud-din Kaiqubad,[5] Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī,[6] Quṭb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq,[7] Fīroz Shāh III,[8] Tughluq Shāh II [9] and Bābar.[10] In the event of the above-mentioned confusion [11] between 'jāmdār' and 'jāndār' primary importance must be attached to the context, not to orthography. Alā-ud-dīn Shāh, founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, is said to have conferred honours on two officers—Aḥmad Ḥarb and Tāj-ud-dīn—who 'were installed to the king's right and left each holding the baton (*dūrbāsh*)'. Now, these officers were 'jāmdār' according to the Hyderabad manuscript of the *Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn* whereas they were 'jāndār' according to the London manuscript.[12] Here orthography having failed it is the context which guides one to the truth. The context determines that the term in question must be 'jāndār,' not 'jāmdār.' The context also suggests that 'jāndār' was then an important officer in India comparable to his namesake of Egypt. There he acted as a

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[1] An example of this confusion is found in Baranī's phrase—*Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn Daulatyār, sarjamdār of the left wing and Malik Muḥammad Damlān, sarjamdār of the right wing.*' Here the reading 'sarjamdār, is wrong: it should be read as 'sarjāndār (سرجاندار) in view of the military duties in question (Baranī—*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, B.I., p. 527.)

[2] 'Afīf—*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* (p. 233)—uses the term *chāwūsh-i-bārgāh* for 'jāndār' showing that the term 'jāndār' was in much greater use than the term 'jāmdār'.

[3] Raverty—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, I, p. 603.

[4] *Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn*, v. 3895.

[5] & [6] Baranī—*Tarīkh-i-Shāhī*, B.I., pp. 24, 174, 240, 379.

[7] See p. 158 *supra*.

[8] 'Afīf—*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, B.I., pp. 233, 238-39, 271-2, 275, 337.

[9] & [10] Hājjī-ud-Dabīr—*Arabic History of Gujarat*, II, pp. 759, 901, 943.

[11] Another instance of this confusion is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of 'Afīf (p. 215). While narrating the hardships of Sultān Fīroz Shāh on falling into the Ran of Kach the printed text has 'jāmdārāṅ' (جامداراں) twice over. But there is a marginal note giving 'jāndārāṅ' (جانداراں) instead, which is surely correct being consistent with the context.

[12] *Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn* (i) Hyderabad MS. (F. 368b); (ii) London MS. as printed in the Agra edition, p. 527, v. 10, 517.

superintendent of the royal household, supervised the work of the 'pardādārīya', looked after the guards of the royal door as well as after the stirrup holders and troopers. Whenever the king ordered an assignment or the execution of anyone it was the duty of the jāndār to carry out the order. He was also in charge of the jail called 'zardkhāna'—a place of short-term imprisonment for persons of rank. And he supervised the royal movements attending to the king's journeys.[1]

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[1] Maqrīzī—*Kitāb-ul-khiṭaṭ*, III, p. 360.

APPENDIX L

DAWĀTDĀR AND DAWĀDĀR

The *Rehla*[1] gives *duwaidār* (دويدار) as well as 'dawādār' (دوادار)[2] which is a form of *dawātdār* (دواتدار) given by 'Iṣāmī,[3] Baranī[4] and others.[5] While both these terms can be rendered as 'secretary of state,' the incumbents surely performed duties other than those of a *dawātdār*, which literally means an ink-bearer or an officer in charge of the pen-case. From the account given by 'Iṣāmī' which tallies on the whole with that of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa it follows that the so-called *dawātdār* actually did field work as commander of troops and warrior. Says 'Iṣāmī,' 'On the following day at sunrise the patrols emerged from both sides and warriors stood confronting each other. On one side the warrior-king made himself ready by setting his large army in battle array and he created three centres each with three parasols. The middle centre was placed under the charge of Nāṣir-ud-dīn, the governor of Lakhnautī, the left under that of Ismā'īl and the right centre was entrusted to the *sardawātdār* (*i.e.*, head dawādār, *sar* meaning head) who was so powerful as to strike terror into the heart of the enemy.'[6] Again, in the course of his account of the royal army on the field of battle 'Iṣāmī depicts *dawātdār* as an officer rendering actual field service.[7]

Such a depicture is not inconsistent with that found in the *Rehla*, nor out of tune with what was seen in Egypt. There a 'dawādār' was an officer in charge of the public affairs and the royal post. He presented petitions to the king as well as the letters and documents requiring his signature, conveyed the royal instructions to the departments concerned, received visitors at the court and arranged the king's audiences. During the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'bān Qalāūn (1363/764) an amīr of great importance named Iqtamar Ḥanbalī was appointed 'dawādār'. He issued firmans like a regent in the name of the king without consulting him. Later a 'dawādār' who was usually also the leader of the amīrān-i-hazāra exercised powers beyond his jurisdiction. Amīr Yashbak and Amīr- Ḥakam who became dawadars successively during the reign of an-Nāṣir Faraj (1398/801) acted as dictators administering all the affairs big or small in the domain of finance, royal post, appointments and dismissals.[8]

See pp. 88, 98 *supra*.
Def. et Sang., III, p. 407.
Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn, v. 8332.
Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī, B.I., p. 174.
Ḥajjī-ud-Dabīr, II, p. 759.
& [7] *Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn*, verses 8332; 8357; 9365.
Maqrīzī—*Kitāb-ul-khiṭaṭ*, III, p. 361.

APPENDIX M

AN-NAZAR FIL MAZALIM

An-nazar fil mazālim signified the highest court of criminal appeal pursuing a special process with the object of enforcing law against the oppressors in order to meet the ends of justice and compelling the parties in a dispute to abide by the rule of law and refrain from recalcitrance. The man holding such an appellate court was the caliph, the king or a high dignitary in regular State service renowned for piety and probity and combining the powers of an executive with the balance of a judge. 'Such a process of the law', says Maqrīzī, 'becomes necessary because of the misbehaviour and misconduct of a certain class of strong culprits whom the qazis are unable to bring to book—a contingency which tempers with the administration of justice. To avoid such a contingency the case in question must be looked into by a man more powerful than the qazis. The first man who adopted this process among the early caliphs was Amīr-ul-mominīn Alī *ibn* Abī Ṭālib; and the first ruler who fixed a special day for looking into serious complaints against oppressors was Abdul Malik *bin* Marwān.'[1] This process developed under the Abbasids—Muḥammad al-Mahdī, Mūsā al-Hādī, Hārūn ar-Rashīd, and 'Abdullāh al-Ma'mūn. All these caliphs presided personally over the said court which functioned regularly.

In Egypt the Abbasid tradition was revived by al-Mu'izz-ud-dīn li-dīnillāh who personally attended to the *an-nazar fil mazālim* for some time, and later he entrusted this work in the first instance as an additional duty to the *qāẓī-ul-quẓāt* and in the second instance to a grandee of the state appointed for this purpose. Under the caliph al-Mustanṣir-billāh at Cairo his minister amīr-ul-juyūsh Badr-ul-jamālī attended to all the affairs of the State including the *an-nazar fil mazālim*; and the succeeding ministers did the same adopting the following procedure. The minister who was essentially a man of the sword (*sāḥib-us-saif*) sat holding the highest appellate courts personally with the *qāẓi-ul-quẓāt* in his front and with two witnesses famous for their equity on either side of the latter. By the side of the said minister sat a short-hand recorder and the revenue secretary and confronting the minister stood the court secretary and the commander-in-chief attended by the chamberlains and other officers in the order of their respective ranks. Such sittings were held two days in the week. Sometimes the court secretary attended by the chamberlains did the minister's job and the naqibs called out the complainants who presented themselves accordingly. Whoever made a verbal complaint his case was referred to the qazis and other officials with written instructions

[1] Maqrīzī—*Kitāb-ul-khiṭaṭ*, III, pp. 336–339.

for redress. As a rule the complainants submitted their petitions in writing to the chamberlain who made them over to the short-hand recorder; and the latter having annotated each passed the whole lot to another recorder who amplified the sketchy notes written by the short-hand recorder and all the papers put in a bag were then placed before the caliph who wrote his orders; and then the petitions were delivered to the respective complainants.

In India a preliminary *an-naẓar fil maẓālim* may be traced in what is called *masnad-i-maẓālim-o-'adl*[1] held under Iltutmish and his successors. During the reign of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Maḥmūd, Minhāj-i-Sirāj worked at the said *masnad* in conjunction with the *amir-i-dād* of Dehlī.[2] It appears that during the later Mamlūk and Khaljī periods the *masnad* fell into oblivion and it was not until late in the reign (1341/742) of Sulṭān Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq that this institution was revived; then the *an-naẓar fil maẓālim* appeared in full splendour. The *Reḥla* testifies powerfully to its functioning and in view of the eye-witness account given in it, the conclusion cannot be withheld that the *an-naẓar fil maẓālim* of the Baghdād and Cairo pattern was then revived at Dehlī. Thus any attempt to ascribe to Aurangzeb[3] the pioneer work in this line cannot be credited.

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[1] Minhāj-i-Sirāj—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, B.I., p. 276.

[2] *Idem*, p. 275.

[3] 'But this Board was not established in India till the reign of Aurangzeb.' (Wahed Husain—*Administration of Justice during the Muslim rule in India*, p. 72.)

APPENDIX N

BOHRA

The shippers and pliers of inland and maritime trade in Gujarāt and Malabar—the sons of Khwāja Bohra—whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found basking in royal esteem at the Hindū court of Gandhār belonged to the Bohra community. So did the Shi'a merchants of Malabar like 'Alā-ud-dīn al-Awachī nicknamed *rāfiẓī* [1] and Lūlā [2] of Fākanar besides the tribe called Ṣūlī.[3] All these the inquisitive traveller has, curiously enough, passed over in silence. He has not a word to say respecting their origin and creed. Perhaps he was unable to obtain necessary information due, among other reasons, to the characteristic reticence [4] of the Bohras who like to keep their religious affairs and books hidden. As a result their history is shrouded in mystery, and it is only in the course of the past one hundred years or so that speculation has become rife. It is contended [5] that the word *Bohra* was either *buh-rāh* meaning straight way or *buhū-rāh*, *i.e.* many ways or a combination of tribes. It is further contended [6] that Bohra is derived from the Arabic '*beysra*' and connotes Arab traders. But these contentions are untenable in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

Philologically Bohra, or Bohora which is its accurate form, comes from the Gujarati word *vohorvū*—to trade—and is identical with the Prakrit *vohora*, a pedlar. It is essentially an Indian term being also the appellation of some Jain tribes [7] of Gujarāt as well as of a tribe of the Brahmins of North Devara in Mewar [8] besides that of some lower caste Hindus—Kaiyans and Rahtis [9]—of Uttar Pradesh. 'The name Bohra (unknown to the original country of the Muhammadans of this race) is derived from the Hindū word *Byohār* meaning traffic', says Malcolm.[10] This is corroborated by Behramji Malabari [11] who says that the Bohras were originally Hindus. In the same way an Arabic fragmentary

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[1] See p. 193 *supra*, footnote 3.

[2] See p. 184 *supra*.

[3] See p. 193 *supra*, footnote 2.

[4] This is explained by Najm-ud-dīn al-Ghanī, author of a highly valuable work entitled *Madhāhib-ul-Islām* (Lucknow, 1924). He says that it was sheer good luck that enabled him to obtain a few books of the Bohras who rebuked him for his inquisitiveness. Equally lucky was Edward Conolly who made friends with a dignified Bohra and elicited some useful information (J.A.S.B., 1837, Vol. VI, Part II, p. 842).

[5] Is.C. Oct, 1935

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Elliot—*Races of N.W. Provinces of India*, Vol. I, p. 44, footnote

[8] Malcolm—*Memoir of Central India*, Vol. II, p. 111.

[9] Elliot—*Races of N.W. Provinces*, Vol. I, p. 44.

[10] Malcolm—*Memoir of Central India*, Vol. II, p. 111.

[11] Beramji Malabari—*Gujarat and Gujaratis*, p. 192.

manuscript [1] says, 'The word Bohora signifies a merchant, as a man who buys and sells things is called by the Gujarāt people a Bohora and there is also another opinion respecting the meaning of the word, but the one given here is that which is generally received and is one that is highly approved of.' Similar is the view expressed by Qāẓī Nūr Ullāh Shustarī, the famous scholar of the court of Akbar the Great and the Shī'a martyr of Jahangir's reign. He describes [2] the Bohras as the natives of Gujarāt converted to Islām. Similarly Forbes [3] who derives his information from the 'bhats' of Gujarāt identifies the Bohras with the local Brahmins and 'mahajans' converted to Islām. In his *Madhāhib-ul-Islām* Najm-ud-dīn al-Ghanī has reached the same conclusion [4]

It may safely be said therefore that the Bohras are Hindū converts of Gujarāt for the most part. Some also claim to have non-Indian blood. But these are mainly the Sunni Bohras of Konkan who are agriculturists and are said to have been brought into the fold of Islām during the 9th century Hijra (15th century of the Christian era) by Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh [5] of Gujarāt (814/1411–846/1443). Some Shī'a Bohras, too, claim non-Indian descent, namely from the Ismā'ilī missionaries sent by the Fatimid caliphs of Egypt during the 4th and 5th centuries Hijra. According to the *Tarjumat-uz-zahrā' li Firqati-al-Bohra al-bāhira* the most important of these missionaries was Mullā 'Abdullāh who had been sent about 460/1067 by his master Malik *bin* Malik Ḥamādī of Yemen—a learned saint who drew inspiration through an unbroken succession of spiritual teachers from Salmān Fārsī, the Persian companion of the Prophet. Mullā 'Abdullāh landed at Cambay and lighted upon a man Kaka Kella who was along with his wife Kaki Kelli at work in his field. The Mullā was extremely thirsty and desired water which Kaka Kella was unable to give since the well in his field had dried up Mullā 'Abdullāh prayed and water immediately gushed forth replenishing the well. Seeing this the husband and wife both embraced Islām. This was a feat which made Mullā 'Abdullāh famous at Cambay and was followed by a still greater one. In a temple at Cambay there was an iron elephant suspended in the air and was worshipped by all including the raja Sudra Jaya Singh [6] Bhār Mall. [7] Mullā 'Abdullāh felled it through his prayer This incensed the raja who sent his troops to capture him Mullā 'Abdullāh defied the troops and frightened them into beating a hasty retreat. Thereupon the raja was

[1] *Tarjumat-uz-zahrā' li-Firqati al-Bohra al-bāhira.* See Briggs—*The Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. ix.

Majālis-ul-mu'minīn. See Asiatic Researches, Vol. VII, p. 340.

Rās Mālā, Vol I, pp. 264-265.

Najm-ud-dīn al-Ghanī—*Mazāhib-ul-Islām*, pp. 270–281.

Forbes—*Rās Mālā*, Vol I, p 265.

[6] Jaya Singh surnamed Siddharaja (1094–1142) was one of the Solanki kings of Gujarāt.

[7] Bhār Mall which has been written as Jhār Mall in Briggs' work—*The Cities of Gujarashtra*, Appendix D—was the name of Raja Jaya Singh's minister.

constrained to submit, and he accepted Islām. Now Mullā 'Abdullāh's reputation spread all over Gujarāt and the Hindus entered the fold of Islām in crowds.

Raja Sudra Jaya Singh Bhār Mall became a good Muslim and from his[1] loins sprang the Bohra Mullas, one of the most renowned being Mullā Saif-ud-dīn who was succeeded after his death by his son Y'aqūb and the latter by his adopted son Mullā Isḥāq. Mullā Isḥāq was followed in regular order by his descendants and relations until the rise of Mullā Ṭaiyib Zain-ud-dīn in whose time the said *Tarjumat-uz-zahrā li firqati al-Bohra al-bāhira* was written. A comparison of its contents with those of the relevant passages in the *Majālis-ul-mu'minīn*, Edward Conolly, the *Majālis-i-saifiya*[2] and the *Rās Mālā* shows that the said Isma'īlī missionaries and their deeds obtained great publicity through the ages. Qāẓī Nūr-Ullāh Shūstarī[3] says, 'The Bohras are a tribe of the faithful which is settled at Ahmadabad and its environs. Their salvation in the bosom of religion took place about three hundred years ago at the call of the virtuous and learned Mullā 'Alī whose tomb is still seen at the city of Cambayat' Qāẓī Nūr Ullāh confirms on the whole the above Arabic account, the minor variations respecting the period of conversion and the like being insignificant Similar variations again noticeable in Edward Conolly[4] are equally negligible He introduces Y'aqūb who landed at Cambay in 532/1137, as the first Egyptian missionary whereas, according to the said Arabic account, Y'aqūb being the son and successor of Mullā Saif-ud-dīn is a much later figure. He also differs in putting Kella the gardener as the first convert, then came a Brahmin and his son and afterwards Raja Jaya Singh. The felling of the iron elephant and replenishing the dried-up tank or well are common to both, but the order of events differs With Edward Conolly the drying up and replenishing of the tank was the last crowning achievement leading to mass conversions. He also adds that the new converts being ignorant of Arabic were taught to look up to their co-religionists in Yemen for guidance and inspiration in all the difficult problems of life, law and ceremonies that confronted them. As a result, a sort of active communication began between Yemen and Cambay, it being 'the duty of every Bohra at least once in his life to perform the ḥajj to his chief mullā'. Subsequently when Yemen was conquered by the Turks (945/1538) and its Shi'a population were harassed[5] they migrated in a body to India where they landed at Cambay (946/1539). The migrants identified themselves with their co-religionists of Cambay and adopted their name Bohra. Soon they

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[1] *I.e.* from the loins of Bhar Mall, the minister. Raja Jaya Singh Siddharaj had no son and the Hindū annals of Gujarāt do not bear out his conversion to Islām.

[2] This book is written by a learned Bohra named 'Abdul 'Alī Saif-ud-dīn.

[3] *Majālis-ul-mu'minīn*. See Asiatic Researches, Vol. vii.

[4] J.A.S.B., Vol. vi, Pt. II, p. 844.

[5] This statement may not be correct for the Zaidī Shias who still form the majority in the State of Yemen, and not the Turks, seem to have expelled the Ismā'īlī Shias.

spread over the whole of Gujarāt and beyond, planting colonies in almost all the important towns of Hindustan. The *Majālis-i-saifiya*[1] bears this out and the *Rās Mālā*[2] too does not create any difficulty. The fact that it specifies the 15th century as the period of conversion tends to explain the Hindū conversion to the Sunnī form of Islām while the *Tarjumat-uz zahrā'li firqati al-Bohra al-bāhira* relates the story of the Hindū conversion to the Shī'a cult.

It should be recalled that the Ismā'īlī sect of the Shias, which differs from the main body of the Shias—the Iṣnā 'ashariya[3]—in believing that Isma'il, the eldest son of the sixth imām J'afar-i-Ṣādiq and not Mūsā, his second son, was the seventh imām and that he was the last of the line, played an important rôle in the Islamic world for over two centuries[4] under different denominations—Qarāmiṭa, Mulāḥida, Hashīshīn or Assassins, Mahdavīya, and Bāṭiniya—sending missionaries to and fathering movements of reform and revolt in different parts, their crowning achievement being the establishment of an empire in Tunisia at the end of the third century Hijra. This empire extended to Egypt under the name of Fatimid caliphate in rivalry of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdād in 358/969. After the death of Ma'add al-Mustanṣir Billāh, the eighth Fatimid caliph in 487/1094, a conflict for the throne arose, some espousing the cause of his eldest son Nizār and others supporting his second son Aḥmad al-Must'alī Billāh. The Nizārīya, namely the supporters of Nizār, found a leader in Ḥasan *bin* Ṣabbāḥ, the founder of the order of Assassins and the ruler of Alamūt, the Assassins' central stronghold north of Qazwīn in Persia. These became known as Khojey[5] while the Must'alavīya, the supporters of Aḥmad al-Must'alī, were called Bohrey.[6]

The term Khoja connotes an honourable convert and the Khojas are mostly converts[7] from the Hindus. They bear marks of their Hindū descent[8] even more than the Bohras. The principal difference between the two lies in the fact that the Bohras have implicit faith in the Mullājī of Surat[9] whom they call *dā'ī* and whom they obey individually as well as collectively. The Mullājī enjoys a lifelong sanctity and his office being hereditary he nominates his successor from among his sons and relations, failing whom the choice falls on anyone of the members of the Bohra community. It is out of regard for one Dā'ūd that the majority of the Bohras are called Da'ūdī while others who supported his rival in a

[1] Najm-ud-dīn al-Ghanī—*Madhāhib-ul-Islām*, pp. 272–277.
[2] Forbes—*Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, p. 264.
[3] *I.e.* believers in the twelve imāms. See p. 193 *supra*, footnote 2.
[4] *I.e.* from the middle of the 3rd to the 6th century Hijra (9th to 12th century A.C.).
[5] 'Khojey' is the plural of Khoja.
[6] 'Bohrey' is the plural of Bohra.
[7] Is.C., Oct. 1935.
[8] *Madhāhib-ul-Islām*, p. 333.
[9] The transfer of his seat from Cambay to Surat probably took place in the 18th century when Cambay was established as a distinct State in 1730.

disputed succession are called Sulaimānī. In respect of the imams, however, there is, no such difference. They are twenty-two in the line of Imām J'afar-i-Ṣādiq and his son Ismā'īl. The last and 22nd imām, Imām Ṭaiyib, is believed to have gone behind the scene and to be living still though he cannot be seen by the physical eye.

Unlike the Bohras, the Khojas consider the Āghā Khān who claims descent from Rukn-ud-dīn Khūr Shāh, the last king of the Alamūt of Ḥasan *bin* Ṣabbāḥ, as their imām and believe that *imāmat* will continue for ever in Ismā'īl's line of the said Nizār.

APPENDIX O

KUNĀR

Kunār or 'kunwar' meaning 'prince' was the title of the Ceylonese emperor (*sulṭān-ul-kabīr*)[1] whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes as having been blinded by the grandees of his empire and as being alive at the time of his visit; the blind emperor was then deposed and succeeded by his son. But both of these are left unnamed in the *Reḥla*. Tennent's[2] list of the sovereigns of Ceylon, which finds support elsewhere,[3] suggests Wejaya Bāhu V[4] as the emperor during whose reign Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Ceylon. A different list[5] presents the name of a raja called Dalam Agali Raja who ruled from 1327 to 1347 and was thus a contemporary of Muhammad *bin* Tughluq. Confronted by the problem of these two rival lists presenting two different names I am inclined to think that the former contains the names of the emperors of Ceylon while the latter gives those of her governors or kings. Thus Wejaya Bāhu V should have been the emperor at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit while Dalam Agali Raja who might be identified[6] with Ayrī Shakarwatī of the *Reḥla* was merely a governor or king of the principality of Patlam (*Baṭṭālā*) acknowledging the authority of the emperor at Kurunaigalla or Kornegalle (*Kunākar*). It may be noted that Ceylon was politically divided from the earliest times into different kingdoms under the rule of different kings who sometimes asserted their independence and sometimes acknowledged the higher authority of an emperor. 'Anciently this country consisted of nine kingdoms', says Knox.[7]

[1] See p. 219 *supra*

[2] Tennent, Sir James Emerson—Ceylon, I, p 324

[3] Pirdham, Charles—*An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, I, p 77

[4] Yule—*Cathay And The Way Thither*, IV, p 33—specifies four names out of the said list and says, 'It must have been in the reign of one or the other of the two last that Ibn Batūta visited the capital'

[5] Philalethes, A M —*History of Ceylon*, p. 340.

[6] Lee, Samuel—*The Travels of Ibn Batūta*, p. 186.

[7] Knox, R —*An Historical Relation of Ceylon* p. 63

APPENDIX P

'TURBULENT AND DISAFFECTED PEOPLE'

In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account [1] of the Afghān rebellions Qāẓī Jalāl and Ibn Malik Mall are depicted as ringleaders with a large following of the 'turbulent and disaffected people' infesting the area from Gujarāt to Daulatābād and carrying fire and sword to Cambay and Broach. These turbulent and disaffected people are referred to even in the *Futūḥ-us-salāṭīn* which adds to the list of ringleaders mentioning also Muftī Mubārak, Jhallū Afghān, Jaur Bambhal and Jalāl *bin* Lālā [2] besides a Hindū chief named Māndeo [3] and some other Hindus [4] This circle of turbulence becomes still wider when according to a local legend Mokhrajī, the Hindū chief of Gogha [5], is brought into the orbit

It is said [6] that Gogha was 'in the hands of Muslim soldiers of fortune' until 1325 when it was captured by Mokhrajī, the Gohel chief of Umrāla [7] That is, Gogha which had been garrisoned by the royal troops of Dehlī up to the death of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq was disgarrisoned, falling into the hands of said Mokhrajī, in the opening year of Muhammad *bin* Tughluq's reign. The attitude of the new emperor who took no step to nip the trouble in the bud further encouraged Mokhrajī to seize Perim,[8] which he made his headquarters, and practise piracy on a large scale, he exacted tolls from all the ships that passed by Perim *en route* to Cambay The story goes that a certain Hindū merchant who was sailing for the port of Cambay was overtaken by bad weather and stopped at the port of Gogha There he entrusted his cargo comprising seven shiploads of gold dust to Mokhrajī to be kept as a pledge until better weather on payment of a certain amount of money Mokhrajī seized all the gold dust, and filling the shiploads with sand instead handed over the same to the merchant when the latter called for his cargo some time later Overwhelmed with grief and with a heavy heart the merchant went to Dehlī and lodged a complaint with the emperor. This stage in the story finds a reference in the *Rehla* [9] whence it appears that Mokhrajī joined hands with Qāzī Jalāl and his companions in plundering the wayfarers, the Afghān-Mokhrajī gang thus formed robbed also Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn, the grand shaikh of Egypt, who

[1] See p. 114 *supra*

[2], [3], [4] 'Iṣāmī—*Futūh-us-salāṭīn*, verses 9,521-9,524 and 9,726-9,800; also 9,860-9,870

[5] *I.e.* Gogo. See p 177 *supra*.

[6] Indian Antiquary, III, 1874, pp. 280-281 and Bombay Gazetteer (Ahmadabad), pp. 339-341

[7] Umrāla, seventeen miles north-west of Sihor and on the southern bank of the Kālubhār river, was the capital of the Bhavnagar Gohels. (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, p. 667).

[8] See p. 176 *supra*

[9] See pp. 113-114 *supra*.

lodged a complaint [1] likewise with the emperor. The emperor promised [2] to march against the rebels and subsequently fulfilled his promise—a fact which Ibn Baṭṭūṭā came to know at Calicut on his return from China early in 1347. History tells us that a state of war having broken out between the Afghān rebels and the amīrān-i-ṣadah on one side and the emperor on the other in 1345, the emperor marched. It was in the course of this war that he sent a punitive expedition against Mokhrajī, and the royal troops sacked Perim. Ibn Baṭṭūṭā refers to this sack of Perim when he says,[3] 'The Muslims had attacked the infidels there and since then it has not been inhabited.' Mokhrajī put up a resistance and a battle was fought at Gogha in which he was defeated and killed. So many lives were lost in this battle that the soil of Gogha is said to have been bestrewn with their bones and a cemetery still exists outside the town of Gogha on the Gundī road which bears marks of the graves of those royal soldiers who fell.[4] This legend finds confirmation in the *Reḥla* which mentions *Dunkūl*[5]—the Arabic form of Dungarjī, the successor of Mokhrajī—whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭā found ruling over Gogha.

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[1] and [2] See p. 69 *supra*

[3] See p. 176 *supra*.

[4] Indian Antiquary, III, pp. 280–281.

[5] See p. 177 *supra*. See also R.F.M., pp. 187, 188

APPENDIX Q

HINDUSTANI WORDS

The *Reḥla* contains many Hindustani words which have continued in common use in India with or without any variations bearing the same meaning. For instance—

(1) ādāb .. .. civilities or respects.
(2) a'dād .. .. numbers.
(3) 'ādat .. .. habit, custom.
(4) 'adāwat .. .. enmity.
(5) ādmī .. .. man.
(6) akhbār .. .. news.
(7) ākhir .. .. last.
(8) 'ajab .. .. being astonished
(9) 'ajīb .. .. strange.
(10) āla .. .. instrument.
(11) 'alāḥida .. .. separate.
(12) albatta .. . certainly.
(13) amān .. .. mercy, safety, amnesty.
(14) ambār .. .. store-house, heap.
(15) amn .. .. peace, safety.
(16) anār .. .. pomegranate.
(17) angūr .. .. grape.
(18) aṣal .. .. origin.
(19) 'āshiq .. .. lover.
(20) aulād .. .. children, descendants.
(21) auliyā .. .. saints.
(22) awwal .. .. first.
(23) b'ad .. .. after.
(24) bāqī .. .. balance.
(25) bandar .. .. a port.
(26) bāwarchī .. a cook.
(27) bhūra .. .. brown, blackish.
(28) butkhāna .. an idol-house.
(29) buqcha .. .. a bundle.
(30) burj .. .. a tower.
(31) chatr .. .. a parasol.
(32) chowdhrī .. a Hindū chief of the village.
(33) dihlīz .. .. threshold, a vestibule.
(34) d'awā .. .. claim.
(35) dākhil .. .. the interior, who or what enters.
(36) dāinā (*dāin*) .. debt.

(37) darakht .. .. a tree.
(38) darwāza .. a gate, a door.
(39) daulat khāna .. a palace.
(40) dāya .. .. a nurse or wet-nurse.
(41) dil .. .. heart
(42) dimāgh .. .. brain.
(43) dīn .. .. religion.
(44) dozakh .. .. hell.
(45) dumbal (*dummal*) .. a boil, a swelling.
(46) dunyā .. .. the world
(47) ḍola .. .. a litter.
(48) ḍhanḍhora .. a kind of drum.
(49) dhabḥ .. .. slaughtering.
(50) dhikr .. .. mention.
(51) dhimma .. protection, responsibility.
(52) fā'ida .. .. profit.
(53) faqīr .. .. a poor man.
(54) farrāsh .. a valet.
(55) farsh .. .. floor-covering.
(56) fatḥ .. .. victory, conquest.
(57) fauj .. .. troops, crowds.
(58) fulān .. .. a designation of any undefined person.
(59) gardan .. neck
(60) ghār .. .. a cave
(61) ghā'ib .. .. absent
(62) gharaz .. .. aim, motive, intention.
(63) ghusl .. .. a bathing
(64) gul shabbū .. tuberose.
(65) guāliya .. a cowherd.
(66) gusāī .. .. the deity.
(67) ḥaiwān .. an animal.
(68) ḥājit .. .. need.
(69) ḥākim .. .. a magistrate.
(70) ḥāl, aḥwāl .. condition.
(71) ḥalāwat .. taste
(72) ḥalwā .. .. sweets.
(73) ḥalwāī (*ḥulwānī*) .. a confectioner
(74) ḥaq .. .. right, truth
(75) ḥaram .. .. harem
(76) ḥarīra .. .. a kind of pudding.
(77) ḥauẓ .. .. a pond.
(78) hazār .. .. one thousand.
(79) ḥāzir .. .. present.
(80) ḥikmat .. a contrivance
(81) himmat .. resolve.
(82) hind .. .. India.

(83) **hindī** .. .. (i) a Hindū, (ii) **name of the language.**
(84) **ḥukm** .. .. control, order.
(85) **ḥisāb** .. .. arithmetic, rate.
(86) **iḥsān** .. .. a favour.
(87) 'ilm .. .. knowledge, learning.
(88) 'imārat .. .. building.
(89) in'ām .. .. reward, a present.
(90) 'ināyat .. care, favour
(91) inṣāf .. .. justice.
(92) insān .. .. human being
(93) intiẓār .. .. expectancy, waiting.
(94) jamā'at .. a party
(95) jāman .. .. jambol.
(96) jami'masjid .. a congregational mosque
(97) jannat .. .. paradise.
(98) jauhar, jawāhir .. pearl, pearls and precious stones
(99) jawāb .. .. an answer, reply.
(100) jazīra .. .. an island.
(101) jogī .. .. a Hindū philosopher.
(102) kāfir .. .. an idol-worshipper.
(103) kāg͟had͟h .. paper
(104) kahār .. .. a class of labourers
(105) kaifīyat .. statement, quality.
(106) karāmat .. extraordinary deeds.
(107) kaṣrat .. .. abundance.
(108) kaṭāra .. .. a weapon.
(109) katkar .. .. a palisade.
(110) k͟habar .. news.
(111) k͟haima dera (*k͟haima*) tent.
(112) k͟hāla .. .. an aunt—mother's sister
(113) k͟halāṣ .. .. release.
(114) k͟hāliṣ .. .. pure
(115) k͟harīf .. .. autumn.
(116) k͟hāṣṣ o 'ām .. high and low.
(117) khāṭ (*kat*) .. a cot.
(118) k͟haṭṭ .. .. writing.
(119) khatrī .. .. a high class of Hindus.
(120) k͟hatm .. .. end, finishing.
(121) k͟hazāna .. a treasury, treasure.
(122) khichṛī .. .. a special preparation of boiled rice and dāl.
(123) k͟hidmat .. service.
(124) k͟hilāf .. .. adverse, opposing.
(125) k͟huān .. .. a tray.
(126) k͟hush .. .. happy.
(127) kos .. .. a unit of distance.

(128) kotwāl .. .. a commandant of a city and a fort charged with the maintenance of peace.
(129) krore .. .. crore.
(130) kudhrū .. a kind of millet.
(131) kursī .. .. a chair.
(132) lākh .. .. lac.
(133) lafz .. .. a word.
(134) laimūn .. .. sweet lime.
(135) lobīa .. .. a kind of bean.
(136) libās .. .. dress.
(137) māl .. .. riches, wealth.
(138) m'alūm .. known, specified, fixed.
(139) ma'nā .. .. meaning.
(140) mann .. .. maund.
(141) manzil .. .. station, house.
(142) maqām .. .. place.
(143) maqbara .. tomb.
(144) marhamat .. mercy, favour, bestowal.
(145) marz .. .. illness, disease.
(146) marīz .. .. patient.
(147) masal .. . saying, proverb.
(148) mashāl (*mash'al*) .. a torch.
(149) masjid .. mosque.
(150) mauhabbat .. love.
(151) maulāna a man of (religious) learning.
(152) maut .. .. death.
(153) mihrāb .. .. arch
(154) mīl .. .. a unit of distance.
(155) miqdār .. . quantity.
(156) mīrās .. .. inheritance.
(157) mohwa .. . *madhuka latifolia*.
(158) morha . . stool.
(159) mote . .. chick-peas.
(160) muddat .. .. a long period of time.
(161) mukhbir .. an informer.
(162) mulk .. .. country, dominion
(163) mūng, māsh .. kinds of pulses.
(164) murād .. .. object, desire.
(165) musāfir .. .. a traveller.
(166) muwāfiq .. suitable.
(167) nā'ib .. . a deputy.
(168) nākhudā .. captain of a ship, a master
(169) nārangī (*naranj*) .. orange.
(170) nārīyal (*nārjīl*) .. coco-nut.
(171) nazar .. .. sight, a looking into.

(172)	naubat ..	.. guard, turn, a drum struck at stated intervals.
(173)	nīlam ..	.. sapphire.
(174)	parda ..	.. a curtain
(175)	parvāneh	.. a written order
(176)	piādeh ..	. a footman
(177)	qabr ..	.. a grave
(178)	qabīla ..	. a tribe
(179)	qadam ..	. step
(180)	qadr ..	. measure
(181)	qaḥaṭ ..	.. famine
(182)	qal'a ..	. a fortress
(183)	qalam ..	.. a pen.
(184)	qamīṣ ..	.. a shirt.
(185)	qarīb ..	.. near.
(186)	qātil ..	. a murderer
(187)	qatl ..	.. murder, killing, execution.
(188)	quwwat	. vigour.
(189)	rāḥat ..	.. relief, comfort
(190)	rāi ..	.. raja
(191)	ra'īs ..	.. a local chief, magnate
(192)	rikāb ..	. stirrup
(193)	ra'īyat ..	.. subjects
(194)	rishwat	.. bribes.
(195)	sabab ..	. cause.
(196)	ṣabr ..	.. patience
(197)	ṣadqa ..	alms
(198)	ṣaff ..	.. a line, row.
(199)	safar ..	.. travel, journey
(200)	ṣāḥib ..	.. chief, governor.
(201)	sāha ..	.. an honorific enjoyed by some Hindu merchants.
(202)	salām ..	.. peace, greetings
(203)	salṭanat	.. kingship
(204)	samosa ..	.. a thin bread coated with ghee containing spices
(205)	ṣandal ..	.. sandal
(206)	sanḍās ..	.. latrine.
(207)	ṣandūq .	.. a box.
(208)	saqqā ..	.. a waterman
(209)	sar ..	.. head
(210)	ṣiwā, siwāi	.. except.
(211)	shahīd ..	.. a martyr.
(212)	shā'ir ..	.. a poet.
(213)	shakar (*sukur*)	.. sugar.
(214)	sharbat ..	.. sherbet.

(215) sharīf .. .. of high descent, of noble character.
(216) sharwāl .. .. trousers.
(217) sher .. .. a lion.
(218) shi‘r .. .. a verse.
(219) sikka .. .. coin.
(220) ṣubḥ .. .. morning.
(221) suḥbat .. .. company, society.
(222) ṣūrat .. .. face, image.
(223) ṭabla .. .. a drum.
(224) tājir .. .. a merchant.
(225) ṭalab .. .. demand.
(226) t‘aẓīm .. .. respect.
(227) tambol .. .. betel-leaf.
(228) tartīb .. .. order, plan.
(229) ṭasht .. .. a large basin.
(230) tashrīf .. .. honouring.
(231) ṭaṭṭū .. .. a pony.
(232) tez .. .. sharp.
(233) wabā .. .. an epidemic, plague
(234) wa‘da .. .. promise.
(235) wafā .. .. fidelity, faithfulness.
(236) wālid .. .. a father.
(237) wālida .. .. a mother.
(238) waqt .. .. time.
(239) wāqi‘a .. .. an occurrence, an event.
(240) waṭan .. . native country.
(241) wazan .. .. weight.
(242) waẓīfa .. .. stipend.
(243) wazīr .. .. vezir, a minister.
(244) widā‘ .. .. departure.
(245) yāqūt .. .. a ruby.
(246) yaqīn .. .. conviction.
(247) yār .. .. a friend.
(248) ẓālim .. .. a tyrant.
(249) zard .. .. yellow.
(250) ziyāda .. .. more.
(251) ẓulm .. .. tyranny.

APPENDIX R

DIHLI, DEHLI AND DELHI

The orthography in the *Reḥla* yields 'Dihlī' as well as 'Dehlī', which is described as 'the ancient city of Dehlī proper founded by the Hindus'.[1] This finds confirmation in the earliest books of Indo-Muslim history notably the *Tāj-ul-ma'āṣir*[2] and the *Ṭabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī*[3] and is supported by the numismatic evidence.[4] Further, it is agreed[5] that Dehlī sprang from Ḍhillī, a Sanskrit word meaning 'loose.' Ḍhillī (ढिल्ली) or Ḍhillikā[6] (ढिल्लिका), which is mentioned in all the local Sanskrit inscriptions[7] from the 11th to the 14th century as well as in the contemporary Jain works—*Prabandhakośa*[8] and the *Vatthusarapayaraṇaṁ*—,[9] originated either in the variants of Delu or Dhelu,[10] its legendary founder, or in the traditional story of the loose soil and pillar[11] under Anang Pāl, the Tomara chief. In popular usage the 'h' of Ḍhillī dropped out and the 'ḍ' was softened into 'd'; the resultant was Dillī[12] which has been a popular form of Dehlī through the ages and may be noticed also in the historic term Dillīwāl[13] or Dehlīwāl.[14]

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[1] Ms. 2287 F. 118.

[2] Hasan Niẓāmī—T.M., MS. 110 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Fs. 53, 78, 80, 111, 119.

[3] Minhāj-ud-dīn 'Uṣmān—T.N. pp. 140, 141, 147, 168.

[4] Edward Thomas—C.P.K.D., p. 15, Coin No. 10.

[5] Syed Ahmad, Sir—*Āṣār-uṣ-ṣanādīd*, Pt. IV, p. 4.

[6] 'Ḍhillikā' is synonymous with Ḍhillī; and Ḍhillikā is sometimes Prakritised into Ḍhilliya (ढिल्लिय) as in the *Rayaṇaparikkhā* of Thakkura Feru, quoted by the editor in his introduction to the Vatthusarapayaranaṁ, page 10.

[7] (i) E.I.M. 1913-14, p. 37, (ii) R.F.M., p. 246.

[8] Rājasekhara Surī—*Prabandhakośa*, pp. 117, 119, 120 and 131. (Singhi Jain Granthmala). It was compiled in 1348-9/1405, V.S.

[9] Feru, T.—*Vatthusarapayaranaṁ*, p. 10, Jaipur. This book was compiled in 1313/1372, V.S

These two Jain works of the 14th century—the author of the first namely Rājasekhara being a Jain scholar and saint and a pupil of Tilaka Suri while that of another, namely Feru, a jeweller and a leading merchant of the age of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī—were pointed out by my friend Mr. A. K. Bhattacharya of Indian Museum, Calcutta.

[10] *I.e.* Dilu and Dhilu. Cf. A.S.I.R., I, p. 137.

[11] Carr Stephen—*The Archaeology and Monuments of Delhi*, p. 17.

[12] 'Dillī' is also written as 'Dellı'. Says Thomas Roe, 'Delli—the chief city of the same name. It lies on both sides of the river Gemni. It is an ancient city and the seat of the Mogul's ancestors.'

A Collection of Voyages and Travels from original manuscripts, London. 1665, p. 665.

[13] هزار بار هزار دلیوال صرف شدة بود—from an inscription on the Quṭb minār. Edward Thomas—C.P.K.D., p. 23.

[14] Such is the reading given by Edward Thomas. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

It follows that Dehlī was no new term introduced by the early Turkish conquerors; in fact it was already in use before the Turkish conquest of 1192/588.

As for 'Dilhi' which is reported [1] as Anang Pāl's chosen name for the city, there is no such *geschichte*. It is apocryphal, since even the existence of Anang Pāl is dubious and the story of the foundation of the said city by him is fictitious.[2] 'The first Anang Pāla of whom we possess any real knowledge,'[3] says Smith, 'is the chieftain called by Cunningham Anang Pāla II.' From an inscription on the Iron Pillar—*Samvat Dihali* 1109 *Ang Pāl bahi*, that is, in Samvat 1109/1052 Ang (or Anang) Pāl peopled Dillī [4] (Dihlī)—it appears that Dehlī dates from his time in the middle of the 11th century. The term Dihali in the said inscription is probably identical with Dihlī. That 'Dillī' was equally old and that Dihlī and Dillī were used almost indiscriminately is suggested by the historic phrase—*Chuwān takht baitha, Dillī Rāj kiya* [5]—which commemorates the Chohān conquest of Dehlī in 1151. Another historic phrase—*Dillī ka kot karāya Lālkot kahāya*,[6] i.e. Anang Pal built the fort of Dillī called Lalkot—points to the fact that Dillī or Dihlī was still the name in common use when Qutb-ud-dīn Aibek became the first Muslim ruler (1206/603). He is said to have issued seven orders to the Hindū chiefs of which the fifth was this—*Lālkot tai nagāro bājto a*,[7] that is, the kettle-drums are not to be beaten in Lālkot. Then Dehli became the capital.

It may be recalled that Dehlī had ceased to be the capital under the successors of Anang Pāl and its importance diminished subsequently to such an extent that it failed to attract the attention of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī; he never visited it. Even his historian 'Utbī [8] made no mention of it, nor did al-Bīrūnī [9] or Mas'ūdī.[10] 'We first hear of Delhi as the capital of Hindoostan about the year 1200', says Rennell. And he continues, 'It is reported to have been founded by Delu about 300 years before our era; and I believe should properly be written Dehly'.[11] William Thorn who insists on the term 'Delhi' puts Delu in 7th century B.C.[12] Whatever the

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[1] Cunningham—*Coins of Medieval India*, p. 80.

[2] Smith, V.—*The Early History of India*, p. 386, footnote.

[3] J.R. As. Soc., 1897, p. 13.

[4] Cunningham—A.S.I.R.—I, p. 151.

[5] *I.e.* 'the Chohān sat on the throne and established his kingdom in Dillī'. See A.S.I.R., Vol. I, p. 156.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[7] *Idem.*

[8] Born in 961/350 at Raiy he entered the service of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in 999/389 and wrote his famous book *Kitāb-ul-Yamini*. He died in 1036/427.

[9] 'Only a single allusion to Dillī made in the Qānūn-i-mas'ūdī' is vaguely reported in the A.S.I.R., Vol. I, p. 156. But this is not confirmed by personal scrutiny.

[10] An Arab geographer, historian and traveller of the 4th century Hijra. He came to India in 916/306, visited Multan and Mansūra and went by Cambay as far as Ceylon; he died in 957/346.

[11] *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* (1788), p. 66.

[12] Thorn, W.—*Memoir of the War in India conducted by General Lord Lake* (1818), p. 153.

truth about Delu, Dehlī and not Delhi is the correct finding which is confirmed by many a reliable European traveller. For instance, Bernier [1] writes 'Dehli;' Tavernier [2] gives 'Dehly;' Terry [3] has 'Deli' and Peter Mundy [4] 'Dilli'. Again, Olfert Dapper,[5] a Belgain, writes 'Delli'; G.M.VV.L.,[6] a Dutch, gives 'Delli' and Tosi,[7] an Italain, has 'Dely'. But the records of the East Indian Company [8] give 'Delhi' as well as Dillye, Dillie, Dille and Delly. With the establishment of the Company's rule in India 'Delhi'—the result of a corrupt [9] spelling—came to be regarded as the official spelling and crept into the postal guides by the middle of the 19th century. Hunter noticed this in 1869. In 1871 he prepared a scheme for 'a revised orthography of the Indian towns and villages' wherein he gave 'Dihlī' [10] as the correct transliteration from the vernacular character and suggested 'Dehlī' [11] as the correct spelling to be adopted by the British Government. But his suggestion was not accepted and 'Delhi' was notified [12] as the authorized spelling.

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[1] Bernier, F.—*Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 241.

[2] Tavernier—*Travels in India*, Bk. I, p. 15, London, 1678.

[3] Terry Edward—*A Voyage to East-India*, pp. 346-347.

[4] Mundy, P.—*The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia* (1608–1667) p. 107.

[5] Dapper, O.—*Asia*, Amsterdam 1672. Map, p. 1.

[6] *Premier Livre Del Histoire de la Navigation Aux Indes*, Amsterdam, 1598. See map on the frontispiece.

[7] Tosi—*Dell' India Orientale des Crittione Geografica et Historica*, Rome 1669, Vol. I p. 29.

[8] Foster, W.—*The English Factories in India* (1618–1621), p. 337.
" " " (1622-1623), p. 79.
" " " (1637–1641), p. 134.
" " " (1646–1650), pp. 144, 253.
" " " (1655–1660), p. 62.
" " " (1665–1667), p. 177.

[9] Cunningham—A.S.I.R., I, p. 161.

[10] & [11] Hunter, W. W.—*Guide to The Orthography of Indian Proper Names with a list showing the true spelling of Post Towns and Villages in India*. Calcutta, 1871. p. 32.

[12] Punjab Government Notification 1942 of 1st December, 1874. Cf. E.I.M, 1913-14, p. 38 footnote 2.

APPENDIX S

BAṬŪṬA, BUṬŪṬA OR BAṬṬŪṬA

Barring a few instances[1] of the *prima facie* 'Baṭūṭa' I have used the term 'Baṭṭūṭa'. I understand that the natives of different parts of North Africa differ in their pronunciation and orthography of this term. Some pronounce and spell it as 'Buṭūṭa' contending that 'buṭūṭa' was originally 'bū-ṭūṭa' (بو+طوطه); that 'ṭūṭa' signifying a tassel, 'buṭūṭa' meant a tasselled man and that Ibn Buṭūṭa connoted the son of a tasselled man. Others pronounce and spell it as 'Baṭūṭa' contending that Baṭūṭa—literally an egg-shaped bottle—being a term for a bad woman Ibn Baṭūṭa connoted the son of a woman with an ellipsoidal body. But I cannot support these contentions. I have been informed[2] that 'Baṭṭūṭa' is still the family name in some parts of North Africa. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions[3] one Abul Qāsim Muḥammad *ibn* Yaḥya *ibn* Baṭṭūṭa as his paternal cousin at Ronda. To my own knowledge there is a gentleman called Muḥammad Farīd al-Baṭṭūṭī, now living in Egypt. Baṭṭūṭī, I think, is another form of Baṭṭūṭa and might likewise be a family name. As regards its etymology I am of opinion that 'baṭṭa' (بطّة) meaning a duck-like flask, temper and slitting an ulcer or 'baṭṭaṭ' (بطّاط) meaning a dealer in birds is the root of Baṭṭūṭa.

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[1] *Vide* pp. xii, xiii, xiv, xv, and xvi *supra*.

[2] *Vide* p. xvi *supra*.

[3] Cf. Def. et Sang., IV, p. 363.

INDEX

SELECT NAMES OF PERSONS AND PEOPLE

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES AND TITLES OF BOOKS

* 'Talpat (*Talbat*)' in the printed text (p. 125) should be read 'Tilpat (*Tilbat*)'

Printed by Norman A. Ellis, at the Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road, ——, and Published on behalf of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

كتاب رحلة الشيخ
[illegible] أبي عبد الله
محمد بن محمد بن ابراهيم
اللواتي الطنجي
المعروف
بابن بطوطة رحمه الله
تعالى ورضي عنه
آمين

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE HANDWRITING IN THE MS 2290
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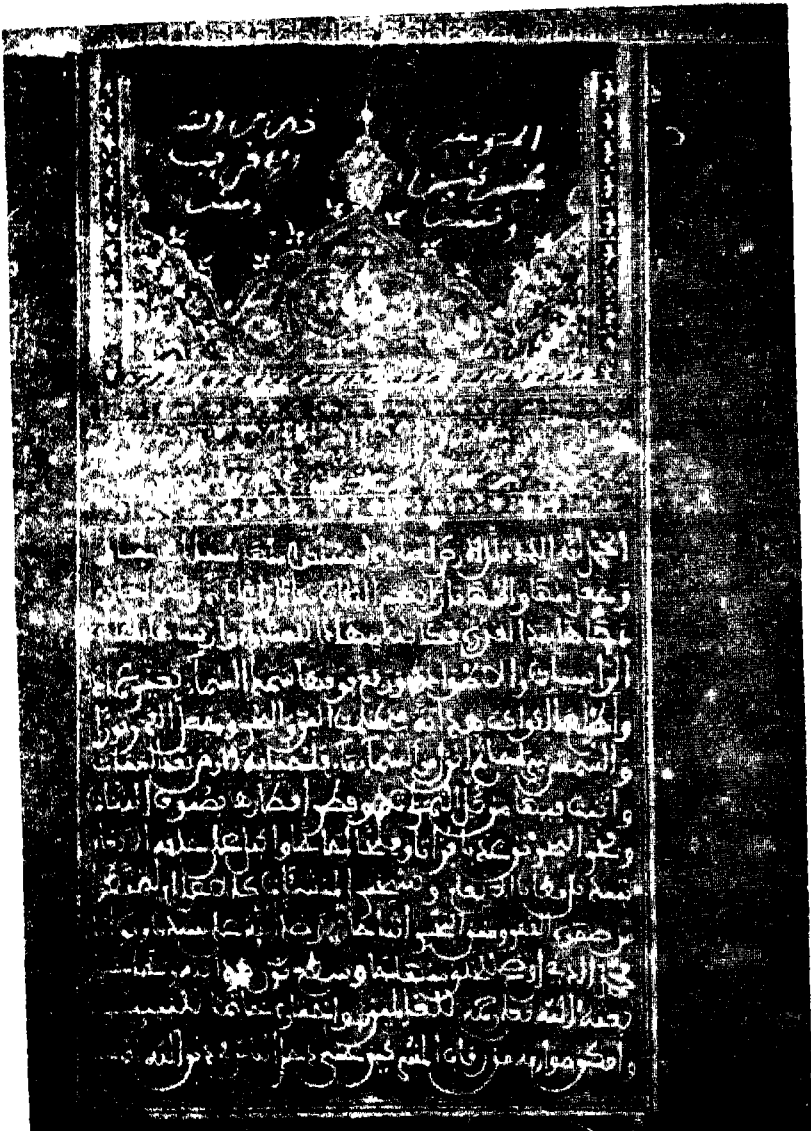
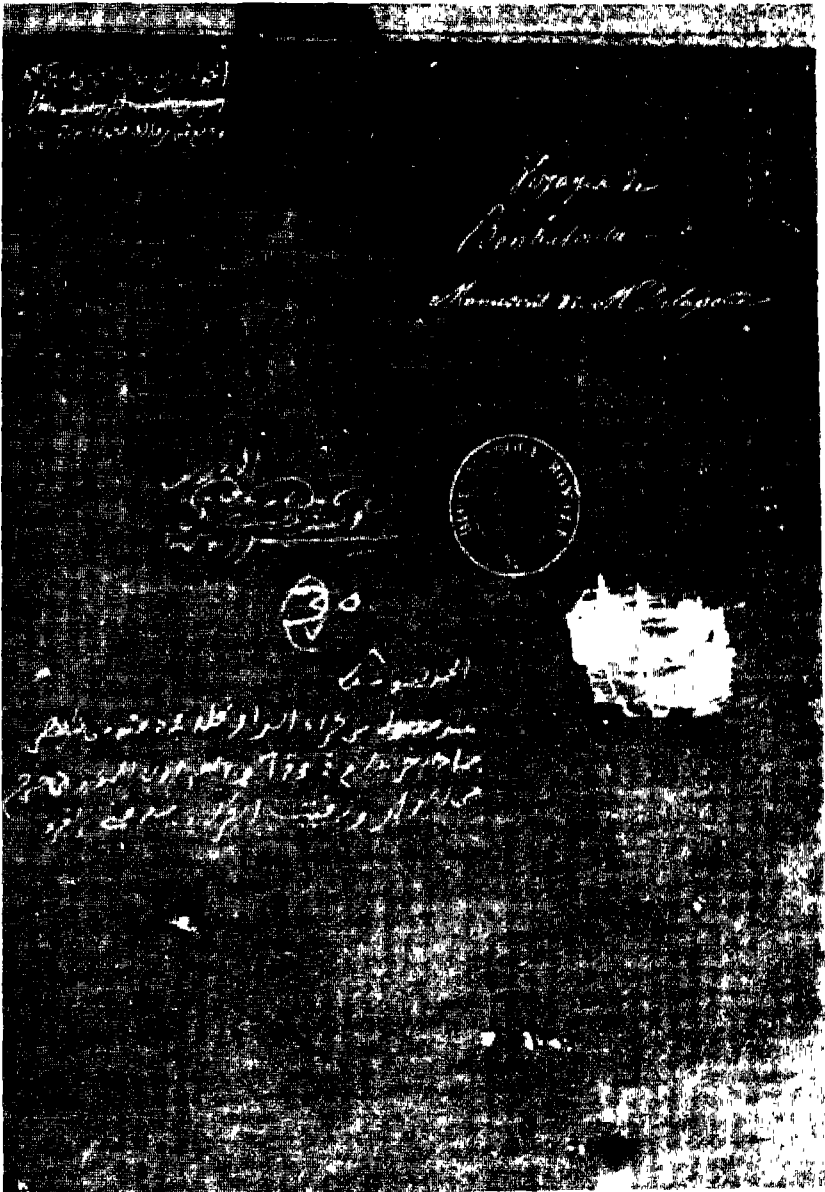
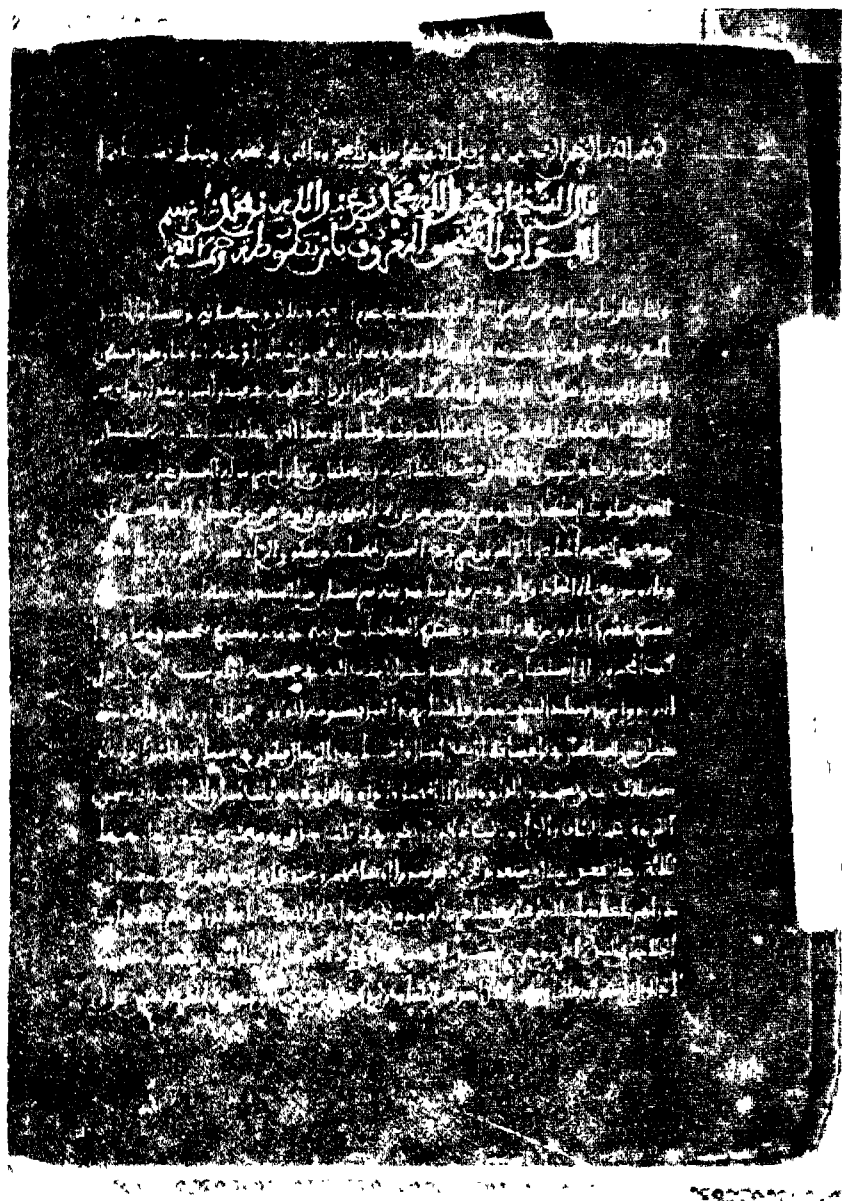
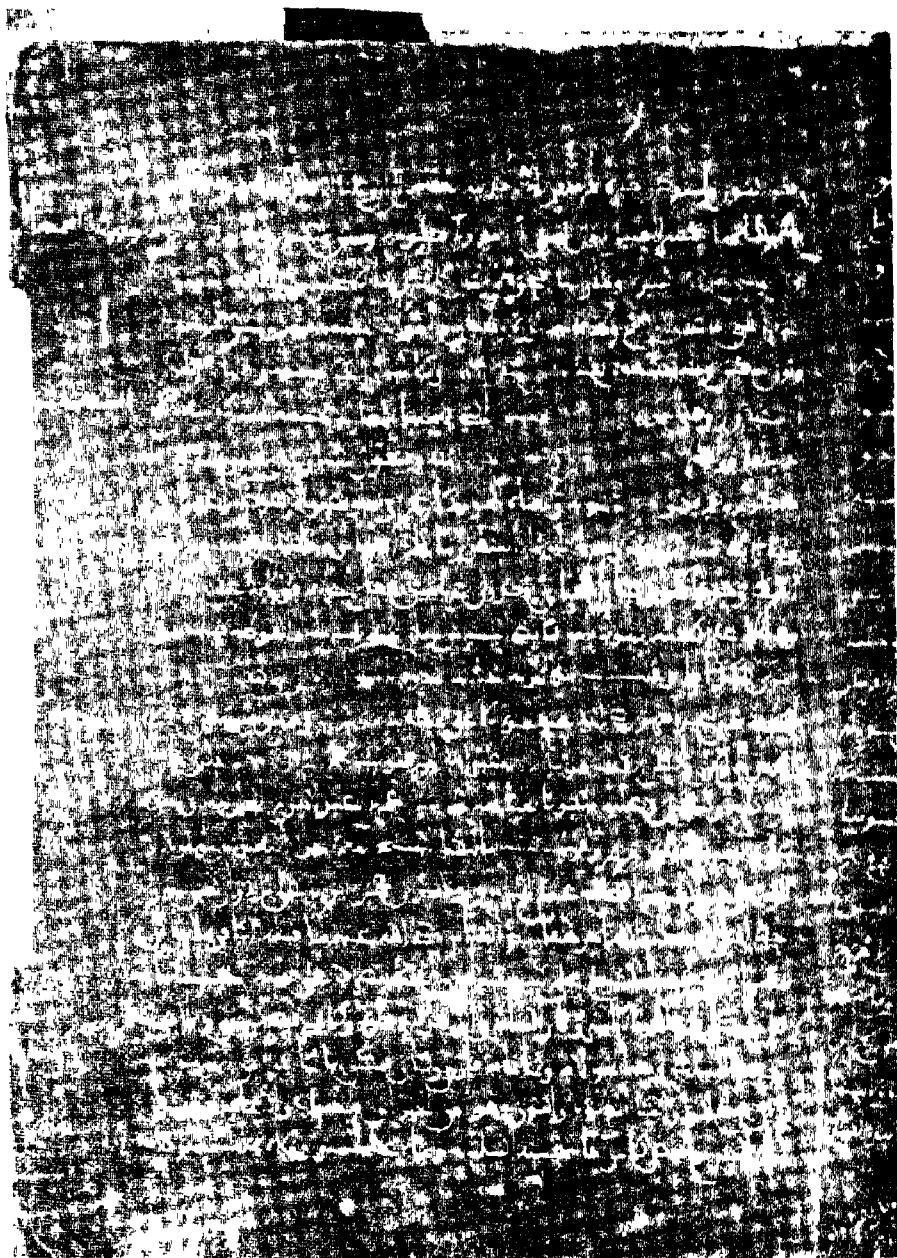

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE HANDWRITING IN THE MS. 2290
The first page.

Plate III.

Photograph of the MS 2291 (907)—The Autograph of Ibn Juzayy

The fly-leaf

THE AUTOGRAPH OF IBN JUZAYY
The first page

THE AUTOGRAPH OF IBN JUZAYY
Another page

PLATE VI.

THE AUTOGRAPH OF IBN JUZAYY

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THE AUTOGRAPH OF IBN JUZAYY

Another page.

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE FLY-LEAF IN THE MS. 2287 (909)